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PHILOSTRATUS

I

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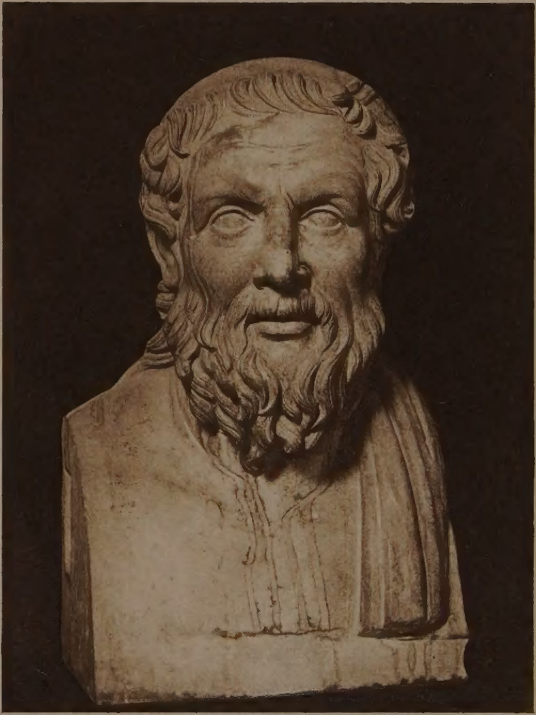

APOLLONIUS OF TYANA. (?)

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PHILOSTRATUS

THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

THE EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS AND THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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IN TWO VOLUMES

I

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INTRODUCTION

The Life of Apollonius of Tyana has only been once translated in its entirety into English, as long ago as the year 1811, by an Irish clergyman of the name of E. Berwick. It is to be hoped therefore that the present translation will be acceptable to the English reading public; for there is in it much that is very good reading, and it is lightly written. Of its author, Philostratus, we do not know much apart from his own works, from which we may gather that he was born in the island of Lemnos about the year 172 of our era, that he went to Athens as a young man to study rhetoric, and later on to Rome. Here he acquired a reputation as a sophist, and was drawn into what we may call the *salon* of the literary and philosophic Empress Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus. She put into his hands certain memoirs of Apollonius, the sage of Tyana, who had died in extreme old age nearly

100 years before during the reign of the Emperor Nerva, and she begged him to use them for the composition of a literary life of the sage in question. These memoirs had been composed by a disciple and companion of Apollonius named Damis, a native of the city of Nineveh, whose style, Philostratus says, like that of most Syrian Greeks, was heavy and wanting in polish. Besides these memoirs Philostratus used for his work a history of the career of Apollonius at Aegae, written by an admirer of the name of Maximus. He also used the many letters of Apollonius which were in circulation. His collection of these agreed partly, but not wholly, with those which are preserved to us and translated below. He tells us further that the Emperor Hadrian had a collection of these letters in his villa at Antium. Philostratus also possessed various treatises of Apollonius which have not come down to us. Beside making use of the written sources here enumerated Philostratus had travelled about, not only to Tyana, where there was a temple specially dedicated to the cult of Apollonius, but to other cities where the sage's memory was held in honour, in order to collect such traditions of the sage as he found still current. From these sources then the work before us was drawn, for although Philostratus

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also knew the four books of a certain Moeragenes upon Apollonius, he tells us he paid no attention to them, because they displayed an ignorance of many things which concerned the sage. The learned Empress seems never to have lived to read the work of Philostratus, for it is not dedicated to her and cannot have been published before the year 217.

It has been argued that the work of Damis never really existed, and that he was a mere man of straw invented by Philostratus. This view was adopted as recently as the year 1910 by Professor Bigg, in his history of the origins of Christianity. But it seems unnecessarily sceptical. It is quite true that Philostratus puts into the mouth of the sage, on the authority of Damis, conversations and ideas which, as they recur in the Lives of the Sophists of Philostratus, can hardly have been reported by Damis. But because he resorted to this literary trick, it by no means follows that all the episodes which he reports on the authority of Damis are fictitious, for many of them possess great verisimilitude and can hardly have been invented as late as the year 217, when the life was completed and given to the literary world. It is rather to be supposed that Damis himself was not altogether a credible writer, but one who, like the so-called

aretalogi of that age, set himself to embellish the life of his master, to exaggerate his wisdom and his supernatural powers; if so, more than one of the striking stories told by Philostratus may have already stood in the pages of Damis.

However this be, the evident aim of Philostratus is to rehabilitate the reputation of Apollonius, and defend him from the charge of having been a charlatan or wizard addicted to evil magical practices. This accusation had been levelled against the sage during his life-time by a rival sophist Euphrates, and not long after his death by the author already mentioned, Moeragenes. Unfortunately the orations of Euphrates have perished, and we know little of the work of Moeragenes. Origen, the Christian father, in his work against Celsus, written about the year 240, informs us that he had read it, and that it attacked Apollonius as a magician addicted to sinister practices. It is certain also that the accusations of Euphrates were of similar tendency, and we only need to read a very few pages of this work of Philostratus to see that his chief interest is to prove to the world that these accusations were ill-founded, and that Apollonius was a divinely-inspired sage and prophet, and a reformer along Pythagorean lines of the Pagan

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religion. It is possible that some of the stories told by Byzantine writers of Apollonius, notably by John Tzetzes, derive from Moeragenes.

The story of the life of Apollonius as narrated by Philostratus is briefly as follows. He was born towards the beginning of the Christian era at Tyana, in Cappadocia, and his birth was attended according to popular tradition with miracles and portents. At the age of sixteen he set himself to observe in the most rigid fashion the almost monastic rule ascribed to Pythagoras, renouncing wine, rejecting the married estate, refusing to eat any sort of flesh, and in particular condemning the sacrifice of animals to the gods, which in the ancient world furnished the occasion, at any rate for the poor people, of eating meat. For we must not forget that in antiquity hardly any meat was eaten which had not previously been consecrated by sacrifice to a god, and that consequently the priest was the butcher of a village and the butcher the priest. Like other votaries of the Neo-Pythagorean philosophy or discipline, Apollonius went without shoes or only wore shoes of bark, he allowed his hair to grow long, and never let a razor touch his chin, and he took care to wear on his person nothing but linen, for it was accounted by him, as by Brahmans, an impurity to allow any

dress made of the skin of dead animals to touch the person. Before long he set himself up as a reformer, and betaking himself to the town of Aegae, he took up his abode in the temple of Aesculapius, where he rapidly acquired such a reputation for sanctity that sick people flocked to him asking him to heal them. On attaining his majority, at the death of his father and mother, he gave up the greater part of his patrimony to his elder brother, and what was left to his poor relations. He then set himself to spend five years in complete silence, traversing, it would seem, Asia Minor, in all directions, but never opening his lips. The more than Trappist vow of silence which he thus enforced upon himself seems to have further enhanced his reputation for holiness, and his mere appearance on the scene was enough to hush the noise of warring factions in the cities of Cilicia and Pamphylia. If we may believe his biographer he professed to know all languages without ever having learned them, to know the inmost thoughts of men, to understand the language of birds and animals, and to have the power of predicting the future. He also remembered his former incarnation, for he shared the Pythagorean belief of the migrations of human souls from body to body, both of animals and of human beings. He preached

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a rigid asceticism, and condemned all dancing and other diversions of the kind ; he would carry no money on his person and recommended others to spend their money in the relief of the poorer classes. He visited Persia and India, where he consorted with the Brahmans ; he subsequently visited Egypt, and went up the Nile in order to acquaint himself with those precursors of the monks of the Thebaid called in those days the Gymnosophists or naked philosophers. He visited the cataracts of the Nile, and returning to Alexandria held long conversations with Vespasian and Titus soon after the siege and capture of Jerusalem by the latter. He had a few years before, in the course of a visit to Rome, incurred the wrath of Nero, whose minister Tigellinus however was so intimidated by him as to set him at liberty. After the death of Titus he was again arrested, this time by the Emperor Domitian, as a fomenter of sedition, but was apparently acquitted. He died at an advanced age in the reign of Nerva, who befriended him ; and according to popular tradition he ascended bodily to heaven, appearing after death to certain persons who entertained doubts about a future life.

Towards the end of the third century when the struggle between Christianity and decadent Paganism

had reached its last and bitterest stage, it occurred to some of the enemies of the new religion to set up Apollonius, to whom temples and shrines had been erected in various parts of Asia Minor, as a rival to the founder of Christianity. The many miracles which were recorded of Apollonius, and in particular his eminent power over evil spirits or demons, made him a formidable rival in the minds of Pagans to Jesus Christ. And a certain Hierocles, who was a provincial governor under the Emperor Diocletian, wrote a book to show that Apollonius had been as great a sage, as remarkable a worker of miracles, and as potent an exorcist as Jesus Christ. His work gave great offence to the missionaries of the Christian religion, and Eusebius the Christian historian wrote a treatise in answer, in which he alleges that Apollonius was a mere charlatan, and if a magician at all, then one of very inferior powers; he also argues that if he did achieve any remarkable results, it was thanks to the evil spirits with whom he was in league. Eusebius is careful, however, to point out that before Hierocles, no anti-Christian writer had thought of putting forward Apollonius as the rival and equal of Jesus of Nazareth. It is possible of course that Hierocles took his cue from the Emperor Alexander Severus (A.D. 205–235), who instead of setting up

images of the gods in his private shrine, established therein, as objects of his veneration, statues of Alexander the Great, Orpheus, Apollonius of Tyana, Abraham, and Christ. This story however in no way contradicts the statement of Eusebius, and it is a pity that this significant caution of the latter has been disregarded by Christian writers of the last three centuries, who have almost unanimously adopted a view that is utterly unwarrantable, namely, that Philostratus intended his life of Apollonius as a counterblast to that of the Christian gospel. The best scholars of the present generation are opposed to this view, for they realise that demoniac possession was a common feature in the ancient landscape, and that the exorcist driving demons out of afflicted human beings by use of threats and invocations of mysterious names was as familiar a figure in old Pagan society as he was in the early church.

We read that wherever Apollonius travelled, he visited the temples, and undertook to reform the cults which he there found in vogue. His reform seems to have consisted in this, that he denounced as derogatory to the gods the practice of sacrificing to them animal victims and tried to persuade the priests to abandon it. In this respect he prepared the ground for Christianity and was working along

the same lines as many of the Christian missionaries. In the third century Porphyry the philosopher and enemy of Christianity was as zealous in his condemnation of blood-offerings, as Apollonius had been in the first. Unquestionably the neo-Pythagorean propaganda did much to discredit ancient paganism, and Apollonius and its other missionaries were all unwittingly working for that ideal of bloodless sacrifice which, after the destruction of the Jewish Temple, by an inexorable logic imposed itself on the Christian Church.

It is well to conclude this all too brief notice of Apollonius with a passage cited by Eusebius [1] from his lost work concerning sacrifice. There is no good reason for doubting its authenticity, and it is an apt summary of his religious belief:—

"In no other manner, I believe, can one exhibit a fitting respect for the divine being, beyond any other men make sure of being singled out as an object of his favour and good-will, than by refusing to offer to God whom we termed First, who is One and separate from all, as subordinate to whom we must recognise all the rest, any victim at all; to Him we must not kindle fire or make promise unto him of any sensible

[1] Eusebius, *On the Preparation for the Gospel*, Bk. iv. Ch. 13.

object whatsoever. For He needs nothing even from beings higher than ourselves. Nor is there any plant or animal which earth sends up or nourishes, to which some pollution is not incident. We should make use in relation to him solely of the higher speech, I mean of that which issues not by the lips; and from the noblest of beings we must ask for blessings by the noblest faculty we possess, and that faculty is intelligence, which needs no organ. On these principles then we ought not on any account to sacrifice victims to the mighty and supreme God."

The text followed by the translator is that of C. L. Kayser, issued by B. G. Teubner, at Leipzic in 1870.

PHILOSTRATUS

BOOK I

ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

ΤΑ ΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΥΑΝΕΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ

Α΄

I

CAP. I Οἱ τὸν Σάμιον Πυθαγόραν ἐπαινοῦντες τάδε ἐπ᾿ αὐτῷ φασιν· ὡς Ἴων μὲν οὔπω εἴη, γένοιτο δὲ ἐν Τροίᾳ ποτὲ Εὔφορβος, ἀναβιοίη τε ἀποθανών, ἀποθάνοι δέ, ὡς ᾠδαὶ Ὁμήρου, ἐσθῆτά τε τὴν ἀπὸ θνησειδίων παραιτοῖτο καὶ καθαρεύοι βρώσεως, ὁπόση ἐμψύχων, καὶ θυσίας· μὴ γὰρ αἱμάττειν τοὺς βωμούς, ἀλλὰ ἡ μελιττοῦτα καὶ ὁ λιβανωτὸς καὶ τὸ ἐφυμνῆσαι, φοιτᾶν ταῦτα τοῖς θεοῖς παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου, γιγνώσκειν τε, ὡς ἀσπάζοιντο τὰ τοιαῦτα οἱ θεοὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς ἑκατόμβας καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ἐπὶ τοῦ κανοῦ. ξυνεῖναι γὰρ δὴ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ μανθάνειν παρ᾿ αὐτῶν, ὅπη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις χαίρουσι καὶ ὅπη ἄχθονται, περί τε φύσεως ἐκεῖθεν λέγειν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους τεκμαίρεσθαι τοῦ θείου καὶ δόξας ἀνομοίους ἀλλή-

PHILOSTRATUS

THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

BOOK I

I

CHAP. I

Religious asceticism of Pythagoras

The votaries of Pythagoras of Samos have this story to tell of him, that he was not an Ionian at all, but that, once on a time in Troy, he had been Euphorbus, and that he had come to life after death, but had died as the songs of Homer relate. And they say that he declined to wear apparel made from dead animal products and, to guard his purity, abstained from all flesh diet, whether of animals or of sacrificial victims. For that he would not stain the altars with blood; nay, rather the honey-cake and frankincense and the hymn of praise, these they say were the offerings made to the Gods by this man, who realised that they welcome such tribute more than they do the hecatombs and the knife laid upon the sacrificial basket. For they say that he had of a certainty social intercourse with the gods, and learnt from them the conditions under which they take pleasure in men or are disgusted, and on this intercourse he based his account of nature. For he said that, whereas other men only make conjectures about the divinity and make guesses that

CAP. I λαις περὶ αὐτοῦ δοξάζειν, ἑαυτῷ δὲ τόν τε Ἀπόλλω ἥκειν ὁμολογοῦντα, ὡς αὐτὸς εἴη, ξυνεῖναι δὲ καὶ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντας τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τὰς Μούσας καὶ θεοὺς ἑτέρους, ὧν τὰ εἴδη καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα οὔπω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους γιγνώσκειν. καὶ ὅ τι ἀποφήναιτο ὁ Πυθαγόρας, νόμον τοῦτο οἱ ὁμιληταὶ ἡγοῦντο καὶ ἐτίμων αὐτὸν ὡς ἐκ Διὸς ἥκοντα, καὶ ἡ σιωπὴ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου σφίσιν ἐπησκεῖτο·[1] πολλὰ γὰρ θεῖά τε καὶ ἀπόρρητα ἤκουον, ὧν κρατεῖν χαλεπὸν ἦν μὴ πρῶτον μαθοῦσιν, ὅτι καὶ τὸ σιωπᾶν λόγος. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν Ἀκραγαντῖνον Ἐμπεδοκλέα βαδίσαι φασὶ τὴν σοφίαν ταύτην. τὸ γὰρ

χαίρετ', ἐγὼ δ' ὔμμιν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητός

καὶ

ἤδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ γενόμην κόρη τε κόρος τε

καὶ ὁ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ βοῦς, ὃν λέγεται πέμμα ποιησάμενος θῦσαι, τὰ Πυθαγόρου ἐπαινοῦντος εἴη ἄν. καὶ πλείω ἕτερα περὶ τῶν τὸν Πυθαγόρου τρόπον φιλοσοφησάντων ἱστοροῦσιν, ὧν οὐ προσήκει με νῦν ἅπτεσθαι σπεύδοντα ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον, ὃν ἀποτελέσαι προὐθέμην.

[1] ἐπησκεῖτο Richards: ἐπήσκητο Kayser.

contradict one another concerning it,—in his own case he said that Apollo had come to him acknowledging that he was the god in person; and that Athene and the Muses and other gods, whose forms and names men did not yet know, had also consorted with him though without making such acknowledgment. And the followers of Pythagoras accepted as law any decisions communicated by him, and honoured him as an emissary from Zeus, but imposed, out of respect for their divine character, a ritual silence on themselves. For many were the divine and ineffable secrets which they had heard, but which it was difficult for any to keep who had not previously learnt that silence also is a mode of speech. Moreover they declare that Empedocles of Acragas had trodden this way of wisdom when he wrote the line CHAP. I

"Rejoice ye, for I am unto you an immortal God,
and no more mortal."

And this also:

"For erewhile, I already became both girl and boy."

And the story that he made at Olympia a bull out of pastry and sacrificed it to the god also shews that he approved of the sentiments of Pythagoras. And there is much else that they tell of those sages who observe the rule of Pythagoras; but I must not now enter upon such points, but hurry on to the work which I have set myself to complete.

II

CAP. II ᾿Αδελφὰ γὰρ τούτοις ἐπιτηδεύσαντα ᾿Απολλώνιον, καὶ θειότερον ἢ ὁ Πυθαγόρας τῇ σοφίᾳ προσελθόντα τυραννίδων τε ὑπεράραντα, καὶ γενόμενον κατὰ χρόνους οὔτ᾿ ἀρχαίους οὔτ᾿ αὖ νέους οὔπω οἱ ἄνθρωποι γιγνώσκουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθινῆς σοφίας, ἣν φιλοσόφως τε καὶ ὑγιῶς ἐπήσκησεν, ἀλλ᾿ ὁ μὲν τό, ὁ δὲ τὸ ἐπαινεῖ τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἱ δέ, ἐπειδὴ μάγοις Βαβυλωνίων καὶ ᾿Ινδῶν Βραχμᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Γυμνοῖς συνεγένετο, μάγον ἡγοῦνται αὐτὸν καὶ διαβάλλουσιν ὡς βιαίως σοφόν, κακῶς γιγνώσκοντες· ᾿Εμπεδοκλῆς τε γὰρ καὶ Πυθαγόρας αὐτὸς καὶ Δημόκριτος, ὁμιλήσαντες μάγοις καὶ πολλὰ δαιμόνια εἰπόντες, οὔπω ὑπήχθησαν τῇ τέχνῃ, Πλάτων τε βαδίσας ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ προφητῶν τε καὶ ἱερέων ἐγκαταμίξας τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λόγοις, καὶ καθάπερ ζωγράφος ἐσκιαγραφημένοις ἐπιβαλὼν χρώματα, οὔπω μαγεύειν ἔδοξε, καίτοι πλεῖστα ἀνθρώπων φθονηθεὶς ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ προαισθέσθαι πολλὰ καὶ προγνῶναι διαβάλλοι ἂν τὸν ᾿Απολλώνιον ἐς τὴν σοφίαν ταύτην, ἢ διαβεβλήσεταί γε καὶ Σωκράτης ἐφ᾿ οἷς παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου προεγίγνωσκε, καὶ ᾿Αναξαγόρας ἐφ᾿ οἷς προὔλεγε· καίτοι τίς οὐκ οἶδε τὸν ᾿Αναξαγόραν ᾿Ολυμπίασι μέν, ὁπότε ἥκιστα ὗε, παρελθόντα ὑπὸ κωδίῳ ἐς τὸ στάδιον ἐπὶ προρρήσει ὄμβρου, οἰκίαν

II

CHAP. II

Apollonius was no wizard

For quite akin to theirs was the ideal which Apollonius pursued, and more divinely than Pythagoras he wooed wisdom and soared above tyrants; and he lived in times not long gone by nor again quite of our own day, yet men know him not because of the true wisdom, which he practised as a sage and sanely; but one man singles out one feature for praise in him and another another; while some, because he had interviews with the wizards of Babylon and with the Brahmans of India, and with the nude ascetics of Egypt, put him down as a wizard, and spread the calumny that he was a sage of an illegitimate kind, judging of him ill. For Empedocles and Pythagoras himself and Democritus consorted with wizards and uttered many supernatural truths, yet never stooped to the black art; and Plato went to Egypt and mingled with his own discourses much of what he heard from the prophets and priests there; and though, like a painter, he laid his own colours on to their rough sketches, yet he never passed for a wizard, although envied above all mankind for his wisdom. For the circumstance that Apollonius foresaw and foreknew so many things does not in the least justify us in imputing to him this kind of wisdom; we might as well accuse Socrates of the same, because, thanks to his familiar spirit, he knew things beforehand, and we might also accuse Anaxagoras because of the many things which he foretold. And indeed who does not know the story of how Anaxagoras at Olympia in a season of intense drought came forward wearing a fleece into the stadium, by way of predicting rain, and of how he

CAP. II τε, ὡς πεσεῖται, προειπόντα μὴ ψεύσασθαι, πεσεῖν γάρ, νύκτα τε ὡς ἐξ ἡμέρας ἔσται, καὶ ὡς λίθοι περὶ Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐκδοθήσονται, προαναφωνήσαντα ἀληθεῦσαι; καὶ σοφίᾳ ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου προστιθέντες ἀφαιροῦνται τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον τὸ κατὰ σοφίαν προγιγνώσκειν καί φασιν, ὡς μάγῳ τέχνῃ τοῦτ' ἔπραττεν. δοκεῖ οὖν μοι μὴ περιιδεῖν τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἄγνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἐξακριβῶσαι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῖς τε χρόνοις, καθ' οὓς εἶπέ τι ἢ ἔπραξε, τοῖς τε τῆς σοφίας τρόποις, ὑφ' ὧν ἔψαυσε τοῦ δαιμόνιός τε καὶ θεῖος νομισθῆναι. ξυνείλεκται δέ μοι τὰ μὲν ἐκ πόλεων, ὁπόσαι αὐτοῦ ἤρων, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἱερῶν, ὁπόσα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπανήχθη παραλελυμένα τοὺς θεσμοὺς ἤδη, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ὧν εἶπον ἕτεροι περὶ αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου ἐπιστολῶν. ἐπέστελλε δὲ βασιλεῦσι σοφισταῖς φιλοσόφοις Ἠλείοις Δελφοῖς Ἰνδοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ὑπὲρ θεῶν ὑπὲρ ἐθῶν ὑπὲρ ἠθῶν ὑπὲρ νόμων, παρ' οἷς ὅ τι ἁμαρτάνοιτο, ἐπηνώρθου. τὰ δὲ ἀκριβέστερα ὧδε συνελεξάμην.

III

CAP. III Ἐγένετο Δάμις ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄσοφος τὴν ἀρχαίαν ποτὲ οἰκῶν Νῖνον· οὗτος τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ προσφιλοσοφήσας ἀποδημίας τε αὐτοῦ ἀναγέγραφεν, ὧν

CHAP. II

foretold the fall of the house,—and truly, for it did fall; and of how he said that day would be turned into night, and stones would be discharged from heaven round Aegospotami, and of how his predictions were fulfilled? Now these feats are set down to the wisdom of Anaxagoras by the same people who would rob Apollonius of the credit of having predicted things by dint of wisdom, and say that he achieved these results by art of wizardry. It seems to me then that I ought not to condone or acquiesce in the general ignorance, but write a true account of the man, detailing the exact times at which he said or did this or that, as also the habits and temper of wisdom by means of which he succeeded in being considered a supernatural and divine being. And I have gathered my information partly from the many cities where he was loved, and partly from the temples whose long-neglected and decayed rites he restored, and partly from the accounts left of him by others and partly from his own letters. For he addressed these to kings, sophists, philosophers, to men of Elis, of Delphi, to Indians, and Egyptians; and his letters dealt with the subjects of the gods, of customs, of moral principles, of laws, and in all these departments he corrected the errors into which men had fallen. But the more precise details which I have collected are as follows.

Such accusations call for a true Life of Apollonius

The sources used by Philostratus

III

CHAP. III

THERE was a man, Damis, by no means stupid, who formerly dwelt in the ancient city of Nineveh. He resorted to Apollonius in order to study wisdom, and having shared, by his own account, his

The memoirs of Damis used

CAP. III κοινωνῆσαι καὶ αὐτός φησι, καὶ γνώμας καὶ λόγους καὶ ὁπόσα ἐς πρόγνωσιν εἶπε. καὶ προσήκων τις τῷ Δάμιδι τὰς δέλτους τῶν ὑπομνημάτων τούτων οὔπω γιγνωσκομένας ἐς γνῶσιν ἤγαγεν Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ βασιλίδι. μετέχοντι δέ μοι τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν κύκλου—καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς πάντας λόγους ἐπῄνει καὶ ἠσπάζετο—μεταγράψαι τε προσέταξε τὰς διατριβὰς ταύτας καὶ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι, τῷ γὰρ Νινίῳ σαφῶς μέν, οὐ μὴν δεξιῶς γε ἀπηγγέλλετο. ἐνέτυχον δὲ καὶ Μαξίμου τοῦ Αἰγιέως βιβλίῳ ξυνειληφότι τὰ ἐν Αἰγαῖς Ἀπολλωνίου πάντα, καὶ διαθῆκαι δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλονίῳ γεγράφαται, παρ' ὧν ὑπάρχει μαθεῖν, ὡς ὑποθειάζων τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐγένετο. οὐ γὰρ Μοιραγένει γε προσεκτέον, βιβλία μὲν ξυνθέντι ἐς Ἀμολλώνιον τέτταρα, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀγνοήσαντι. ὡς μὲν οὖν ξυνήγαγον ταῦτα διεσπασμένα, καὶ ὡς ἐπεμελήθην τοῦ ξυνθεῖναι αὐτά, εἴρηκα, ἐχέτω δὲ ὁ λόγος τῷ τε ἀνδρὶ τιμήν, ἐς ὃν ξυγγέγραπται, τοῖς τε φιλομαθεστέροις ὠφέλειαν· ἦ γὰρ ἂν μάθοιεν, ἃ μήπω γιγνώσκουσιν.

IV

CAP. IV Ἀπολλωνίῳ τοίνυν πατρὶς μὲν ἦν Τύανα πόλις Ἑλλὰς ἐν τῷ Καππαδοκῶν ἔθνει, πατὴρ δὲ ὁμώνυμος, γένος ἀρχαῖον καὶ τῶν οἰκιστῶν ἀνημμένον, πλοῦτος ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐκεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἔθνος βαθύ. κυούσῃ δὲ αὐτὸν τῇ μητρὶ φάσμα ἦλθεν Αἰγυπτίου

wanderings abroad, wrote an account of them. And he records his opinions and discourses and all his prophecies. And a certain kinsman of Damis drew the attention of the empress Julia to the documents containing these memoirs hitherto unknown. Now I belonged to the circle of the empress, for she was a devoted admirer of all rhetorical exercises; and she commanded me to recast and edit these essays, at the same time paying more attention to the style and diction of them; for the man of Nineveh had told his story clearly enough, yet somewhat awkwardly. And I also read the book of Maximus of Aegae, which comprised all the life of Apollonius in Aegae; and furthermore a will was composed by Apollonius, from which one can learn how rapturous and inspired a sage he really was. For we must not pay attention anyhow to Moeragenes, who composed four books about Apollonius, and yet was ignorant of many of the circumstances of his life. That then I combined these scattered sources together and took trouble over my composition, I have said; but let my work, I pray, redound to the honour of the man who is the subject of my compilation, and also be of use to those who love learning. For assuredly they will here learn things of which as yet they are ignorant.

CHAP. III

at the instance of the empress Julia

Also Maximus of Aegae

The work of Moeragenes ignored

IV

APOLLONIUS' home, then, was Tyana, a Greek city amidst a population of Cappadocians. His father was of the same name, and the family was ancient and directly descended from the first settlers. It excelled in wealth the surrounding families, though the district is a rich one. To his mother, just before

CHAP. IV

Parentage and miraculous birth of Apollonius

CAP. IV δαίμονος, ὁ Πρωτεὺς ὁ παρὰ τῷ Ὁμήρῳ ἐξαλλάττων· ἡ δὲ οὐδὲν δείσασα ἤρετο αὐτόν, τί ἀποκυήσοι· ὁ δὲ "ἐμέ" εἶπε· "σὺ δὲ τίς;" εἰπούσης "Πρωτεύς," ἔφη, "ὁ Αἰγύπτιος θεός." ὅστις μὲν δὴ τὴν σοφίαν ὁ Πρωτεὺς ἐγένετο, τί ἂν ἐξηγοίμην τοῖς γε ἀκούουσι τῶν ποιητῶν, ὡς ποικίλος τε ἦν καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλος καὶ κρείττων τοῦ ἁλῶναι, γιγνώσκειν τε ὡς ἐδόκει καὶ προγιγνώσκειν πάντα; καὶ μεμνῆσθαι χρὴ τοῦ Πρωτέως, μάλιστα ἐπειδὰν προϊὼν ὁ λόγος δεικνύῃ τὸν ἄνδρα πλείω μὲν ἢ ὁ Πρωτεὺς προγνόντα, πολλῶν δὲ ἀπόρων τε καὶ ἀμηχάνων κρείττω γενόμενον ἐν αὐτῷ μάλιστα τῷ ἀπειλῆφθαι.

V

CAP. V Τεχθῆναι δὲ ἐν λειμῶνι λέγεται, πρὸς ᾧ νῦν τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτῷ ἐκπεπόνηται. καὶ μηδὲ ὁ τρόπος ἀγνοείσθω, ὃν ἀπετέχθη· ἀγούσῃ γὰρ τῇ μητρὶ τόκου ὥραν ὄναρ ἐγένετο βαδίσαι ἐς τὸν λειμῶνα καὶ ἄνθη κεῖραι, καὶ δῆτα ἀφικομένη αἱ μὲν δμωαὶ προσεῖχον τοῖς ἄνθεσιν ἐσκεδασμέναι κατὰ τὸν λειμῶνα, αὐτὴ δε ἐς ὕπνον ἀπήχθη κλιθεῖσα ἐν τῇ πόᾳ. κύκνοι τοίνυν, οὓς ὁ λειμὼν ἔβοσκε, χορὸν ἐστήσαντο περὶ αὐτὴν καθεύδουσαν, καὶ τὰς πτέρυγας, ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν, ἄραντες ἀθρόον ἤχησαν, καὶ γάρ τι καὶ ζεφύρου ἦν ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι, ἡ δὲ ἐξέθορέ τε ὑπὸ τῆς ᾠδῆς καὶ ἀπέτεκεν, ἱκανὴ δὲ πᾶσα

he was born, there came an apparition of Proteus, who changes his form so much in Homer, in the guise of an Egyptian demon. She was in no way frightened, but asked him what sort of child she would bear. And he answered: "Myself." "And who are you?" she asked. "Proteus," answered he, "the god of Egypt." Well, I need hardly explain to readers of the poets the quality of Proteus and his reputation as regards wisdom; how versatile he was, and for ever changing his form, and defying capture, and how he had the reputation of knowing both past and future. And we must bear Proteus in mind all the more, when my advancing story shews its hero to have been more of a prophet than Proteus, and to have triumphed over many difficulties and dangers in the moment when they beset him most closely. CHAP. IV

V

Now he is said to have been born in a meadow, hard by which there has been now erected a sumptuous temple to him; and let us not pass by the manner of his birth. For just as the hour of his birth was approaching, his mother was warned in a dream to walk out into the meadow and pluck the flowers; and in due course she came there and her maids attended to the flowers, scattering themselves over the meadow, while she fell asleep lying on the grass. Thereupon the swans who fed in the meadow set up a dance around her as she slept, and lifting their wings, as they are wont to do, cried out aloud all at once, for there was somewhat of a breeze blowing in the meadow. She then leaped up at the sound of their song and bore her child, for any

CHAP. V

The god's annunciation to his mother

CAP. V ἔκπληξις μαιεύσασθαι καὶ πρὸ τῆς ὥρας. οἱ δὲ ἐγχώριοί φασιν, ὡς ὁμοῦ τε τίκτοιτο, καὶ σκηπτὸς ἐν τῇ γῇ πεσεῖσθαι δοκῶν ἐμμετεωρισθείη τῷ αἰθέρι καὶ ἀφανισθείη ἄνω, τό, οἶμαι, ἐκφανὲς καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ τὸ ἀγχοῦ θεῶν καὶ ὁπόσα ὅδε ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, φαίνοντες οἱ θεοὶ καὶ προσημαίνοντες.

VI

CAP. VI Ἔστι δέ τι περὶ Τύανα ὕδωρ Ὁρκίου Διός, ὥς φασι, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ Ἀσβαμαῖον, οὗ πηγὴ ἀναδίδοται ψυχρά, παφλάζει δέ, ὥσπερ ὁ θερμαινόμενος λέβης. τοῦτο εὐόρκοις μὲν ἵλεών τε καὶ ἡδὺ ὕδωρ, ἐπιόρκοις δὲ παρὰ πόδας ἡ δίκη· ἀποσκήπτει γὰρ καὶ ἐς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ἐς χεῖρας καὶ ἐς πόδας, καὶ ὑδέροις ἁλίσκονται καὶ φθόαις, καὶ οὐδ' ἀπελθεῖν δυνατόν, ἀλλ' αὐτόθι ἔχονται καὶ ὀλοφύρονται πρὸς τῷ ὕδατι ὁμολογοῦντες ἃ ἐπιώρκησαν· οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐγχώριοί φασι παῖδα τοῦ Διὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον γεγονέναι, ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ Ἀπολλωνίου ἑαυτὸν καλεῖ.

VII

CAP. VII Προϊὼν δὲ ἐς ἡλικίαν, ἐν ᾗ γράμματα, μνήμης τε ἰσχὺν ἐδήλου καὶ μελέτης κράτος, καὶ ἡ γλῶττα Ἀττικῶς εἶχεν, οὐδ' ἀπήχθη τὴν φωνὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους, ὀφθαλμοί τε πάντες ἐς αὐτὸν ἐφέροντο, καὶ γὰρ περίβλεπτος ἦν τὴν ὥραν. γεγονότα δὲ αὐτὸν

sudden fright is apt to bring on a premature delivery. But the people of the country say that just at the moment of the birth, a thunderbolt seemed about to fall to earth and then rose up into the air and disappeared aloft; and the gods thereby indicated, I think, the great distinction to which the sage was to attain, and hinted in advance how he should transcend all things upon earth and approach the gods, and signified all the things that he would achieve..

CHAP. V

Portents at his birth

VI

Now there is near Tyana a well sacred to Zeus, the god of oaths, so they say, and they call it the well of Asbama. Here a spring rises cold, but bubbles up like a boiling cauldron. This water is favourable and sweet to those who keep their oaths, but to perjurers it brings hot-footed justice; for it attacks their eyes and hands and feet, and they fall the prey of dropsy and wasting disease; and they are not even able to go away, but are held on the spot and bemoan themselves at the edge of the spring, acknowledging their perjuries. The people of the country, then, say that Apollonius was a son of this Zeus, but the sage called himself the son of Apollonius.

CHAP. VI

The well of Asbama

VII

On reaching the age when children are taught their letters, he showed great strength of memory and power of application; and his tongue affected the Attic dialect, nor was his accent corrupted by the race he lived among. All eyes were turned upon

CHAP. VII

Education by Euthydemus in Tarsus

CAP. VII ἔτη τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἄγει ἐς Ταρσοὺς ὁ πατὴρ παρ' Εὐθύδημον τὸν ἐκ Φοινίκης. ὁ δὲ Εὐθύδημος ῥήτωρ τε ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ ἐπαίδευε τοῦτον, ὁ δὲ τοῦ μὲν διδασκάλου εἴχετο, τὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἦθος ἄτοπόν τε ἡγεῖτο καὶ οὐ χρηστὸν ἐμφιλοσοφῆσαι, τρυφῆς τε γὰρ οὐδαμοῦ μᾶλλον ἅπτονται, σκωπτόλαι τε καὶ ὑβρισταὶ πάντες, καὶ δεδώκασι τῇ ὀθόνῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ σοφίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι, ποταμός τε αὐτοὺς διαρρεῖ Κύδνος, ᾧ παρακάθηνται, καθάπερ τῶν ὀρνίθων οἱ ὑγροί. τό τοι "παύσασθε μεθύοντες τῷ ὕδατι" Ἀπολλωνίῳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ εἴρηται. μεθίστησιν οὖν τὸν διδάσκαλον δεηθεὶς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς Αἰγὰς τὰς πλησίον, ἐν αἷς ἡσυχία τε πρόσφορος τῷ φιλοσοφήσοντι καὶ σπουδαὶ νεανικώτεραι καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, καὶ ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς αὐτὸς ἐπίδηλος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. ἐνταῦθα ξυνεφιλοσόφουν μὲν αὐτῷ Πλατώνειοί τε καὶ Χρυσίππειοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου, διήκουε δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων, οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτους ἀπεσπούδαζε, τοὺς δέ γε Πυθαγορείους ἀρρήτῳ τινὶ σοφίᾳ ξυνέλαβε· διδάσκαλος μὲν γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ τῶν Πυθαγόρου λόγων οὐ πάνυ σπουδαῖος, οὐδὲ ἐνεργῷ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ χρώμενος, γαστρός τε γὰρ ἥττων ἦν καὶ ἀφροδισίων καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον ἐσχημάτιστο· ἦν δὲ οὗτος Εὔξενος ὁ ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τοῦ Πόντου, τὰς δὲ Πυθαγόρου δόξας ἐγίγνωσκεν, ὥσπερ οἱ ὄρνιθες

CHAP. VII

him, for he was, moreover, conspicuous for his beauty. When then he reached his fourteenth year, his father brought him to Tarsus, to Euthydemus the teacher from Phoenicia. Now Euthydemus was a good rhetor, and began his education; but, though he was attached to his teacher, he found the atmosphere of the city harsh and strange and little conducive to the philosophic life, for nowhere are men more addicted than here to luxury: jesters and full of insolence are they all; and they attend more to their fine linen than the Athenians did to wisdom; and a stream called the Cydnus runs through their city, along the banks of which they sit like so many water-fowl. Hence the words which Apollonius addresses to them in his letter: "Be done with getting drunk upon your water." He therefore transferred his teacher, with his father's consent, to the town of Aegae, which was close by, where he found a peace congenial to one who would be a philosopher, and a more serious school of study and a temple of Asclepius, where that god reveals himself in person to men. There he had as his companions in philosophy followers of Plato and Chrysippus and peripatetic philosophers. And he diligently attended also to the discourses of Epicurus, for he did not despise these either, although it was to those of Pythagoras that he applied himself with unspeakable wisdom and ardour. However, his teacher of the Pythagorean system was not a very serious person, nor one who practised in his conduct the philosophy he taught; for he was the slave of his belly and appetites, and modelled himself upon Epicurus. And this man was Euxenus from the town of Heraclea in Pontus, and he knew the principles of Pythagoras just as

Removal to Aegae to live in the temple of Asclepius

His Pythagorean teacher Euxenus

CAP. VII

ἃ μανθάνουσι παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὸ γὰρ "χαῖρε" καὶ τὸ "εὖ πρᾶττε" καὶ τὸ "Ζεὺς ἵλεως" καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οἱ ὄρνιθες εὔχονται, οὔτε εἰδότες ὅ τι λέγουσιν οὔτε διακείμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ ἐρρυθμισμένοι τὴν γλῶτταν· ὁ δέ, ὥσπερ οἱ νέοι τῶν ἀετῶν ἐν ἁπαλῷ μὲν τῷ πτερῷ παραπέτονται τοῖς γειναμένοις αὐτοὺς μελετώμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὴν πτῆσιν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ αἴρεσθαι δυνηθῶσιν, ὑπερπέτονται τοὺς γονέας, ἄλλως τε κἂν λίχνους αἴσθωνται καὶ κνίσης ἕνεκα πρὸς τῇ γῇ πετομένους, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος προσεῖχέ τε τῷ Εὐξένῳ παῖς ἔτι, καὶ ἤγετο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βαίνων ἐπὶ τοῦ λόγου, προελθὼν δὲ ἐς ἔτος δέκατον καὶ ἕκτον ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Πυθαγόρου βίον, πτερωθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑπό τινος κρείττονος. οὐ μὴν τόν γε Εὔξενον ἐπαύσατο ἀγαπῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξαιτήσας αὐτῷ προάστειον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, ἐν ᾧ κῆποί τε ἁπαλοὶ ἦσαν καὶ πηγαί, "σὺ μὲν ζῆθι τὸν σεαυτοῦ τρόπον," ἔφη, "ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν Πυθαγόρου ζήσομαι."

VIII

CAP. VIII

Ἡγουμένου δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ Εὐξένου μεγάλης διανοίας ἅπτεσθαι καὶ ἐρομένου, ὁπόθεν ἄρξοιτο, "ὅθεν περ οἱ ἰατροί," ἔφη, "καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι καθαίροντες τὰς γαστέρας τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ νοσεῖν ἐῶσι, τοὺς δὲ ἰῶνται." καὶ εἰπὼν τοῦτο τὰς μὲν ἐμψύχους βρώσεις ὡς οὔτε καθαρὰς καὶ τὸν νοῦν παχυνούσας παρῃτήσατο, τραγήματα δὲ καὶ λάχανα ἐσιτεῖτο, καθαρὰ εἶναι φάσκων, ὁπόσα ἡ

birds know what they learn from men; for the birds will wish you "farewell," and say "Good day" or "Zeus help you," and such like, without understanding what they say and without any real sympathy for mankind, merely because they have been trained to move their tongue in a certain manner. Apollonius, however, was like the young eagles who, as long as they are not fully fledged, fly alongside of their parents and are trained by them in flight, but who, as soon as they are able to rise in the air, outsoar the parent birds, especially when they perceive the latter to be greedy and to be flying along the ground in order to snuff the quarry; like them Apollonius attended Euxenus as long as he was a child and was guided by him in the path of argument, but when he reached his sixteenth year he indulged his impulse towards the life of Pythagoras, being fledged and winged thereto by some higher power. Notwithstanding he did not cease to love Euxenus, nay, he persuaded his father to present him with a villa outside the town, where there were tender groves and fountains, and he said to him: "Now you live there your own life, but I will live that of Pythagoras." CHAP. VII

VIII

Now Euxenus realised that he was attached to a lofty ideal, and asked him at what point he would begin it. Apollonius answered: "At the point at which physicians begin, for they, by purging the bowels of their patients prevent some from being ill at all, and heal others." And having said this he declined to live upon a flesh diet, on the ground that it was unclean, and also that it made the mind gross; so he partook only of dried fruits and vegetables, CHAP. VIII

Apollonius renounces flesh diet and wine

CAP. VIII γῆ αὐτὴ δίδωσι, καὶ τὸν οἶνον καθαρὸν μὲν ἔφασκεν εἶναι πῶμα ἐκ φυτοῦ οὕτως ἡμέρου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἥκοντα, ἐναντιοῦσθαι δὲ τῇ τοῦ νοῦ συστάσει διαθολοῦντα τὸν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αἰθέρα. μετὰ δὲ τὴν κάθαρσιν τῆς γαστρὸς τοιαύτην γεγομένην ἀνυποδησίαν τε ποιεῖται κόσμημα καὶ λίνου ἐσθῆτα ἀμπίσχεται παραιτησάμενος τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ζῴων, ἀνῆκέ τε τὴν κόμην καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἔζη. ἐκπεπληγμένων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ποτε πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα φήσαντος, ὡς χαίροι θεραπεύων τοὺς νοσοῦντας ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωνίῳ μάρτυρι, ξυνῄεσαν ἐς τὰς Αἰγὰς ἐφ' ἱστορίᾳ Κίλικές τε αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ πέριξ, ὅ τε Κιλίκιος λόγος "ποῖ τρέχεις; ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν ἔφηβον;" ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τε ἐλέγετο καὶ παροιμιώδη τιμὴν ἔσχεν.

IX

CAP. IX Ἄξιον δὲ μηδὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ παρελθεῖν βίον γε ἀφηγούμενον ἀνδρός, ὃς καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἦν ἐν λόγῳ· μειράκιον γὰρ δὴ Ἀσσύριον παρὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἧκον ἐτρύφα νοσοῦν καὶ ἐν πότοις ἔζη, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπέθνησκεν· ὑδέρῳ δὲ ἄρα εἴχετο καὶ μέθῃ χαῖρον αὐχμοῦ ἠμέλει. ἠμελεῖτο δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ διὰ ταῦτα, καὶ οὐδὲ ὄναρ αὐτῷ ἐφοίτα.

for he said that all the fruits of the earth are clean. And of wine he said that it was a clean drink because it is yielded to men by so well-domesticated a plant as the vine; but he declared that it endangered the mental balance and system and darkened, as with mud, the ether which is in the soul. After then having thus purged his interior, he took to walking without shoes by way of adornment and clad himself in linen raiment, declining to wear any animal product; and he let his hair grow long and lived in the Temple. And the people round about the Temple were struck with admiration for him, and the god Asclepius one day said to the priest that he was delighted to have Apollonius as witness of his cures of the sick; and such was his reputation that the Cilicians themselves and the people all around flocked to Aegae to visit him. Hence the Cilician proverb: "Whither runnest thou? Is it to see the stripling?" Such was the saying that arose about him, and it gained the distinction of becoming a proverb.

CHAP. VIII

Wears linen alone

IX

Now it is well that I should not pass over what happened in the Temple, while relating the life of a man who was held in esteem even by the gods. For an Assyrian stripling came to Asclepius, and though he was sick, yet he lived the life of luxury, and being continually drunk, I will not say he lived, rather he was ever dying. He suffered then from dropsy, and finding his pleasure in drunkenness took no care to dry up his malady. On this account then Asclepius took no care of him, and did not visit him even

CHAP. IX

Incidents of his life in the temple of Asclepius. Cures a dropsical patient

CAP. IX ἐπιμεμφομένῳ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιστὰς ὁ θεὸς "εἰ Ἀπολλωνίῳ," ἔφη, "διαλέγοιο, ῥᾷων ἔσῃ." προσελθὼν οὖν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ "τί ἄν," ἔφη, "τῆς σῆς σοφίας ἐγὼ ἀπολαύσαιμι; κελεύει γάρ με ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς συνεῖναί σοι." "ὅ," ἦ δ' ὅς, "ἔσται σοι πρὸς τὰ παρόντα πολλοῦ ἄξιον· ὑγιείας γάρ που δέῃ;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ἥν γε ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς ἐπαγγέλλεται μέν, οὐ δίδωσι δέ." "εὐφήμει," ἔφη, "τοῖς γὰρ βουλόμενοις δίδωσι, σὺ δὲ ἐναντία τῇ νόσῳ πράττεις, τρυφῇ γὰρ διδοὺς ὀψοφαγίαν ἐπεσάγεις ὑγροῖς καὶ διεφθορόσι τοῖς σπλάγχνοις καὶ ὕδατι ἐπαντλεῖς πηλόν." ταυτὶ μὲν σαφέστερα, οἶμαι, τῆς Ἡρακλείτου σοφίας ἐχρησμῴδει· ὁ μὲν γὰρ δεῖσθαι ἔφη τοῦ ποιήσοντος ἐξ ἐπομβρίας αὐχμόν, ἐσελθόντος αὐτὸν τουτουὶ τοῦ πάθους, οὐκ εὐξύνετά που λέγων, οὐδὲ δῆλα, ὁ δ' ἤγαγεν ἐς ὑγίειαν τὸ μειράκιον τὰ σοφὰ σαφῶς ἑρμηνεύσας.

X

CAP. X Ἰδὼν δὲ ἀθρόον ποτὲ ἐν τῷ βωμῷ αἷμα, καὶ διακείμενα ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὰ ἱερά, τεθυμένους τε βοῦς Αἰγυπτίους καὶ σῦς μεγάλους, καὶ τὰ μὲν δέροντας αὐτούς, τὰ δὲ κόπτοντας, χρυσίδας τε ἀνακειμένας δύο καὶ λίθους ἐν αὐταῖς τῶν Ἰνδικωτάτων καὶ θαυμασίων, προσελθὼν τῷ ἱερεῖ "τί ταῦτα;" ἔφη, "λαμπρῶς γάρ τις χαρίζεται τῷ

in a dream. The youth grumbled at this, and thereupon the god, standing over him, said, "If you were to consult Apollonius you would be easier." He therefore went to Apollonius, and said: "What is there in your wisdom that I can profit by? for Asclepius bids me consult you." And he replied: "I can advise you of what, under the circumstances, will be most valuable to you; for I suppose you want to get well." "Yes, by Zeus," answered the other, "I want the health which Asclepius promises, but never gives." "Hush," said the other, "for he gives to those who desire it, but you do things that irritate and aggravate your disease, for you give yourself up to luxury, and you accumulate delicate viands upon your water-logged and worn-out stomach, and as it were, choke water with a flood of mud." This was a clearer response, in my opinion, than Heraclitus, in his wisdom, gave. For he said when he was visited by this affection that what he needed was some one to substitute a drought for his rainy weather, a very unintelligible remark, it appears to me, and by no means clear; but the sage restored the youth to health by a clear interpretation of the wise saw. CHAP. IX

X

One day he saw a flood of blood upon the altar, and there were victims laid out upon it, Egyptian bulls that had been sacrificed and great hogs, and some of them were being flayed and others were being cut up; and two gold vases had been dedicated set with jewels, the rarest and most beautiful that India can provide. So he went up to the priest and said: "What is all this; for some one is making a CHAP. X Ostracises a wicked Cilician

CAP. X θεῷ." ὁ δὲ "θαυμάσῃ," ἔφη, "μᾶλλον, ὅτι μήτε ἱκετεύσας ποτὲ ἐνταῦθα μήτε διατρίψας, ὃν οἱ ἄλλοι χρόνον, μήτε ὑγιάνας πω παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, μηδ' ἅπερ αἰτήσων ἦλθεν ἔχων. χθὲς γὰρ δὴ ἀφιγμένῳ ἔοικεν, ὁ δ' οὕτως ἀφθόνως θύει. φησὶ δὲ πλείω μὲν θύσειν, πλείω δὲ ἀναθήσειν, εἰ πρόσοιτο αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀσκληπιός. ἔστι δὲ τῶν πλουσιωτάτων· κέκτηται γοῦν ἐν Κιλικίᾳ βίον πλείω ἢ Κίλικες ὁμοῦ πάντες· ἱκετεύει δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἀποδοῦναί οἱ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐξερρυηκότα." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὥσπερ γεγηρακὼς εἰώθει, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐς τὴν γῆν στήσας "τί δὲ ὄνομα αὐτῷ;" ἤρετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσε "δοκεῖ μοι," ἔφη, "ὦ ἱερεῦ, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον μὴ προσδέχεσθαι τῷ ἱερῷ, μιαρὸς γάρ τις ἥκει καὶ κεχρημένος οὐκ ἐπὶ χρηστοῖς τῷ πάθει, καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ πρὶν εὑρέσθαι τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πολυτελῶς θύειν οὐ θύοντός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν παραιτουμένου σχετλίων τε καὶ χαλεπῶν ἔργων." ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος. ὁ δ' Ἀσκληπιὸς ἐπιστὰς νύκτωρ τῷ ἱερεῖ "ἀπίτω," ἔφη, "ὁ δεῖνα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων, ἄξιος γὰρ μηδὲ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχειν." ἀναμανθάνων οὖν ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, γυνὴ μὲν τῷ Κίλικι τούτῳ ἐγεγόνει θυγατέρα ἔχουσα προτέρων γάμων, ὁ δὲ ἤρα τῆς κόρης καὶ ἀκολάστως εἶχε ξυνῆν τε οὐδ' ὡς λαθεῖν· ἐπιστᾶσα

very handsome gift to the god?" And the priest replied: "You may rather be surprised at a man's offering all this without having first put up a prayer in our fane, and without having stayed with us as long as other people do, and without having gained his health from the god, and without obtaining all the things he came to ask for here. For he appears to have come only yesterday, and yet he is sacrificing on this lavish scale. And he declares that he will sacrifice more victims, and dedicate more gifts, if Asclepius will hearken to him. And he is one of the richest men in existence; at any rate he owns in Cilicia an estate bigger than all the Cilicians together possess. And he is supplicating the god to restore to him one of his eyes that has fallen out." But Apollonius fixed his eyes upon the ground, as he was accustomed to do in later life, and asked: "What is his name?" And when he heard it, he said: "It seems to me, O Priest, that we ought not to welcome this fellow in the Temple: for he is some ruffian who has come here, and that he is afflicted in this way is due to some sinister reason: nay, his very conduct in sacrificing on such a magnificent scale before he has gained anything from the god is not that of a genuine votary, but rather of a man who is begging himself off from the penalty of some horrible and cruel deeds." This was what Apollonius said: and Asclepius appeared to the priest by night, and said: "Send away so and so at once with all his possessions, and let him keep them, for he deserves to lose the other eye as well." The priest accordingly made inquiries about the Cilician and learned that his wife had by a former marriage borne a daughter, and he had fallen in love with the maiden and had seduced her, and was living with her in open sin. For the

CHAP. X

CAP. X γὰρ ἡ μήτηρ τῇ εὐνῇ τῆς μὲν ἄμφω, τοῦ δὲ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐξέκοψεν ἐναράξασα τὰς περόνας.

XI

CAP. XI Τό γε μὴν θύοντας ἢ ἀνατιθέντας μὴ ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ μέτριον ὧδε αὐτῷ ἐφιλοσοφεῖτο· πλειόνων γάρ ποτε ξυνεληλυθότων ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἄρτι ἐξεληλαμένου τοῦ Κίλικος ἤρετο τὸν ἱερέα οὑτωσί· "ἆρα," ἔφη, "οἱ θεοὶ δίκαιοι;" "δικαιότατοι μὲν οὖν" εἶπε. "τί δέ· ξυνετοί;" "καὶ τί," ἔφη, "ξυνετώτερον τοῦ θείου;" "τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἴσασιν, ἢ ἄπειροι αὐτῶν εἰσι;" "καὶ μὴν τοῦτ᾽," ἔφη, "πλεονεκτοῦσι μάλιστα οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ὑπ᾽ ἀσθενείας οὐδὲ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἴσασι, τοῖς δὲ γιγνώσκειν ὑπάρχει τὰ ἐκείνων τε καὶ τὰ αὑτῶν." "πάντα," ἔφη, "ἄριστα, ὦ ἱερεῦ, καὶ ἀληθέστατα. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν πάντα γιγνώσκουσι, δοκεῖ μοι τὸν ἥκοντα ἐς θεοῦ καὶ χρηστὰ ἑαυτῷ ξυνειδότα τοιάνδε εὐχὴν εὔχεσθαι· ὦ θεοί, δοίητέ μοι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα· ὀφείλεται γάρ που, ὦ ἱερεῦ, τοῖς μὲν ὁσίοις τὰ ἀγαθά, τοῖς δὲ φαύλοις τἀναντία, καὶ οἱ θεοὶ οὖν εὖ ποιοῦντες, ὃν μὲν ἂν ὑγιᾶ τε καὶ ἄτρωτον κακίας εὕρωσι, πέμπουσι δήπου στεφανώσαντες οὐ χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις, ἀλλ᾽ ἀγαθοῖς

mother had surprised the two in bed, and had put out both her eyes and one of his by stabbing them with her brooch-pin. CHAP. X

XI

CHAP. XI

Insists on morality in Religion

Again he inculcated the wise rule, that in our sacrifices or dedications we should not go beyond the just mean, in the following way. On one occasion several people had flocked to the Temple, not long after the expulsion of the Cilician, and he took the occasion to ask the priest the following questions. "Are then," he said, "the gods just?" "Why, of course, most just," answered the priest. "Well, and are they wise?" "And what," said the other, "can be wiser than the godhead?" "But do they know the affairs of men, or are they without experience of them?" "Why," said the other, "this is just the point in which the gods excel mankind, for the latter, because of their frailty, do not understand their own concerns, whereas the gods have the privilege of understanding the affairs both of men and of themselves." "All your answers," said Apollonius, "are excellent, O Priest, and very true. Since then, they know everything, it appears to me that a person who comes to the house of God and has a good conscience, should put up the following prayer: 'O ye gods, grant unto me that which I deserve.' For," he went on, "the holy, O Priest, surely deserve to receive blessings, and the wicked the contrary. Therefore the gods, as they are beneficent, if they find anyone who is healthy and whole and unscarred by vice, will send him on his way, surely, after crowning him, not with golden crowns, but with all

The Prayer of Apollonius

CAP. XI πᾶσιν, ὃν δ' ἂν κατεστιγμένον ἴδωσι καὶ διεφθορότα, καταλείπουσι τῇ δίκῃ, τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἐπιμηνίσαντες, ὅσον ἐτόλμησαν καὶ ἱερὰ ἐσφοιτᾶν μὴ καθαροὶ ὄντες." καὶ ἅμα ἐς τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν βλέψας "φιλοσοφεῖς," ἔφη "ὦ Ἀσκληπιέ, τὴν ἄρρητόν τε καὶ συγγενῆ σαυτῷ φιλοσοφίαν μὴ συγχωρῶν τοῖς φαύλοις δεῦρο ἥκειν, μηδ' ἂν πάντα σοὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Σαρδῴων ξυμφέρωσιν· οὐ γὰρ τιμῶντες τὸ θεῖον θύουσι ταῦτα καὶ ἀνάπτουσιν, ἀλλ' ὠνούμενοι τὴν δίκην, ἣν οὐ ξυγχωρεῖτε αὐτοῖς δικαιότατοι ὄντες." πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐφιλοσόφει ἐν ἐφήβῳ ἔτι.

XII

CAP. XII Κἀκεῖνα τῆς ἐν Αἰγαῖς διατριβῆς· Κιλίκων ἦρχεν ὑβριστὴς ἄνθρωπος καὶ κακὸς τὰ ἐρωτικά· ἐς τοῦτον ἦλθε λόγος τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου ὥρας, ὁ δὲ ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας οἷς ἔπραττεν· ἐν Ταρσοῖς δὲ ἄρα ἀγορὰν ἦγεν· ἐξωρμήθη ἐς τὰς Αἰγὰς νοσεῖν τε ἑαυτὸν φήσας καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ δεῖσθαι, καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ βαδίζοντι ἰδίᾳ "σύστησόν με" ἔφη "τῷ θεῷ." ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν "καὶ τί σοι δεῖ τοῦ συστήσοντος," εἶπεν, "εἰ χρηστὸς εἶ; τοὺς γὰρ σπουδαίους οἱ θεοὶ καὶ ἄνευ τῶν προξενούντων ἀσπάζονται." "ὅτι νὴ Δί'," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε,

sorts of blessings; but if they find a man branded with sin and utterly corrupt, they will hand him over and leave him to justice, after inflicting their wrath upon him all the more, because he dared to invade their Temples without being pure." And at the same moment he looked towards Asclepius, and said: "O Asclepius, the philosophy you teach is secret and congenial to yourself, in that you suffer not the wicked to come hither, not even if they pour into your lap all the wealth of India and Sardis. For it is not out of reverence for the divinity that they sacrifice these victims and suspend these offerings, but in order to purchase a verdict, which you will not concede to them in your perfect justice." And much similar wisdom he delivered himself of in this Temple, while he was still a youth.

CHAP. XI

XII

CHAP. XII

Attempts of the vicious Governor of Cilicia on Apollonius

This tale also belongs to the period of his residence in Aegae. Cilicia was governed at the time by a ruffian addicted to infamous forms of passion. No sooner did he hear the beauty of Apollonius spoken of, than he cast aside the matters he was busy upon (and he was just then holding a court in Tarsus), and hurrying off to Aegae pretended he was sick and must have the help of Asclepius. There he came upon Apollonius walking alone and prayed him to recommend him to the god. But he replied: "What recommendation can you want from anyone if you are good? For the gods love men of virtue and welcome them without any introductions." "Because, to be sure," said the other, "the god, O Apollonius, has invited you to be

CAP. XII σὲ μὲν ὁ θεὸς πεποίηται ξένον, ἐμὲ δὲ οὔπω." "ἀλλὰ κἀμοῦ," ἔφη, "καλοκἀγαθία προὐξένησεν, ᾗ χρώμενος, ὡς δυνατὸν νέῳ, θεράπων τέ εἰμι τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἑταῖρος· εἰ δὲ καὶ σοὶ καλοκἀγαθίας μέλει, χώρει θαρρῶν παρὰ τὸν θεὸν καὶ εὔχου, ὅ τι ἐθέλεις." "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ἢν σοί γε προτέρῳ εὔξωμαι." "καὶ τί," ἔφη, "ἐμοὶ εὔξῃ;" "ὅ," ἦ δ' ὅς, "εὔχεσθαι δεῖ τοῖς καλοῖς· εὐχόμεθα δὲ αὐτοῖς κοινωνεῖν τοῦ κάλλους καὶ μὴ φθονεῖν τῆς ὥρας." ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθρύπτων ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑγραίνων, καὶ τί γὰρ οὐχ ἑλίττων τῶν οὕτως ἀσελγῶν τε καὶ ἐπιρρήτων· ὁ δὲ ταυρηδὸν ὑποβλέψας αὐτὸν "μαίνῃ," ἔφη, "ὦ κάθαρμα." τοῦ δ' οὐ μόνον πρὸς ὀργὴν ταῦτα ἀκούσαντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπειλήσαντος, ὡς ἀποκόψοι αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν, καταγελάσας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος "ὦ ἡ δεῖνα ἡμέρα" ἀνεβόησε· τρίτη δὲ ἄρα ἦν ἀπ' ἐκείνης, ἐν ᾗ δήμιοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπέκτειναν τὸν ὑβριστὴν ἐκεῖνον, ὡς ξὺν Ἀρχελάῳ τῷ Καππαδόκιας βασιλεῖ νεώτερα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους πράττοντα. ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα Μαξίμῳ τῷ Αἰγιεῖ ξυγγέγραπται, ἠξιώθη δὲ καὶ βασιλείων ἐπιστολῶν οὗτος εὐδοκιμῶν τὴν φωνήν.

XIII

CAP. XIII Ἐπεὶ δὲ τεθνεῶτα τὸν πατέρα ἤκουσεν, ἔδραμεν ἐς τὰ Τύανα, κἀκεῖνον μὲν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶν ἔθαψε πρὸς τῷ τῆς μητρὸς σήματι, ἐτεθνήκει δὲ κἀκείνη οὐ πάλαι, τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν λαμπρὰν οὖσαν

his guest, but so far has not invited me." "Nay," answered Apollonius, "'tis my humble merits, so far as a young man can display good qualities, which have been my passport to the favour of Asclepius, whose servant and companion I am. If you too really care for uprightness, go boldly up to the god and tender what prayer you will." "By heaven, I will," said the other, "if you will allow me to address you one first." "And what prayer," said Apollonius, "can you make to me?" "A prayer which can only be offered to the beautiful, and which is that they may grant to others participation in their beauty and not grudge their charms." This he said with a vile leer and voluptuous air and all the usual wriggles of such infamous debauchees; but Apollonius with a stern fierce glance at him, said: "You are mad, you scum." The other not only flamed up at these words, but threatened to cut off his head, whereat Apollonius laughed at him and cried out loud, "Ha, such and such day!" And in fact it was only three days later that the ruffian was executed by the officers of justice on the high road for having intrigued with Archelaus the king of Cappadocia against the Romans. These and many similar incidents are given by Maximus of Aegae in his treatise, a writer whose reputation for oratory won him a position in the emperor's Secretariat.

CHAP. XII

XIII

CHAP. XIII

Apollonius reforms his elder brother

Now when he heard that his father was dead, he hurried to Tyana, and with his own hands buried him hard by his mother's sepulchre, for she too had died not long before; and he divided the property,

CAP. XIII διέλαχε πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀκόλαστόν τε καὶ φιλοπότην ὄντα. καὶ τῷ μὲν τρίτον τε καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἦν ἔτος καὶ ἡλικία οἵα μὴ ἐπιτροπεύεσθαι, ὁ δ' αὖ εἴκοσι γεγόνει καὶ οἱ νόμοι αὐτὸν ὑπεῖχον τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις. διατρίψας οὖν ἐν Αἰγαῖς πάλιν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Λύκειόν τε ἀποφήνας καὶ Ἀκαδημίαν, φιλοσοφίας γὰρ ἠχὼ πάσης ἐν αὐτῷ ἦν, ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὰ Τύανα ἀνὴρ ἤδη καὶ κύριος τῶν ἑαυτοῦ· εἰπόντος δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν τινος, ὡς σωφρονίσαι τὸν ἀδελφὸν προσήκοι αὐτῷ καὶ μεταβαλεῖν τοῦ τρόπου, "τουτὶ μὲν θρασύ," ἔφη, "δόξει, πρεσβύτερον γὰρ νέος πῶς ἂν σωφρονίζοιμι; ὡς δέ μοι δυνατόν, ἰάσομαι αὐτὸν τουτωνὶ τῶν παθῶν·" δίδωσι δὴ αὐτῷ τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μοίρας, τὸν μὲν πλειόνων δεῖσθαι φήσας, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ὀλίγων, ἐφιστὰς δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ σοφῶς ὑπαγόμενος ἐς τὸ σωφρονίζοντι πείθεσθαι "ὁ μὲν πατήρ," ἔφη, "μεθέστηκεν, ὃς ἐπαίδευέ τε ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐνουθέτει, λοιπὸς δὲ σὺ ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ δήπου ἐγώ· εἴτ' οὖν ἐγώ τι ἁμαρτάνοιμι, σύμβουλος γίγνου καὶ ἰῶ τἀμά, εἴτ' αὐτός τι ἁμαρτάνοις, ἀνέχου διδάσκοντος." κἀκεῖνον μέν, ὥσπερ οἱ καταψῶντες τοὺς δυσηνίους τε καὶ μὴ εὐαγώγους τῶν ἵππων, ἐς πειθὼ ἤγαγε καὶ μετερρύθμισε τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων πολλῶν ὄντων, καὶ γὰρ κύβων ἥττητο καὶ οἴνου, καὶ ἐφ' ἑταίρας ἐκώμαζεν, ἐπαιρούσης αὐτὸν κόμης, ἣν καὶ βαφαῖς ἤσκει, σοβῶν τε καὶ ἄνω βαίνων.

which was very ample, with his brother, who was an incorrigibly bad character and given to drink. Now the latter had reached his twenty-third year, and was of an age no longer to need a guardian; Apollonius, on the other hand, was only twenty, and the law subjected him to guardians. He therefore spent afresh some time in Aegae, and turned the temple into a Lyceum and Academy, for it resounded with all sorts of philosophical discussions. After that he returned to Tyana, by this time grown to manhood and his own master. Some one said to him that it was his duty to correct his brother and convert him from his evil ways; whereon he answered: "This would seem a desperate enterprise; for how can I who am the younger one correct and render wise an older man? but so far as I can do anything, I will heal him of these bad passions." Accordingly he gave to him the half of his own share of the property, on the pretence that he required more than he had, while he himself needed little; and then he pressed him and cleverly persuaded him to submit to the counsels of wisdom, and said: "Our father has departed this life, who educated us both and corrected us, so that you are all that I have left, and I imagine, I am all that you have left. If therefore I do anything wrong, please advise me and cure me of my faults; and in turn if you yourself do anything wrong, suffer me to teach you better." And so he reduced his brother to a reasonable state of mind, just as we break in skittish and unruly horses by stroking and patting them; and he reformed him from his faults, numerous as they were, for he was the slave of play and of wine, and he led a riotous life and was vain of his hair, which he dressed up and dyed, strutting

CHAP. XIII

CAP. XIII ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῷ εὖ εἶχεν, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἤδη συγγενεῖς ἐτράπετο καὶ τοὺς δεομένους σφῶν ἀνεκτήσατο τῇ λοιπῇ οὐσίᾳ μικρὰ ἑαυτῷ ὑπολιπόμενος, ὅτε δὴ τὸν μὲν Κλαζομένιον Ἀναξαγόραν ἀγέλαις τε καὶ μήλοις τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνέντα προβάτοις ἔφη μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις φιλοσοφῆσαι, τὸν δὲ Θηβαῖον Κράτητα καταποντώσαντα τὴν οὐσίαν οὔτε ἀνθρώποις γενέσθαι ἐπιτήδειον οὔτε προβάτοις. εὐδοκιμήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ, ὃν ἔλεγε περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν παρ' ἄλλην ἰέναι γυναῖκα ἢ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, τουτὶ μὲν ἑτέροις ἔφη ὑπὸ Πυθαγόρου προειρῆσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ μήτ' ἂν γῆμαι μήτ' ἂν ἐς ὁμιλίαν ἀφικέσθαι ποτὲ ἀφροδισίων, ὑπερβαλλόμενος καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους· ὁ μὲν γὰρ λυττῶντα ἔφη καὶ ἄγριον δεσπότην ἀποφυγεῖν ἐς γῆρας ἐλθών, ὁ δ' ὑπ' ἀρετῆς τε καὶ σωφροσύνης οὐδ' ἐν μειρακίῳ ἡττήθη τούτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ νέος ὢν καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐρρωμένος ἐκράτει τε καὶ λυττῶντος ἐδέσποζεν. ἀλλ' ὅμως συκοφαντοῦσί τινες ἐπὶ ἀφροδισίοις αὐτόν, ὡς διαμαρτίᾳ ἐρωτικῇ χρησάμενον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπενιαυτίσαντα ἐς τὸ Σκυθῶν ἔθνος, ὃς οὔτε ἐφοίτησέ ποτε ἐς Σκύθας οὔτε ἐς ἐρωτικὰ πάθη ἀπηνέχθη· οὔκουν οὐδὲ Εὐφράτης ποτὲ ἐσυκοφάντησεν ἐπὶ ἀφροδισίοις τὸν ἄνδρα, καίτοι ψευδῆ γράμματα κατ' αὐτοῦ ξυνθείς, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Εὐφράτου λόγοις δείξομεν, διεφέρετο δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων αὐτὸν πράττοντα ἐπέκοπτεν οὗτος

about like an arrogant dandy. So when all was well between him and his brother, he at once turned his attention to his other relatives, and conciliated such of them as were in want by bestowing on them the rest of his property, leaving only a trifle to himself; for he said that Anaxagoras of Clazomenae kept his philosophy for cattle rather than for men when he abandoned his fields to flocks and goats, and that Crates of Thebes, when he threw his money into the sea benefited neither man nor beast. And as Pythagoras was commended for his saying that "a man should have no intercourse except with his own wife," he declared that this was intended by Pythagoras for others than himself, for that he was resolved never to wed nor have any connexion whatever with women. In laying such restraint on himself he surpassed Sophocles, who only said that in reaching old age he had escaped from a mad and cruel master; but Apollonius by dint of virtue and temperance never even in his youth was so overcome. While still a mere stripling, in full enjoyment of his bodily vigour, he mastered and gained control of the maddening passion. And yet there are those who accuse him falsely of an addiction to venery, alleging that he fell a victim of such sins and spent a whole year in their indulgence among the Scythians, the facts being that he never once visited Scythia nor was ever carried away by such passions. Not even Euphrates ever accused the sage of venery, though he traduced him otherwise and composed lying treatises against him, as we shall shew when we come to speak of him below. And his quarrel with Apollonius was that the latter rallied him for doing anything for money and tried to wean him of his

CHAP. XIII

Rejects marriage

CAP. XIII καὶ ἀπῆγε τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαί τε καὶ τὴν σοφίαν καπηλεύειν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοὺς αὐτῶν χρόνους ἀναβεβλήσθω μοι.

XIV

CAP. XIV Ἐρομένου δέ ποτε τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ Εὐξένου, τί δῆτα οὐ ξυγγράφοι καίτοι γενναίως δοξάζων καὶ ἀπαγγελίᾳ χρώμενος δοκίμῳ καὶ ἐγηγερμένῃ "ὅτι," ἔφη, "οὔπω ἐσιώπησα." καὶ ἐνθένδε ἀρξάμενος σιωπᾶν ᾠήθη δεῖν, καὶ τὴν μὲν φωνὴν κατεῖχεν, οἱ δ' ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὁ νοῦς πλεῖστα μὲν ἀνεγίγνωσκον, πλεῖστα δὲ ἐς μνήμην ἀνελέγοντο· τό τοι μνημονικὸν ἑκατοντούτης γενόμενος καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἔρρωτο, καὶ ὕμνος αὐτῷ τις ἐς τὴν μνημοσύνην ᾔδετο, ἐν ᾧ πάντα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου μαραίνεσθαί φησιν, αὐτόν γε μὴν τὸν χρόνον ἀγήρω τε καὶ ἀθάνατον παρὰ τῆς μνημοσύνης εἶναι. οὐ μὴν ἄχαρις τά γε ἐς ξυνουσίας ἦν παρ' ὃν ἐσιώπα χρόνον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοί τι ἐπεσήμαινον καὶ ἡ χεὶρ καὶ τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς νεῦμα, οὐδὲ ἀμειδὴς ἢ σκυθρωπὸς ἐφαίνετο, τὸ γὰρ φιλέταιρόν τε καὶ τὸ εὐμενὲς εἶχε. τοῦτον ἐπιπονώτατον αὐτῷ φησι γενέσθαι τὸν βίον ὅλων πέντε ἐτῶν ἀσκηθέντα, πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἔχοντα μὴ εἰπεῖν, πολλὰ δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀκούσαντα μὴ ἀκοῦσαι, πολλοῖς δ' ἐπιπλῆξαι προαχθέντα "τέτλαθι δὴ κραδίη τε

love of filthy lucre and of huckstering his wisdom. But these matters I must defer to the times to which they belong. CHAP. XIII

XIV

CHAP. XIV

His five years' spell of silence

On one occasion, Euxenus asked Apollonius why so noble a thinker as he and one who was master of a diction so fine and nervous did not write a book. He replied: "I have not yet kept silence." And forthwith he began to hold his tongue from a sense of duty, and kept absolute silence, though his eyes and his mind were taking note of very many things, and though very many were being stored in his memory. Indeed, when he reached the age of a hundred, he still surpassed Simonides in point of memory, and he used to chant a hymn addressed to memory, in which it is said that everything is worn and withered away by time, whereas time itself never ages, but remains immortal because of memory. Nevertheless his company was not without charm during the period of his silence; for he would maintain a conversation by the expression of his eyes, by gestures of his hand and nodding his head; nor did he strike men as gloomy or morose; for he retained his fondness for company and his cheerfulness. This part of his life he says was the most uphill work he knew, since he practised silence for five whole years; for he says he often had things to say and could not do so, and he was often obliged not to hear things the hearing of which would have enraged him, and often when he was moved and inclined to break out in a rebuke to others, he said to himself: "Bear up then, my heart *Odyss.* Y. 18

CAP. XIV καὶ γλῶττα" πρὸς ἑαυτὸν φάναι, λόγων τε προσκρουσάντων αὐτῷ παριέναι τὰς ἐλέγξεις τότε.

XV

CAP. XV Διέτριψέ τε τοὺς τῆς σιωπῆς χρόνους τὸν μὲν ἐν Παμφύλοις, τὸν δὲ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, καὶ βαδίζων δι' οὕτω τρυφώντων ἐθνῶν οὐδαμοῦ ἐφθέγξατο, οὐδ' ὑπήχθη γρύξαι. ὁπότε μὴν στασιαζούσῃ πόλει ἐντύχοι, πολλαὶ δὲ ἐστασίαζον ὑπὲρ θεαμάτων οὐ σπουδαίων, παρελθὼν ἂν καὶ δείξας ἑαυτόν, καί τι καὶ μελλούσης ἐπιπλήξεως τῇ χειρὶ καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ ἐνδειξάμενος, ἐξῄρητ' ἂν ἀταξία πᾶσα, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν μυστηρίοις ἐσιώπων. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοὺς ὀρχηστῶν τε καὶ ἵππων ἕνεκα στασιάζειν ὡρμηκότας ἀνασχεῖν οὔπω μέγα, οἱ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοιούτων ἀτακτοῦντες, ἂν πρὸς ἄνδρα ἴδωσιν, ἐρυθριῶσί τε καὶ αὑτῶν ἐπιλαμβάνονται καὶ ῥᾷστα δὴ ἐς νοῦν ἥκουσι, λιμῷ δὲ πεπιεσμένην πόλιν οὐ ῥᾴδιον εὐηνίῳ καὶ πιθανῷ λόγῳ μεταδιδάξαι καὶ ὀργῆς παῦσαι. ἀλλ' Ἀπολλωνίῳ καὶ ἡ σιωπὴ πρὸς τοὺς οὕτω διακειμένους ἤρκει. ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς Ἄσπενδον τὴν Παμφύλων—πρὸς Εὐρυμέδοντι δὲ οἰκεῖται ποταμῷ ἡ πόλις αὕτη, τρίτη τῶν ἐκεῖ—ὄροβοι δ' ὤνιοι καὶ τὰ ἐς βρῶσιν ἀναγκαῖα διέβοσκεν αὐτούς, τὸν γὰρ σῖτον οἱ δυνατοὶ ξυγκλείσαντες εἶχον, ἵν' ἐκκαπηλευθείη τῆς χώρας. ἀνηρέθιστο δὴ ἐπὶ τὸν

and tongue;" and when reasoning offended him he had to give up for the time the refuting of it. CHAP. XIV

XV

CHAP. XV

The selfish corn-merchants of Aspendus

These years of silence he spent partly in Pamphylia and partly in Cilicia; and though his paths lay through such effeminate races as these, he never spoke nor was even induced to murmur. Whenever, however, he came on a city engaged in civil conflict (and many were divided into factions over spectacles of a low kind), he would advance and show himself, and by indicating something of his intended rebuke by manual gesture or by look on his face, he would put an end to all the disorder, and people hushed their voices, as if they were engaged in the mysteries. Well, it is not so very difficult to restrain those who have started a quarrel about dances and horses, for those who are rioting about such matters, if they chance with their eyes on a real man, blush and check themselves and easily recover their senses; but a city hard pressed by famine is not so tractable, nor so easily brought to a better mood by persuasive words and its passion quelled. But in the case of Apollonius, mere silence on his part was enough for those so affected. Anyhow, when he came to Aspendus in Pamphylia (and this city is built on the river Eurymedon, lesser only than two others about there), he found vetches on sale in the market, and the citizens were feeding upon this and on anything else they could get; for the rich men had shut up all the corn and were holding it up for export from the country. Consequently an excited

CAP. XV ἄρχοντα ἡλικία πᾶσα καὶ πυρὸς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἥπτοντο καίτοι προσκείμενον τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀνδριᾶσιν, οἳ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ φοβερώτεροι ἦσαν τότε καὶ ἀσυλότεροι, Τιβερίου γε ὄντες, ἐφ' οὗ λέγεταί τις ἀσεβῆσαι δόξαι τυπτήσας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δοῦλον φέροντα δραχμὴν ἀργυρᾶν νενομισμένην ἐς Τιβέριον. προσελθὼν οὖν τῷ ἄρχοντι ἤρετο αὐτὸν τῇ χειρί, ὅ τι εἴη τοῦτο, τοῦ δὲ ἀδικεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν φήσαντος, ἀδικεῖσθαι δὲ μετὰ τοῦ δήμου, λόγου δ' εἰ μὴ τύχοι, ξυναπολεῖσθαι τῷ δήμῳ, μετεστράφη τε εἰς τοὺς περιεστηκότας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ ἔνευσεν ὡς χρὴ ἀκοῦσαι, οἱ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐσιώπησαν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἔθεντο ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν τῶν αὐτόθι. ἀναθαρρήσας οὖν ὁ ἄρχων "ὁ δεῖνα," ἔφη, "καὶ ὁ δεῖνα," πλείους εἰπών, "τοῦ λιμοῦ τοῦ καθεστηκότος αἴτιοι, τὸν γὰρ σῖτον ἀπολαβόντες φυλάττουσι κατ' ἄλλος ἄλλο τῆς χώρας." διακελευομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀσπενδίων ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς φοιτᾶν, ἀνένευσεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος μὴ πράττειν τοῦτο, μετακαλεῖν δὲ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἐν τῇ αἰτίᾳ καὶ παρ' ἑκόντων εὑρέσθαι τὸν σῖτον. ἀφικομένων δὲ μικροῦ μὲν ἐδέησε καὶ φωνὴν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ῥῆξαι, παθών τι πρὸς τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δάκρυα—καὶ γὰρ παιδία ξυνερρυήκει καὶ γύναια, καὶ ὠλοφύροντο οἱ γεγηρακότες, ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ ἀποθανούμενοι λιμῷ—

crowd of all ages had set upon the governor, and were lighting a fire to burn him alive, although he was clinging to the statues of the Emperor, which were more dreaded at that time and more inviolable than the Zeus in Olympia; for they were statues of Tiberius, in whose reign a master is said to have been held guilty of impiety, merely because he struck his own slave when he had on his person a silver drachma coined with the image of Tiberius. Apollonius then went up to the governor and with a sign of his hand asked him what was the matter; and he answered that he had done no wrong, but was indeed being wronged quite as much as the populace; but, he said, if he could not get a hearing, he would perish along with the populace. Apollonius then turned to the bystanders, and beckoned to them that they must listen; and they not only held their tongues from wonderment at him, but they laid the brands they had kindled on the altars which were there. The governor then plucked up courage and said: "This man and that man," and he named several, "are to blame for the famine which has arisen; for they have taken away the corn and are keeping it, one in one part of the country and another in another." The inhabitants of Aspendus thereupon passed the word to one another to make for these men's estates, but Apollonius signed with his head, that they should do no such thing, but rather summon those who were to blame and obtain the corn from them with their consent. And when, after a little time the guilty parties arrived, he very nearly broke out in speech against them, so much was he affected by the tears of the crowd; for the children and women had all flocked together, and the

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CAP. XV τιμῶν δὲ τὸ τῆς σιωπῆς δόγμα γράφει ἐς γραμματεῖον ἐπίπληξιν, καὶ δίδωσιν ἀναγνῶναι τῷ ἄρχοντι· ἡ δὲ ἐπίπληξις ὧδε εἶχεν· "Ἀπολλώνιος σιτοκαπήλοις Ἀσπενδίων. ἡ γῆ πάντων μήτηρ, δικαία γάρ, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἄδικοι ὄντες πεποίησθε αὐτὴν αὑτῶν μόνων μητέρα, καὶ εἰ μὴ παύσεσθε, οὐκ ἐάσω ὑμᾶς ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἑστάναι." ταῦτα δείσαντες ἐνέπλησαν τὴν ἀγορὰν σίτου καὶ ἀνεβίω ἡ πόλις.

XVI

CAP. XVI Ἐπεφοίτησε καὶ Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ πεπαυμένος τοῦ σιωπᾶν, καὶ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Δαφναίου Ἀπόλλωνος, ᾧ περιάπτουσιν Ἀσσύριοι τὸν μῦθον τὸν Ἀρκάδα· τὴν γὰρ τοῦ Λάδωνος Δάφνην ἐκεῖ μεταφῦναι λέγουσι, καὶ ποταμὸς αὐτοῖς ῥεῖ Λάδων, καὶ φυτὸν τιμᾶται παρ' αὐτοῖς δάφνης, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἀντὶ τῆς παρθένου, κυπαρίττων τε ὕψη ἀμήχανα περιέστηκε κύκλῳ τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ πηγὰς ἐκδίδωσιν ὁ χῶρος ἀφθόνους τε καὶ ἠρεμούσας, αἷς τὸν Ἀπόλλω φασὶ ῥαίνεσθαι. ἐνταῦθα κυπαρίττου τι ἔρνος ἡ γῆ ἀναδέδωκεν, ἐπὶ Κυπαρίττῳ φασὶν ἐφήβῳ Ἀσσυρίῳ, καὶ πιστοῦται τὴν μεταβολὴν ἡ ὥρα τοῦ φυτοῦ. καὶ ἴσως νεανικώτερον ἅπτεσθαι δοκῶ τοῦ λόγου διαμυθολογῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ μυθολογίας ταῦτα. τί δέ μοι

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old men were groaning and moaning as if they were on the point of dying by hunger. However, he respected his vow of silence and wrote on a writing board his indictment of the offenders and handed it to the governor to read out aloud; and his indictment ran as follows: "Apollonius to the corn-dealers of Aspendus. The earth is mother of us all, for she is just; but you, because you are unjust have pretended that she is your mother alone; and if you do not stop, I will not permit you to remain upon her." They were so terrified by these words, that they filled the market-place with corn and the city revived.

XVI

CHAP. XVI

Finds Antioch of Syria uncongenial

After the term of his silence was over he also visited the great Antioch, and passed into the Temple of the Apollo of Daphne, to which the Assyrians attach the legend of Arcadia. For they say that Daphne, the daughter of Ladon, there underwent her metamorphosis, and they have a river flowing there, the Ladon, and a laurel tree is worshipped by them which they say is the one substituted for the maiden; and cypress trees of enormous height surround the Temple, and the ground sends up springs both ample and placid, in which they say Apollo purifies himself by ablution. And there it is that the earth sends up a shoot of cypress, they say in honour of Cyparissus, an Assyrian youth; and the beauty of the shrub lends credence to the story of his metamorphosis. Well, perhaps I may seem to have fallen into a somewhat juvenile vein to approach my story by such legendary particulars as these, but my interest

CAP. XVI ὁ λόγος βούλεται; ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἰδὼν τὸ ἱερὸν χαρίεν μέν, σπουδὴν δ' ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπους ἡμιβαρβάρους καὶ ἀμούσους "Ἄπολλον," ἔφη, "μετάβαλε τοὺς ἀφώνους ἐς δένδρα, ἵνα κἂν ὡς κυπάριττοι ἠχῶσιν." τὰς δὲ πηγὰς ἐπισκεψάμενος, ὡς γαλήνην ἄγουσι καὶ κελαρύζει σφῶν οὐδεμία, "ἡ ἀφωνία," εἶπεν, "ἡ ἐνταῦθα οὐδὲ ταῖς πηγαῖς ξυγχωρεῖ φθέγγεσθαι." πρὸς δὲ τὸν Λάδωνα ἰδὼν "οὐχ ἡ θυγάτηρ," ἔφη, "σοὶ μόνη μετέβαλεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺ τῷ δόξαι βάρβαρος ἐξ Ἕλληνός τε καὶ Ἀρκάδος." ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔγνω διαλέγεσθαι, τὰ μὲν ὁμιλούμενα τῶν χωρίων καὶ ἀτακτοῦντα παρῃτεῖτο, φήσας οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἑαυτῷ δεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν, τὰ δὲ σεμνότερα ἐσεφοίτα καὶ ᾤκει τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ μὴ κληιστά. ἡλίου μὲν δὴ ἀνίσχοντος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τινα ἔπραττεν, ἃ μόνοις ἐποίει δῆλα τοῖς ἐτῶν τεττάρων σιωπᾶν γεγυμνασμένοις, τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καιρόν, εἰ μὲν Ἑλλὰς ἡ πόλις εἴη καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ γνώριμα, ξυγκαλῶν ἂν τοὺς ἱερέας ἐφιλοσόφει περὶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ διωρθοῦτο αὐτούς, εἴ που τῶν νομιζομένων ἐξαλλάττοιεν, εἰ δὲ βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἰδιότροπα εἴη, διεμάνθανε τοὺς ἱδρυσαμένους αὐτὰ καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἱδρύθη, πυθόμενός τε, ὅπη θεραπεύεται ταῦτα καὶ ὑποθέμενος, εἴ τι σοφώτερον τοῦ δρωμένου ἐνθυμηθείη,

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is not really in mythology. What then is the purport of my narrative? Apollonius, when he beheld a Temple so graceful and yet the home of no serious studies, but only of men half-barbarous and uncultivated, remarked: "O Apollo, change these dumb dogs into trees, so that at least as cypresses they may become vocal." And when he had inspected the springs, and noted how calm and quiet they were, and how not one of them made the least babble, he remarked: "The prevailing dumbness of this place does not permit even the springs to speak." And when he saw the Ladon he said: "It is not your daughter alone that underwent a change, but you too, so far as one can see, have become a barbarian after being a Hellene and an Arcadian." And when he was minded to converse, he avoided the frequented regions and the disorderly, and said, that it was not a rabble he wanted but real men; and he resorted to the more solemn places, and lived in such Temples as were not shut up. At sunrise, indeed, he performed certain rites by himself, rites which he only communicated to those who had disciplined themselves by a four years' spell of silence; but during the rest of the day, in case the city was a Greek one, and the sacred rites familiar to a Greek, he would call the priests together and talk wisely about the gods, and would correct them, supposing they had departed from the traditional forms. If, however, the rites were barbarous and peculiar, then he would find out who had founded them and on what occasion they were established, and having learnt the sort of cult it was, he would make suggestions, in case he could think of any improvement upon them, and then he

A day of his life in Antioch

CAP. XVI μετῄει ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁμιλητὰς καὶ ἐκέλευεν ἐρωτᾶν, ἃ βούλονται. ἔφασκε γὰρ χρῆναι τοὺς οὕτω φιλοσοφοῦντας ἠοῦς μὲν ἀρχομένης ξυνεῖναι θεοῖς, προϊούσης δὲ περὶ θεῶν, τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καιρὸν ἀνθρωπείων πέρι τὰς ξυνουσίας ποιεῖσθαι. εἰπὼν δ' ἂν πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους, ὁπόσα ἠρώτων, καὶ ἱκανῶς τῆς τοιαύτης ξυνουσίας ἔχων ἐπὶ τὴν διάλεξιν ἀνίστατο λοιπὸν τὴν ἐς πάντας, οὐ πρὸ μεσημβρίας, ἀλλ' ὁπότε μάλιστα ἡ ἡμέρα ἑστήκοι. καὶ διαλεχθεὶς ἂν ὡς ἀπαρκεῖν ᾤετο, ἠλείφετό τε καὶ τριψάμενος ἵει ἑαυτὸν ἐς ὕδωρ ψυχρόν, γῆρας ἀνθρώπων καλῶν τὰ βαλανεῖα· τῆς γοῦν Ἀντιοχείας ἀποκλεισθείσης ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις ἁμαρτήμασιν "ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν," ἔφη, "ὁ βασιλεὺς κακοῖς οὖσι βιῶναι πλείονα ἔτη." Ἐφεσίων δὲ βουλομένων καταλιθῶσαι τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ἐκπυροῦν τὰ βαλανεῖα "ὑμεῖς μὲν τὸν ἄρχοντα," ἔφη, "αἰτιᾶσθε, ἐπειδὴ πονηρῶς λοῦσθε, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ὅτι λοῦσθε."

XVII

CAP. XVII Λόγων δὲ ἰδέαν ἐπήσκησεν οὐ διθυραμβώδη καὶ φλεγμαίνουσαν ποιητικοῖς ὀνόμασιν, οὐδ' αὖ κατεγλωττισμένην καὶ ὑπεραττικίζουσαν, ἀηδὲς γὰρ τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν μετρίαν Ἀτθίδα ἡγεῖτο, οὐδὲ λεπτολογίᾳ ἐδίδου, οὐδὲ διῆγε τοὺς λόγους,

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would go in quest of his followers and bid them ask any questions they liked. For he said that it was the duty of philosophers of his school to hold converse at the earliest dawn with the gods, but as the day advanced, about the gods, and during the rest of the day to discuss human affairs in friendly intercourse. And having answered all the questions which his companions addressed to him, and when he had had enough of their society, he would rise and give himself up for the rest to haranguing the general public, not however before mid-day, but as far as possible just when the day stood still. And when he thought he had had enough of such conversation, he would be anointed and rubbed, and then fling himself into cold water, for he called hot baths the old age of men. At any rate when the people of Antioch were shut out of them because of the enormities committed there, he said: "The Emperor, for your sins, has granted you a new lease of life." And when the Ephesians wanted to stone their governor because he did not warm their baths enough he said to them: "You are blaming your governor because you get such a sorry bath; but I blame you because you take a bath at all."

Condemns hot baths

XVII

CHAP. XVII

His literary and oratorical style

The literary style which he cultivated was not dithyrambic or tumid and swollen with poetical words, nor again was it far-fetched and full of affected Atticisms; for he thought that an excessive degree of Atticising was unpleasant. Neither did he indulge in subtleties, nor spin out his discourses; nor

CAP. XVII οὐδὲ εἰρωνευομένου τις ἤκουσεν ἢ περιπατοῦντος ἐς τοὺς ἀκροωμένους, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκ τρίποδος ὅτε διαλέγοιτο "οἶδα" ἔλεγε καὶ "δοκεῖ μοι" καὶ "ποῖ φέρεσθε;" καὶ "χρὴ εἰδέναι." καὶ αἱ δόξαι βραχεῖαι καὶ ἀδαμάντινοι, κύριά τε ὀνόματα καὶ προσπεφυκότα τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἠχὼ εἶχεν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκήπτρου θεμιστευόμενα. ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν στενολεσχούντων τινός, ὅτου ἕνεκα οὐ ζητοίη, "ὅτι," ἔφη, "μειράκιον ὢν ἐζήτησα, νῦν δὲ οὐ χρὴ ζητεῖν, ἀλλὰ διδάσκειν ἃ εὕρηκα." "πῶς οὖν, Ἀπολλώνιε, διαλέξεται ὁ σοφός;" πάλιν ἐπερομένου αὐτὸν "ὡς νομοθέτης," ἔφη, "δεῖ γὰρ τὸν νομοθέτην, ἃ πέπεικεν ἑαυτόν, ταῦτα ἐπιτάγματα ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι." ὧδε αὐτῷ τὰ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐσπουδάζετο, καὶ ἐπέστρεφεν ἐς ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπους ἀμουσοτάτους.

XVIII

CAP. XVIII Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα λογισμὸν ἑαυτῷ διδοὺς ἀποδημίας μείζονος, ἐνθυμεῖται τὸ Ἰνδικὸν ἔθνος καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ σοφούς, οἳ λέγονται Βραχμᾶνές τε καὶ Ὑρκάνιοι εἶναι, προσήκειν φήσας νέῳ ἀνδρὶ ἀποδημεῖν τε καὶ ὑπερορίῳ αἴρεσθαι. εὕρημα δὲ τοὺς μάγους ἐποιεῖτο, οἳ Βαβυλῶνα καὶ Σοῦσα οἰκοῦσι, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων διαμαθεῖν ὁδῷ χρώμενος. καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμιλητὰς ἑπτὰ ὄντας ἀνέφηνε τὴν γνώμην. πειρωμένων δὲ αὐτῶν

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did anyone ever hear him dissembling in an ironical way, nor addressing to his audience methodical arguments; but when he conversed he would assume an oracular manner and use the expressions, "I know," or "It is my opinion," or, "Where are you drifting to?" or, "You must know." And his sentences were short and crisp, and his words were telling and closely fitted to the things he spoke of, and his words had a ring about them as of the dooms delivered by a sceptred king. And when a certain quibbler asked him, why he asked no questions of him, he replied: "Because I asked questions when I was a stripling; and it is not my business to ask questions now, but to teach people what I have discovered." "How then," the other asked him afresh, "O Apollonius, should the sage converse?" "Like a law-giver," he replied, "for it is the duty of the law-giver to deliver to the many the instructions of whose truth he has persuaded himself." This was the line he pursued during his stay in Antioch, and he converted to himself the most unrefined people.

He spoke as one having authority

XVIII

CHAP. XVIII

Projects visit to India

After this he formed the scheme of an extensive voyage, and had in mind the Indian race and the sages there, who are called Brahmans and Hyrcanians; for he said that it was a young man's duty to go abroad and to embark upon foreign travel. But he made quite a windfall of the Magi, who live in Babylon and Susa. For, he said, he was determined to acquaint himself thoroughly with their lore, even if it cost him a journey. And he announced his intention to his followers, who were

CAP. XVIII ξυμβουλεύειν ἕτερα, εἴ πη ἀφελχθείη τῆς ὁρμῆς ταύτης, "ἐγὼ μὲν θεούς," ἔφη, "συμβούλους πεποίημαι καὶ τὰ δεδογμένα εἴρηκα, ὑμῶν δὲ βάσανον ἐποιούμην, εἰ πρὸς ἅπερ ἐγὼ ἔρρωσθε· ἐπεὶ τοίνυν μαλακῶς ἔχετε, ὑμεῖς μὲν ὑγιαίνετε," ἔφη, "καὶ φιλοσοφεῖτε· ἐμοὶ δὲ βαδιστέα, οἷ σοφία τε καὶ δαίμων με ἄγει." ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐξελαύνει τῆς Ἀντιοχείας μετὰ δυοῖν θεραπόντοιν, οἵπερ αὐτῷ πατρικὼ ἤστην, ὁ μὲν ἐς τάχος γράφων, ὁ δὲ ἐς κάλλος.

XIX

CAP. XIX Καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τὴν ἀρχαίαν Νῖνον, ἐν ᾗ ἄγαλμα ἵδρυται τρόπον βάρβαρον, ἔστι δὲ ἄρα Ἰὼ ἡ Ἰνάχου καὶ κέρατα τῶν κροτάφων ἐκκρούει μικρὰ καὶ οἷον μέλλοντα. ἐνταῦθα διατρίβοντι καὶ πλείω ξυνιέντι περὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἢ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ προφῆται, προσεφοίτησε Δάμις ὁ Νίνιος, ὃν καταρχὰς ἔφην ξυναποδημῆσαί οἱ καὶ ξυνέμπορον γενεσθαι τῆς σοφίας πάσης καὶ πολλὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διασώσασθαι, ὃς ἀγασθεὶς αὐτὸν καὶ ζηλώσας τῆς ὁδοῦ "ἴωμεν," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε, σὺ μὲν θεῷ ἑπόμενος, ἐγὼ δὲ σοί, καὶ γάρ με καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον εὕροις ἄν· εἰ μὲν ἄλλο τι οὐκ οἶδα, τὸ δ' οὖν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἧκον, πόλεις τε, ὁπόσαι εἰσίν, οἶδα

seven in number; but when they tried to persuade him to adopt another plan, in hopes of drawing him off from his resolution, he said: "I have taken the gods into counsel and have told you their decision; and I have made trial of you to see if you are strong enough to undertake the same things as myself. Since therefore you are so soft and effeminate, I wish you very good health and that you may go on with your philosophy; but I must depart whither wisdom and the gods lead me." Having said this he quitted Antioch with two attendants, who belonged to his father's house, one of them a shorthand writer and the other a calligraphist.

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His followers refuse

XIX

AND he reached the ancient city of Nineveh, where he found an idol set up of bārbarous aspect, and it is, they say, Io, the daughter of Inachus, and horns short and, as it were, budding project from her temples. While he was staying there and forming wiser conclusions about the image than could the priests and prophets, one Damis, a native of Nineveh, joined him as a pupil, the same, as I said at the beginning, who became the companion of his wanderings abroad and his fellow-traveller and associate in all wisdom, and who has preserved to us many particulars of the sage. He admired him, and having a taste for the road, said: "Let us depart, Apollonius, you following God, and I you; for I think you will find me of considerable value. For, if I know nothing else, I have at least been up to Babylon, and I know all the cities

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Reaches Nineveh. The image of Io

Damis joins him

CAP. XIX ἀνελθὼν οὐ πάλαι καὶ κώμας, ἐν αἷς πολλὰ ἀγαθά, καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰς φωνὰς τῶν βαρβάρων, ὁπόσαι εἰσίν, εἰσὶ δὲ ἄλλη μὲν Ἀρμενίων, ἄλλη δὲ Μήδων τε καὶ Περσῶν, ἄλλη δὲ Καδουσίων, μεταλαμβάνω δὲ πάσας." "ἐγὼ δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἑταῖρε, πασῶν ξυνίημι, μαθὼν μηδεμίαν." θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Νινίου "μὴ θαυμάσῃς," εἶπεν, "εἰ πάσας οἶδα φωνὰς ἀνθρώπων· οἶδα γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὅσα σιωπῶσιν ἄνθρωποι." ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀσσύριος προσηύξατο αὐτόν, ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσε, καὶ ὥσπερ δαίμονα ἔβλεπε, συνῆν τε αὐτῷ ἐπιδιδοὺς τὴν σοφίαν καὶ ὅ τι μάθοι μνημονεύων. φωνὴ δὲ ἦν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ ξυμμέτρως πράττουσα, τὸ γὰρ λογοειδὲς οὐκ εἶχεν, ἅτε παιδευθεὶς ἐν βαρβάροις, διατριβὴν δὲ ἀναγράψαι καὶ συνουσίαν καὶ ὅ τι ἤκουσεν ἢ εἶδεν ἀνατυπῶσαι καὶ ὑπόμνημα τῶν τοιούτων ξυνθεῖναι σφόδρα ἱκανὸς ἦν, καὶ ἐπετήδευε τοῦτο ἄριστα ἀνθρώπων. ἡ γοῦν δέλτος ἡ τῶν ἐκφατνισμάτων τοιοῦτον τῷ Δάμιδι νοῦν εἶχεν· ὁ Δάμις ἐβούλετο μηδὲν τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου ἀγνοεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' εἴ τι καὶ παρεφθέγξατο ἢ ἀμελῶς εἶπεν, ἀναγεγράφθαι καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ ἄξιόν γε εἰπεῖν, ἃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν μεμψάμενον τὴν διατριβὴν ταύτην ἀπεφθέγξατο. διασύροντος γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπου ῥᾳθύμου τε καὶ βασκάνου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὀρθῶς ἀναγράφειν φήσαντος, ὁπόσαι γνῶμαί τέ εἰσι καὶ δόξαι τοῦ ἀνδρός,

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there are, because I have been up there not long ago, and also the villages in which there is much good to be found; and moreover, I know the languages of the various barbarous races, and there are several, for example the Armenian tongue, and that of the Medes and Persians, and that of the natives of Kadus, and I am familar with all of them." "And I," said Apollonius, "my good friend, understand all languages, though I never learnt a single one." The native of Nineveh was astonished at this answer, but the other replied: "You need not wonder at my knowing all human languages; for, to tell you the truth, I also understand all the secrets of human silence." Thereupon the Assyrian worshipped him, when he heard this, and regarded him as a demon; and he stayed with him increasing in wisdom and committing to memory whatever he learnt. This Assyrian's language, however, was of a mediocre quality, for he had not the gift of expressing himself, having been educated among the barbarians; but he kept a journal of their intercourse, and recorded in it whatever he heard or saw, and he was very well able to put together a memoir of such matters and managed this better than anyone else could do. At any rate the volume which he calls his scrap-book, was intended to serve such a purpose by Damis, who was determined that nothing about Apollonius should be passed over in silence, nay, that his most casual and negligent utterances should also be written down. And I may mention the answer which he made to one who cavilled and found fault with this journal. It was a lazy fellow and malignant who tried to pick holes in him, and remarked that he had recorded well enough a lot of

Apollonius' claim to know all tongues

Damis' memoirs of Apollonius. Their style

CAP. XIX ταυτὶ δὲ τὰ οὕτω μικρὰ ξυλλεγόμενον παραπλήσιόν που τοῖς κυσὶ πράττειν τοῖς σιτουμένοις τὰ ἐκπίπτοντα τῆς δαιτός, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Δάμις "εἰ δαῖτες," ἔφη, "θεῶν εἰσι καὶ σιτοῦνται θεοί, πάντως που καὶ θεράποντες αὐτοῖς εἰσιν, οἷς μέλει τοῦ μηδὲ τὰ πίπτοντα τῆς ἀμβροσίας ἀπόλλυσθαι."

XX

CAP. XX Τοιοῦδε μὲν ἑταίρου καὶ ἐραστοῦ ἔτυχεν, ᾧ τὸ πολὺ τοῦ βίου συνεπορεύθη. παριόντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν μέσην τῶν ποταμῶν ὁ τελώνης ὁ ἐπιβεβλημένος τῷ Ζεύγματι πρὸς τὸ πινάκιον ἦγε καὶ ἠρώτα, ὅ τι ἀπάγοιεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος "ἀπάγω" ἔφη "σωφροσύνην δικαιοσύνην ἀρετὴν ἐγκράτειαν ἀνδρείαν ἄσκησιν," πολλὰ καὶ οὕτω θήλεα εἴρας ὀνόματα. ὁ δ' ἤδη βλέπων τὸ ἑαυτοῦ κέρδος "ἀπόγραψαι οὖν" ἔφη "τὰς δούλας." ὁ δὲ "οὐκ ἔξεστιν," εἶπεν, "οὐ γὰρ δούλας ἀπάγω ταύτας, ἀλλὰ δεσποίνας." τὴν δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν μέσην ὁ Τίγρις ἀποφαίνει καὶ ὁ Εὐφράτης, ῥέοντες μὲν ἐξ Ἀρμενίας καὶ Ταύρου λήγοντος, περιβάλλοντες δὲ ἤπειρον, ἐν ᾗ καὶ πόλεις μέν, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον κῶμαι, ἔθνη τε

things, for example, the opinions and ideas of his hero, but that in collecting such trifles as these he reminded him of dogs who pick up and eat the fragments which fall from a feast. Damis replied thus: "If banquets there be of gods, and gods take food, surely they must have attendants whose business it is that not even the parcels of ambrosia that fall to the ground should be lost." CHAP. XIX

XX

CHAP. XX

Anecdote of the Bridge

SUCH was the companion and admirer that he had met with, and in common with him most of his travels and life were passed. And as they fared on into Mesopotamia, the tax-gatherer who presided over the Bridge (*Zeugma*) led them into the registry and asked them what they were taking out of the country with them. And Apollonius replied: "I am taking with me temperance, justice, virtue, continence, valour, discipline." And in this way he strung together a number of feminine nouns or names. The other, already scenting his own perquisites, said: "You must then write down in the register these female slaves." Apollonius answered: "Impossible, for they are not female slaves that I am taking out with me, but ladies of quality."

Character of Mesopotamia

Now Mesopotamia is bordered on one side by the Tigris, and on the other by the Euphrates, rivers which flow from Armenia and from the lowest slopes of Taurus; but they contain a tract like a continent, in which there are some cities, though for the most part only villages, and the races that inhabit them

CAP. XX ᾿Αρμένια καὶ ᾿Αράβια, ἃ ξυγκλείσαντες οἱ ποταμοὶ ἔχουσιν, ὧν καὶ νομάδες οἱ πολλοὶ στείχουσιν, οὕτω τι νησιώτας ἑαυτοὺς νομίζοντες, ὡς ἐπὶ θάλαττάν τε καταβαίνειν φάσκειν, ὅτ᾽ ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς βαδίζοιεν, ὅρον τε ποιεῖσθαι τῆς γῆς τὸν τῶν ποταμῶν κύκλον· ἀποτορνεύσαντες γὰρ τὴν προειρημένην ἤπειρον ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἵενται θάλατταν. εἰσὶ δ᾽, οἵ φασιν ἐς ἕλος ἀφανίζεσθαι τὸ πολὺ τοῦ Εὐφράτου καὶ τελευτᾶν τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἐν τῇ γῇ. λόγου δ᾽ ἔνιοι θρασυτέρου ἐφάπτονται, φάσκοντες αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῇ γῇ ῥέοντα ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀναφαίνεσθαι καὶ Νείλῳ συγκεράννυσθαι. ἀκριβολογίας μὲν δὴ ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν παραλελεῖφθαί μοι τῶν γεγραμμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δάμιδος ἐβουλόμην ἂν καὶ τὰ διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων τούτων πορευομένοις σπουδασθέντα εἰπεῖν, ξυνελαύνει δὲ ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος ἐς τὰ μείζω τε καὶ θαυμασιώτερα, οὐ μὴν ὡς δυοῖν γε ἀμελῆσαι τούτοιν, τῆς τε ἀνδρείας, ᾗ χρώμενος ὁ ᾿Απολλώνιος διεπορεύθη βάρβαρα ἔθνη καὶ ληστρικά, οὐδ᾽ ὑπὸ ῾Ρωμαίοις πω ὄντα, τῆς τε σοφίας, ᾗ τὸν ᾿Αράβιον τρόπον ἐς ξύνεσιν τῆς τῶν ζῴων φωνῆς ἦλθεν. ἔμαθε δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τουτωνὶ τῶν ᾿Αραβίων πορευόμενος ἄριστα γιγνωσκόντων τε αὐτὸ καὶ πραττόντων. ἔστι γὰρ τῶν ᾿Αραβίων ἤδη κοινὸν καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων ἀκούειν μαντευομένων, ὁπόσα οἱ χρησμοί, ξυμβάλλονται δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων σιτούμενοι τῶν δρακόντων οἱ μὲν καρδίαν φασίν, οἱ δὲ ἧπαρ.

CHAP. XX

are the Armenian and the Arab. These races are so shut in by the rivers that most of them, who lead the life of nomads, are so convinced that they are islanders, as to say that they are going down to the sea, when they are merely on their way to the rivers, and think that these rivers border the earth and encircle it. For they curve round the continental tract in question, and discharge their waters into the same sea. But there are people who say that the greater part of the Euphrates is lost in a marsh, and that this river ends in the earth. But some have a bolder tale to which they adhere, and declare that it runs under the earth to turn up in Egypt and mingle itself with the Nile. Well, for the sake of accuracy and truth, and in order to leave out nothing of the things that Damis wrote, I should have liked to relate all the incidents that occurred on their jonrney through these barbarous regions; but my subject hurries me on to greater and more remarkable episodes. Nevertheless, I must perforce dwell upon two topics: on the courage which Apollonius showed, in making a journey through races of barbarians and robbers, which were not at that time even subject to the Romans, and at the cleverness with which after the manner of the Arabs he managed to understand the language of animals. For he learnt this on his way through these Arab tribes who best understand it and practise it. For it is quite common for the Arabians to listen to the birds prophesying like any oracles, but they acquire this faculty of understanding them by feeding themselves, so they say, either on the heart or the liver of serpents.

Apollonius learns from Arabs the language of birds

XXI

CAP. XXI Κτησιφῶντα δὲ ὑπερβαλὼν καὶ παριὼν ἐς τὰ Βαβυλῶνος ὅρια, φρουρὰ μὲν αὐτόθι ἦν ἐκ βασιλέως, ἣν οὐκ ἂν παρῆλθέ τις μὴ οὐκ ἐρωτηθεὶς ἑαυτόν τε καὶ πόλιν καὶ ἐφ᾽ ὅ τι ἥκοι. σατράπης δὲ τῇ φρουρᾷ ταύτῃ ἐπετέτακτο, βασιλέως τις, οἶμαι, ὀφθαλμός, ὁ γὰρ Μῆδος ἄρτι ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν ἥκων οὐ ξυνεχώρει ἑαυτῷ ἀδεῶς ζῆν, ἀλλὰ ὄντα τε καὶ οὐκ ὄντα δεδιὼς ἐς φόβους κατεπεπτώκει καὶ πτοίας. ἄγονται τοίνυν παρὰ τὸν σατράπην Ἀπολλώνιός τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ᾽ αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ ἔτυχε μὲν σκηνὴν ἐφ᾽ ἁρμαμάξης πεποιημένος καὶ ἐξελαύνων ποι, ἰδὼν δὲ ἄνδρα αὐχμοῦ πλέων ἀνέκραγέ τε ὥσπερ τὰ δειλὰ τῶν γυναίων καὶ ξυνεκαλύψατο, μόγις τε ἀναβλέψας ἐς αὐτόν· "πόθεν ἡμῖν ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ἥκεις;" οἷον δαίμονα ἠρώτα. ὁ δὲ "ὑπ᾽ ἐμαυτοῦ," ἔφη, "εἴ πη καὶ ἄκοντες ἄνδρες γένοισθε." πάλιν ἤρετο, ὅστις ὢν ἐσφοιτᾷ τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, ὁ δὲ "ἐμή," ἔφη, "πᾶσα ἡ γῆ καὶ ἀνεῖταί μοι δι᾽ αὐτῆς πορεύεσθαι," τοῦ δὲ "βασανιῶ σε," εἰπόντος "εἰ μὴ λέγοις," "εἰ γὰρ ταῖς σαυτοῦ χερσίν," εἶπεν, "ὡς αὐτὸς βασανισθείης, θιγὼν ἀνδρός." ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ εὐνοῦχος, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἑρμηνέως ἑώρα δεόμενον, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπολαμβάνοντα τὴν φωνὴν ἀλύπως τε καὶ

XXI

CHAP. XXI

Passes from Ctesiphon to Babylon

Demeanour of the frontier satrap

He left Ctesiphon behind, and passed on to the borders of Babylon; and here was a frontier garrison belonging to the king, which one could not pass by without being questioned who one was, and as to one's city, and one's reasons for coming there. And there was a satrap in command of this post, a sort of "Eye of the King," I imagine; for the Mede had just acceded to the throne, and instead of being content to live in security, he worried himself about things real and imaginary and fell into fits of fear and panic. Apollonius then and his party were brought before this satrap, who had just set up the awning on his wagon and was driving out to go somewhere else. When he saw a man so dried up and parched, he began to bawl out like a cowardly woman and hid his face, and could hardly be induced to look up at him. "Whence do you come to us," he said, "and who sent you?" as if he was asking questions of a spirit. And Apollonius replied: "I have sent myself, to see whether I can make men of you, whether you like it or not." He asked a second time who he was to come trespassing like that into the king's country, and Apollonius said: "All the earth is mine, and I have a right to go all over it and through it." Whereupon the other said: "I will torture you, if you don't answer my questions." "And I hope," said the other, "that you will do it with your own hands, so that you may catch it well, if you touch a true man." Now the eunuch was astonished to find that Apollonius needed no interpreter, but understood what he said without the least trouble or difficulty.

CAP. XXI εὐκόλως "πρὸς θεῶν," εἶπε, "τίς εἶ;" λιπαρῶν ἤδη καὶ μεταβαλὼν τοῦ τόνου. ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος "ἐπειδὴ μετρίως," ἔφη, "ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἀπανθρώπως ἤρου, ἄκουε, ὅς εἰμι· εἰμὶ μὲν ὁ Τυανεὺς Ἀπολλώνιος, ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς παρὰ τὸν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα καθ' ἱστορίαν τῶν ἐκεῖ, βουλοίμην δ' ἂν καὶ τῷ σῷ βασιλεῖ ἐντυχεῖν· φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ ξυγγεγονότες οὐ τῶν φαύλων εἶναι, εἰ δὴ Οὐαρδάνης οὗτος, ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολωλυῖάν ποτ' αὐτῷ νῦν ἀνακεκτημένος." "ἐκεῖνος," ἔφη, "θεῖε Ἀπολλώνιε· πάλαι γάρ σε ἠκούομεν. σοφῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ κἂν αὐτοῦ παραχωρήσειε τοῦ χρυσοῦ θρόνου, καὶ πέμποι δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἐπὶ καμήλου ἕκαστον. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ξένον ἐμαυτοῦ ποιοῦμαί σε καὶ δίδωμί σοι τούτων τῶν χρημάτων," ἅμα θησαυρὸν χρυσοῦ δείξας "ὁπόσα βούλει δράττεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἐς ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ δεκάκις." παραιτησαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ χρήματα "σὺ δ' ἀλλὰ οἴνου," ἔφη, "Βαβυλωνίου, προπίνει δὲ αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς δέκα ἡμῖν σατράπαις, ἀμφορέα ἔχε, συῶν τε καὶ δορκάδων τεμάχη ὀπτά, ἄλευρά τε καὶ ἄρτους καὶ ὅ τι ἐθέλεις. ἡ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁδὸς ἐπὶ πολλὰ στάδια κῶμαί εἰσιν οὐ πάνυ εὔσιτοι." καὶ λαβόμενος ἑαυτοῦ ὁ εὐνοῦχος, "οἷον," ἔφη, "ὦ θεοί, ἔπαθον· ἀκούων γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα μήτ' ἀπὸ ζῴων σιτεῖσθαι μήτε οἴνου πίνειν, παχέως αὐτὸν καὶ ἀμαθῶς ἑστιῶ." "ἀλλ' ἔστι σοι," ἔφη, "καὶ

"By the gods," he said, "who are you?" this time altering his tone to a whine of entreaty. And Apollonius replied: "Since you have asked me civilly this time and not so rudely as before, listen, I will tell you who I am: I am Apollonius of Tyana, and my road leads me to the king of India, because I want to acquaint myself with the country there; and I shall be glad to meet your king, for those who have associated with him say that he is no bad fellow, and certainly he is not, if he is this Vardan who has lately recovered the empire which he had lost." "He is the same," replied the other, "O divine Apollonius; for we have heard of you a long time ago, and in favour of so wise a man as you he would, I am sure, step down off his golden throne and send your party to India, each of you mounted on a camel. And I myself now invite you to be my guest, and I beg to present you with these treasures." And at the moment he pointed out a store of gold to him saying: "Take as many handfuls as you like, fill your hands, not once, but ten times." And when Apollonius refused the money he said: "Well, at any rate you will take some of the Babylonian wine, in which the king pledges us, his ten satraps. Take a jar of it, with some roast steaks of bacon and venison and some meal and bread and anything else you like. For the road after this, for many stades, leads through villages which are ill-stocked with provision." And here the eunuch caught himself up and said: "Oh! ye gods, what have I done? For I have heard that this man never eats the flesh of animals, nor drinks wine, and here I am inviting him to dine in a gross and ignorant manner." "Well," said Apollonius, "you

CHAP. XXI

Apollonius' vegetarianism

CAP. XXI λεπτῶς με ἑστιᾶν, ἢν ἄρτους τε δῷς καὶ τραγήματα.” “δώσω,” ἔφη, “ζυμίτας τε ἄρτους καὶ φοίνικος βαλάνους ἠλεκτρώδεις τε καὶ μεγάλας. δώσω καὶ λάχανα, ὁπόσα ὁ Τίγρις κηπεύει.” “ἀλλ᾽ ἡδίω,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “τὰ ἄγρια καὶ αὐτόματα λάχανα τῶν ἠναγκασμένων καὶ τεχνητῶν.” “ἡδίω μέν,” ἔφη ὁ σατράπης, “ἡ χώρα δὲ ἡμῖν ἡ ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἀψινθίου πλήρης οὖσα ἀηδῆ αὐτὰ φύει καὶ πικρά.” πλὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦ σατράπου γε ἀπεδέξατο, καὶ ἀπιὼν ἤδη “ὦ λῷστε,” ἔφη, “μὴ λῆγε μόνον καλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρχου,” νουθετῶν που αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ “βασανιῶ σε,” καὶ οἷς ἐν ἀρχῇ βαρβαρίζοντος ἤκουσε.

XXII

CAP. XXII Προελθόντες δὲ εἴκοσι στάδια λεαίνῃ ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἀπεσφαγμένῃ ἐν θήρᾳ, καὶ ἦν τὸ θηρίον μέγα καὶ ὅσον οὔπω εἶδον, ἐβόων τε οἱ ἐκ τῆς κώμης συνερρυηκότες, καί, νὴ Δί᾽, οἱ τεθηρακότες, ὥς τι μέγα θαῦμα ἐν αὐτῷ ὁρῶντες· καὶ ἦν ἀτεχνῶς θαῦμα· σκύμνους γὰρ ἀνατμηθεῖσα ὀκτὼ εἶχεν. ὁ δὲ τῆς λεαίνης τόκος, αἱ λέαιναι μηνῶν μὲν κυΐσκουσιν ἕξ, τρὶς δὲ ἀποτίκτουσιν, ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν σκύμνων παρὰ μὲν τὴν πρώτην τρεῖς, ἐπὶ

can offer me a lighter repast and give me bread and dried fruits." "I will give you," said the other, "leavened bread and palm dates, like amber and of good size. And I will also supply you with vegetables, the best which the gardens of the Tigris afford." "Well," said Apollonius, "the wild herbs which grow free are nicer than those which are forced and artificial." "They are nicer," said the satrap, "I admit, but our land in the direction of Babylon is full of wormwood so that the herbs which grow in it are disagreeably bitter." In the end Apollonius accepted the satrap's offer, and as he was on the point of going away, he said: "My excellent fellow, don't keep your good manners to the end another time, but begin with them." This by way of rebuking him for saying that he would torture him, and for the barbaric language which he had heard to begin with. CHAP. XXI

XXII

AFTER they had advanced twenty stades they chanced upon a lioness that had been slain in a chase; and the brute was bigger than any they had ever seen; and the villagers rushed up and cried out, and to tell the truth, so did the huntsmen, when they saw what an extraordinary thing lay before them. And it really was a marvel; for when it was cut asunder they found eight whelps within it. And the lioness becomes a mother in this way. They carry their young for six months, but they bring forth young only three times; and the number of the whelps at the first birth is three and at the second CHAP. XXII

The portent of the slain lioness

CAP. XXII δὲ τῆς δευτέρας δύο, τρίτου δὲ ἁπτομένη τόκου μονήρη σκύμνον ἀποτίκτει μέγαν, οἶμαι, καὶ ἀγριώτερον τῆς φύσεως. οὐ γὰρ προσεκτέα τοῖς λέγουσιν, ὡς ξήναντες οἱ σκύμνοι τὰς τῶν λεαινῶν μήτρας ἐκδέδονται τοῦ σπλάγχνου. δοκεῖ γὰρ τῇ φύσει τῷ τικτομένῳ πρὸς τὸ τίκτον ἐπιτήδεια εἶναι ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ γένους. ἐνιδὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ θηρίῳ καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπισχὼν "ὦ Δάμι," ἔφη, "ὁ χρόνος τῆς παρὰ βασιλέα ἀποδημίας ἐνιαυτοῦ ἔσται καὶ μηνῶν ὀκτώ, οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἀνήσει θᾶττον, οὔτε ἡμῖν λῷον ἀπελθεῖν πρὸ τούτου. τεκμαίρεσθαι δὲ χρὴ τῶν μὲν σκύμνων ἐς μῆνας, τῆς λεαίνης δὲ ἐς ἐνιαυτόν, τέλεια γὰρ τελείοις παραβλητέα." "οἱ δὲ δὴ στρουθοί," ἔφη ὁ Δάμις, "οἱ παρὰ τῷ Ὁμήρῳ τί φήσουσιν, οὓς ὁ δράκων μὲν ἐν τῇ Αὐλίδι ἐδαίσατο ὀκτὼ ὄντας, ἐννάτην ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὴν μητέρα ἑλών; Κάλχας δ' ἐξηγούμενος ταῦτα ἐννέα ἐνιαυτοῖς ἀνεῖπε καταπολεμήσεσθαι τὴν Τροίαν· καὶ ὅρα μὴ καθ' Ὅμηρόν τε καὶ Κάλχαντα ἐς ἐννέα ἡμῖν ἔτη ἡ ἀποδημία τείνῃ." "καὶ εἰκότως," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, καὶ τοὺς νεοττοὺς Ὅμηρος ἐνιαυτοῖς εἰκάζει, γεγόνασι γὰρ ἤδη καί εἰσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀτελῆ θηρία καὶ μήπω γεγονότα, ἴσως δὲ μηδ' ἂν γενόμενα, πῶς ἂν ἐνιαυτοῖς εἰκάζοιμι; τὰ γὰρ παρὰ φύσιν οὔτ' ἂν γένοιτο, ταχεῖάν τε ἴσχει διαφθοράν, κἂν γένηται. ἀλλ' ἕπου δὴ τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ἴωμεν εὐξάμενοι[1] τοῖς θεοῖς οἳ ταῦτα φαίνουσι."

[1] εὐξάμενοι Phillimore: εὐξόμενοι Kayser,

two, and if the mother makes a third attempt, it bears only a single whelp, but I believe a very big one and preternaturally fierce. For we must not believe those who say that the whelps of a lioness make their way out into the world by clawing through their mother's womb; for nature seems to have created the relationship of offspring to mother for their nourishment with a view to the continuance of the race. Apollonius then eyed the animal for a long time, with attention, and then he said: "O Damis, the length of our stay with the king will be a year and eight months; for neither will he let us go sooner than that, nor will it be to our advantage to quit him earlier. And you may guess the number of the months from that of the whelps, and that of the years from the lioness; for you must compare wholes with wholes." And Damis replied: "But what of the sparrows in Homer, what do they mean, the ones which the dragon devoured in Aulis, which were eight in number, when he seized their mother for a ninth? Calchas surely explained these to signify nine years and predicted that the war with Troy would last so long; so take care that Homer may not be right and Calchas, too, and that our stay may not extend to nine years abroad." "Well," replied Apollonius, "Homer was surely quite right in comparing the nestlings to years, for they are already hatched out and in the world; but what I had in mind were incomplete animals that were not yet born, and perhaps never would have been born: how could I compare them to years? For things that violate nature can hardly come to be; and they anyhow quickly pass to destruction, even if they do come into existence. So follow my arguments, and let us go, first praying to the gods who reveal thus much to us." CHAP. XXII

XXIII

CAP. XXIII Προελθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν Κισσίαν χωραν καὶ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι ἤδη ὄντι, δόξα ἐνυπνίου ἐφοίτησεν ὧδε τῷ φήναντι θεῷ ξυντεθεῖσα· ἰχθῦς ἐκπεπτωκότες τῆς θαλάττης ἐν τῇ γῇ ἤσπαιρον, θρῆνον ἀνθρώπων ἱέντες καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενοι τὸ ἐκβεβηκέναι τοῦ ἤθους, δελφῖνά τε τῇ γῇ παρανέοντα ἱκέτευον ἀμῦναί σφισιν ἐλεεινοὶ ὄντες, ὥσπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ ἐν τῇ ξένῃ κλαίοντες. ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου, ξυμβάλλεται μὲν αὐτοῦ ὅπως καὶ ὅπῃ εἶχε, διαταράττειν δὲ βουλόμενος τὸν Δάμιν, καὶ γὰρ τῶν εὐλαβεστέρων αὐτὸν ἐγίγνωσκεν, ἀπαγγέλλει πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν ὄψιν, δέος πλασάμενος ὡς ἐπὶ πονηροῖς, οἷς εἶδεν· ὁ δὲ ἀνεβόησέ τε ὡς αὐτὸς ἰδὼν ταῦτα, καὶ ἀπῆγε τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ πρόσω "μή πῃ," ἔφη, "καὶ ἡμεῖς ὥσπερ ἰχθῦς ἐκπεσόντες τῶν ἠθῶν ἀπολώμεθα, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλεεινὰ ἐν τῇ ἀλλοδαπῇ εἴπωμεν, καί που καὶ ἐς ἀμήχανον ἐμπεσόντες ἱκετεύσωμεν δυνάστην τινὰ ἢ βασιλέα, ὁ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀτιμάσῃ, καθάπερ τοὺς ἰχθῦς οἱ δελφῖνες." γελάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος "σὺ μὲν οὔπω φιλοσοφεῖς," εἶπεν, "εἰ δέδιας ταῦτα, ἐγὼ δὲ οἷ τὸ ἐνύπνιον τείνει δηλώσω· Ἐρετριεῖς γὰρ τὴν Κισσίαν ταύτην χώραν οἰκοῦσιν οἱ ἐξ Εὐβοίας ποτὲ Δαρείῳ ἀναχθέντες ἔτη ταῦτα πεντακόσια, καὶ λέγονται, ὥσπερ ἡ ὄψις ἐφάνη, ἰχθύων πάθει περὶ τὴν ἅλωσιν χρήσασθαι· σαγηνευθῆναι γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἁλῶναι πάντας.

XXIII

CHAP. XXIII

His dream about the captive Eretrians

And as he advanced into the Cissian country and was already close to Babylon, he was visited by a dream, and the god who revealed it to him fashioned its imagery as follows: there were fishes which had been cast up from the sea on to the land, and they were gasping, and uttering a lament almost human, and bewailing that they had quitted their element; and they were begging a dolphin that was swimming past the shore to help them in their misery, just like human beings who are weeping in a foreign land. Apollonius was not in the least frightened by his dream, but set himself to conjecture its meaning and drift; but he was determined to give Damis a shock, for he found that he was the most nervous of men. So he related his vision to him, and feigned as if it foreboded evil. But Damis began to bellow as if he had seen the dream himself, and tried to dissuade Apollonius from going any further, "Lest," he said, "we also like the fishes get thrown out of our element and perish, and have to weep and wail in a foreign land. Nay, we may even be reduced to straits, and have to go down on our knees to some potentate or king, who will flout us as the dolphins did the fishes." Then Apollonius laughed and said: "You've not become a philosopher yet, if you are afraid of this sort of thing. But I will explain to you the real drift of the dream. For this land of Cissia is habited by the Eretrians, who were brought up here from Euboea by Darius five hundred years ago, and they are said to have been treated at their capture like the fishes that we saw in the dream; for they were netted in, so they say, and captured one

CAP. XXIII ἐοίκασιν οὖν οἱ θεοὶ κελεύειν με ἐς αὐτοὺς παρελθόντα ἐπιμεληθῆναι σφῶν, εἴ τι δυναίμην. ἴσως δὲ καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἵπερ ἔλαχον τὴν ἐνταῦθα μοῖραν, ἐπάγονταί με ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῆς γῆς· ἴωμεν οὖν ἐξαλλάξαντες τῆς ὁδοῦ περὶ μόνου ἐρωτῶντες τοῦ φρέατος, πρὸς ᾧ οἰκοῦσι." λέγεται δὲ τοῦτο κεκρᾶσθαι μὲν ἀσφάλτου καὶ ἐλαίου καὶ ὕδατος, ἐκχέαντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνιμήσαντος ἀποχωρεῖν ταῦτα καὶ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων κρίνεσθαι. παρελθεῖν μὲν δὴ ἐς τὴν Κισσίαν καὶ αὐτὸς ὡμολόγηκεν ἐν οἷς πρὸς τὸν Κλαζομένιον σοφιστὴν γράφει, χρηστὸς γὰρ οὕτω τι καὶ φιλότιμος ἦν, ὡς ἐπειδὴ Ἐρετριέας εἶδε, σοφιστοῦ τε ἀναμνησθῆναι καὶ γράψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἅ τε εἶδεν ἅ τε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔπραξεν· καὶ παρακελεύεταί οἱ παρὰ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πᾶσαν ἐλεεῖν τοὺς Ἐρετριέας, καὶ ὁπότε μελετῴη τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον, μηδὲ τὸ κλάειν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς παραιτεῖσθαι.

XXIV

CAP. XXIV Ξυνῳδὰ δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὁ Δάμις περὶ τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἀναγέγραφεν· οἰκοῦσι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ, Βαβυλῶνος οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχοντες ἡμέρας ὁδὸν δρομικῷ ἀνδρί, ἡ χώρα δὲ ἄπολις, ἡ γὰρ Κισσία κῶμαι πᾶσα, καί τι καὶ νομάδων ἐν αὐτῇ γένος μικρὰ τῶν ἵππων ἀποβαίνοντες. ἡ δὲ τῶν Ἐρετριέων οἰκεῖται μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μέση, περιβέβληται δὲ ποταμοῦ τάφρον, ἣν αὐτοὶ βαλ-

and all. It would seem then that the gods are instructing me to visit them and tend their needs, supposing I can do anything for them. And perhaps also the souls of the Greeks whose lot was cast in this part of the world are enlisting my aid for their land. Let us then go on and diverge from the high-road, and ask only about the well, hard by which their settlement is." Now this well is said to consist of a mixture of pitch and oil and water, and if you draw up a bucket and pour it out, these three elements divide and part themselves from one another. That he really did visit Cissia, he himself acknowledges in a letter which he wrote to the sophist of Clazomenae; for he was so kind and loyal, that when he saw the Eretrians, he remembered the sophist and wrote to him an account of what he had seen, and of what he had done for them; and all through this letter he urges the sophist to take pity on the Eretrians and prays him, in case ever he should compose a discourse about them, not to deprecate even the shedding of tears over their fate.

CHAP. XXIII

Letter to the Sophist of Clazomenae Scopelianus about them

XXIV

AND the record which Damis has left about the Eretrians is in harmony with this. For they live in the country of the Medes, not far distant from Babylon, a day's journey for a fleet traveller; but their country is without cities; for the whole of Cissia consists of villages, except for a race of nomads that also inhabits it, men who seldom dismount from their horses. And the settlement of the Eretrians is in the centre of the rest, and the river is carried

CHAP. XXIV

The story of Datis and the Eretrians carried captive to Media

CAP. XXIV έσθαι περὶ τῇ κώμῃ λέγονται, τεῖχος αὐτὴν ποιούμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Κισσίᾳ βαρβάρους. ὕπομβρος δὲ ἀσφάλτῳ ἡ χώρα καὶ πικρὰ ἐμφυτεῦσαι, βραχυβιώτατοί τε οἱ ἐκείνῃ ἄνθρωποι, τὸ γὰρ ἀσφαλτῶδες ποτὸν ἐς πολλὰ τῶν σπλάγχνων ἱζάνει. τρέφει δ' αὐτοὺς λόφος ἐν ὁρίοις τῆς κώμης, ὃν ὑπεραίροντα τοῦ παρεφθορότος χωρίου σπείρουσί τε καὶ ἡγοῦνται γῆν. φασὶ δὲ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν ἐγχωρίων, ὡς ἑπτακόσιοι μὲν τῶν Ἐρετριέων πρὸς τοῖς ὀγδοήκοντα ἥλωσαν, οὔτι που μάχιμοι πάντες, ἦν γάρ τι καὶ θῆλυ ἐν αὐτοῖς γένος καὶ γεγηρακός, ἦν δ', οἶμαί, τι καὶ παιδία, τὸ γὰρ πολὺ τῆς Ἐρετρίας τὸν Καφηρέα ἀνέφυγε καὶ ὅ τι ἀκρότατον τῆς Εὐβοίας. ἀνήχθησαν δὲ ἄνδρες μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρακοσίους, γύναια δὲ ἴσως δέκα, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπ' Ἰωνίας τε καὶ Λυδίας ἀρξάμενοι διεφθάρησαν ἐλαυνόμενοι ἄνω. λιθοτομίαν δὲ αὐτοῖς παρεχομένου τοῦ λόφου, καί τινες καὶ λιθουργοὺς εἰδότες τέχνας, ἱερά τε ἐδείμαντο Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ ἀγοράν, ὁπόσην εἰκὸς ἦν, βωμούς τε ἱδρύσαντο Δαρείῳ μὲν δύο, Ξέρξῃ δὲ ἕνα, Δαριδαίῳ δὲ πλείους. διετέλεσαν δὲ ἐς Δαριδαῖον ἔτη μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν ὀκτὼ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα γράφοντες τὸν Ἑλλήνων τρόπον, καὶ οἱ τάφοι δὲ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι σφῶν "ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος" γεγράφαται, καὶ τὰ γράμματα Ἑλλήνων μέν, ἀλλ' οὔπω ταῦτα ἰδεῖν φασι. καὶ ναῦς ἐγκεχαραγ-

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round it in a trench, for they say that they themselves diverted it round the village in order to form a rampart of defence against the barbarians of the country. But the soil is drenched with pitch, and is bitter to plant in; and the inhabitants are very short lived, because the pitch in the water forms a sediment in most of their bowels. And they get their sustenance off a bit of rising ground on the confines of the village, where the ground rises above the tainted country; on this they sow their crops and regard it as their land. And they say that they have heard from the natives that 780 of the Eretrians were captured, not of course all of them fighting men; for there was a certain number of women and old men among them; and there was, I imagine, a certain number of children too, for the greater portion of the population of Eretria had fled to Caphereus and to the loftiest peaks of Euboea. But anyhow the men who were brought up numbered about 400, and there were ten women perhaps; but the rest, who had started from Ionia and Lydia, perished as they were marching up. And they managed to open a quarry on the hill; and as some of them understood the art of cutting stone, they built temples in the Greek style and a market-place large enough for their purpose; and they dedicated various altars, two to Darius, and one to Xerxes, and several to Daridaeus. But up to the time of Daridaeus, 88 years after their capture, they continued to write in the manner of the Greeks, and what is more, their ancient graves are inscribed with the legend: "So and so, the son of so and so." And though the letters are Greek, they said that they never yet had made them out. And there were ships engraved on

Apollonius restores their graves

CAP. XXIV μένας τοῖς τάφοις, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἔζη πορθμεύων ἢ πορφυρεύων ἢ θαλάττιον ἢ καὶ ἁλουργὸν πράττων, καί τι καὶ ἐλεγεῖον ἀναγνῶναι γεγραμμένον ἐπὶ ναυτῶν τε καὶ ναυκλήρων σήματι·

Οἵδε ποτ᾽ Αἰγαίοιο βαθύρροον οἶδμα πλέοντες
  Ἐκβατάνων πεδίῳ κείμεθ᾽ ἐνὶ μεσάτῳ.
χαῖρε κλυτή ποτε πατρὶς Ἐρέτρια, χαίρετ᾽
    Ἀθῆναι,
  γείτονες Εὐβοίης, χαῖρε θάλασσα φίλη.

Τοὺς μὲν δὴ τάφους διεφθορότας ἀναλαβεῖν τε αὐτὸν ὁ Δάμις φησὶ καὶ ξυγκλεῖσαι, χέασθαί τε καὶ ἐπενεγκεῖν σφισιν, ὁπόσα νόμιμα, πλὴν τοῦ τεμεῖν τι ἢ καθαγίσαι, δακρύσαντά τε καὶ ὑποπλησθέντα ὁρμῆς τάδε ἐν μέσοις ἀναφθέγξασθαι· "Ἐρετριεῖς οἱ κλήρῳ τύχης δεῦρ᾽ ἀπενεχθέντες, ὑμεῖς μέν, εἰ καὶ πόρρω τῆς αὐτῶν, τέθαφθε γοῦν, οἱ δ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἐνταῦθα ῥίψαντες ἀπώλοντο περὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν νῆσον ἄταφοι δεκάτῳ μεθ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἔτει· τὰ γὰρ ἐν κοίλῃ Εὐβοίᾳ πάθος θεοὶ φαίνουσιν." Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ πρὸς τὸν σοφιστὴν ἐπὶ τέλει τῆς ἐπιστολῆς "καὶ ἐπεμελήθην," φησίν, "ὦ Σκοπελιανέ, τῶν σῶν Ἐρετριέων νέος ὢν ἔτι, καὶ ὠφέλησα ὅ τι ἐδυνάμην καὶ τοὺς τεθνεῶτας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ζῶντας." τί δῆτα ἐπεμελήθη τῶν ζώντων; οἱ πρόσοικοι τῷ λόφῳ βάρβαροι σπειρόντων τῶν Ἐρετριέων αὐτὸν ἐληίζοντο τὰ φυόμενα περὶ τὸ

the tombstones, to show that the various individuals had lived in Euboea, aud engaged either in seafaring trade, or in that of purple, as sailors or as dyers; and they say that they read an Elegiac inscription written over the sepulchre of some sailors and seafarers, which ran thus: CHAP. XXIV

Here we who once sailed over the deep-flowing
billows of the Aegean sea
Are lying in the midst of the plain of Ecbatana.
Farewell, once-famed fatherland of Eretria, farewell
Athens,
Ye neighbours of Euboea, farewell, thou darling sea.

Well, Damis says that Apollonius restored the tombs that had gone to ruin and closed them up, and that he poured out libations and made offerings to their inmates, all that religion demands, except that he did not slay or sacrifice any victim; then after weeping and in an access of emotion, he delivered himself of the following apostrophe in their midst: "Ye Eretrians, who by the lot of fortune have been brought hither, ye, even if ye are far from your own land, have at least received burial; but those who cast you hither perished unburied round the shores of your island ten years after yourselves; for the gods brought about this calamity in the hollows of Euboea."

And Apollonius at the end of his letter to the sophist writes as follows: "I also attended, O Scopelianus, to your Eretrians, while I was still a young man; and I gave what help I could both to their dead and their living." What attention then did he show to their living? This—the barbarians, in the neighbourhood of the hill, when the Eretrians

CAP. XXIV θέρος ἥκοντες καὶ πεινῆν ἔδει γεωργοῦντας ἑτέροις. ὁπότ᾽ οὖν παρὰ βασιλέα ἀφίκετο, εὕρετο αὐτοῖς τὸ χρῆσθαι μόνους τῷ λόφῳ.

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CAP. XXV Τὰ δὲ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου καὶ ὁπόσα Βαβυλῶνος πέρι προσήκει γιγνώσκειν, τοιάδε εὗρον· ἡ Βαβυλὼν τετείχισται μὲν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ τετρακόσια στάδια, τοσαύτη κύκλῳ, τεῖχος δὲ αὐτῆς τρία μὲν τὸ ὕψος ἡμίπλεθρα, πλέθρου δὲ μεῖον τὸ εὖρος, ποταμῷ δὲ Εὐφράτῃ τέμνεται ξὺν ὁμοιότητι τοῦ εἴδους, ὃν ἀπόρρητος ὑποστείχει γέφυρα, τὰ βασίλεια τὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις ἀφανῶς ξυνάπτουσα. γυνὴ γὰρ λέγεται Μηδεία τῶν ἐκείνῃ ποτὲ ἄρχουσα τὸν ποταμὸν ὑποζεῦξαι τρόπον, ὃν μήπω τις ποταμὸς ἐζεύχθη· λίθους γὰρ δὴ καὶ χαλκὸν καὶ ἄσφαλτον καὶ ὁπόσα ἐς ἔφυδρον ξύνδεσιν ἀνθρώποις εὕρηται, παρὰ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ νήσασα τὸ ῥεῦμα ἐς λίμνας ἔτρεψε, ξηρόν τε ἤδη τὸν ποταμὸν ὤρυγεν ὀργυιὰς ἐς δύο σήραγγα ἐργαζομένη κοίλην, ἵν᾽ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια τὰ παρὰ ταῖς ὄχθαις ὥσπερ ἐκ γῆς ἀναφαίνοιτο, καὶ ἤρεψεν αὐτὴν ἴσως τῷ τοῦ ῥεύματος δαπέδῳ. οἱ μὲν δὴ θεμέλιοι ἐβεβήκεσαν καὶ οἱ τοῖχοι τῆς σήραγγος, ἅτε δὲ τῆς ἀσφάλτου δεομένης τοῦ ὕδατος ἐς τὸ λιθοῦσθαί τε καὶ πήγνυσθαι ὁ Εὐφράτης ἐπαφείθη ὑγρῷ τῷ ὀρόφῳ,

sowed their seed upon it, would come in summer-time and plunder their crops, so that they had to starve and see the fruits of their husbandry go to others. When therefore he reached the king, he took pains to secure for them the sole use of the hill. CHAP. XXIV

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CHAP. XXV

Stay in Babylon and account of that city

I FOUND the following to be an account of the sage's stay in Babylon, and of all we need to know about Babylon. The fortifications of Babylon extend 480 stadia and form a complete circle, and its wall is three half *plethrons* high, but less than a *plethron*[1] in breadth. And it is cut asunder by the river Euphrates, into halves of similar shape; and there passes underneath the river an extraordinary bridge which joins together by an unseen passage the palaces on either bank. For it is said that a woman, Medea, was formerly queen of those parts, who spanned the river underneath in a manner in which no river was ever bridged before; for she got stones, it is said, and copper and pitch and all the materials which men have found set under water, and she piled these up along the banks of the river. Then she diverted the stream into lakes; and as soon as the river was dry, she dug down two fathoms, and made a hollow tunnel, which she caused to debouch into the palaces on either bank like a subterranean grotto; and she roofed it on a level with the bed of the stream. The foundations were thus made stable, and also the walls of the tunnel; but as the pitch required water in order to set as hard as stone, the Euphrates was let in again on the roof while still soft, and so the junction

[1] A *plethron* was equal to 101 English feet.

CAP. XXV καὶ ὧδε ἔστη τὸ ζεῦγμα. τὰ δὲ βασίλεια χαλκῷ μὲν ἤρεπται καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀστράπτει, θάλαμοι δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶνες καὶ στοαί, τὰ μὲν ἀργύρῳ, τὰ δὲ χρυσοῖς ὑφάσμασι, τὰ δὲ χρυσῷ αὐτῷ καθάπερ γραφαῖς ἠγλάϊσται, τὰ δὲ ποικίλματα τῶν πέπλων ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν σφίσιν ἥκει λόγων, Ἀνδρομέδαι καὶ Ἀμυμῶναι καὶ Ὀρφεὺς πολλαχοῦ. χαίρουσι δὲ τῷ Ὀρφεῖ, τιάραν ἴσως καὶ ἀναξυρίδα τιμῶντες, οὐ γὰρ μουσικήν γε, οὐδὲ ᾠδάς, αἷς ἔθελγεν. ἐνύφανταί που καὶ ὁ Δᾶτις τὴν Νάξον ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνασπῶν, καὶ Ἀρταφέρνης περιεστηκὼς τὴν Ἐρέτριαν, καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην, ἃ νικᾶν ἔφασκεν· Ἀθῆναι γὰρ δὴ ἐχόμεναί εἰσι καὶ Θερμοπύλαι καὶ τὰ Μηδικώτερα ἔτι, ποταμοὶ ἐξαιρούμενοι τῆς γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ζεῦγμα καὶ ὁ Ἄθως ὡς ἐτμήθη. φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶνι ἐντυχεῖν, οὗ τὸν ὄροφον ἐς θόλου ἀνῆχθαι σχῆμα οὐρανῷ τινι εἰκασμένον, σαπφειρίνῃ δὲ αὐτὸν κατηρέφθαι λίθῳ—κυανωτάτη δὲ ἡ λίθος καὶ οὐρανία ἰδεῖν—καὶ θεῶν ἀγάλματα, οὓς νομίζουσιν, ἵδρυται ἄνω καὶ χρυσᾶ φαίνεται, καθάπερ, ἐξ αἰθέρος. δικάζει μὲν δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνταῦθα, χρυσαῖ δὲ ἴυγγες ἀποκρέμανται τοῦ ὀρόφου τέτταρες, τὴν Ἀδράστειαν αὐτῷ παρεγγυῶσαι καὶ τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους αἴρεσθαι. ταύτας οἱ μάγοι αὐτοί φασιν ἁρμόττεσθαι, φοιτῶντες ἐς τὰ βασίλεια, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὰς θεῶν γλώττας.

stood solid. And the palaces are roofed with bronze, and a glitter goes off from them; but the chambers of the women and of the men and the porticos are adorned partly with silver, and partly with golden tapestries or curtains, and partly with solid gold in the form of pictures; but the subjects embroidered on the stuffs are taken by them from Hellenic story, Andromedas being represented, and Amumonae, and you see Orpheus everywhere. And they delight in Orpheus, perhaps out of regard for his peaked cap and breeches, for it cannot be for his music or the songs with which he charmed and soothed others. And woven into the pattern you perceive Datis tearing up Naxos out of the sea, and Artaphernes beleaguering Eretria, and such battles of Xerxes as he said he won. For a little further off, of course, there is Athens and Thermopylae, and other pictures still more to the Median taste, such as rivers drained from off the land and a bridge over the sea and the piercing of Athos. But they say that they also visited a man's apartment of which the roof had been carried up in the form of a dome, to resemble in a manner the heavens, and that it was roofed with sapphire, a stone that is very blue and like heaven to the eye; and there were images of the gods, which they worship, fixed aloft, and looking like golden figures shining out of the ether. And it is here that the king gives judgement, and golden wrynecks are hung from the ceiling, four in number, to remind him of Adrastea, the goddess of justice, and to engage him not to exalt himself above humanity. These figures the Magi themselves say they arranged; for they have access to the palace, and they call them the tongues of the gods.

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Greek works of art in Babylon

Juvenal x. 176

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CAP. XXVI Περὶ δὲ τῶν μάγων Ἀπολλώνιος μὲν τὸ ἀποχρῶν εἴρηκε, συγγενέσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ μὲν μαθεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἀπελθεῖν διδάξας, Δάμις δὲ τοὺς μὲν λόγους, οἷοι ἐγένοντο τῷ ἀνδρὶ πρὸς τοὺς μάγους οὐκ οἶδεν, ἀπαγορεῦσαι γὰρ αὐτῷ μὴ συμφοιτᾶν παρ' αὐτοὺς ἰόντι, λέγει δ' οὖν φοιτᾶν αὐτὸν τοῖς μάγοις μεσημβρίας τε καὶ ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας, καὶ ἔρεσθαί ποτε "τί οἱ μάγοι;" τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι "σοφοὶ μέν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα."

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CAP. XXVII Ταυτὶ μὲν ὕστερον. ἀφικομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ὁ σατράπης ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν μεγάλων πυλῶν μαθὼν ὅτι ὑπὲρ ἱστορίας ἥκοι, ὀρέγει χρυσῆν εἰκόνα τοῦ βασιλέως, ἣν εἰ μὴ προσκυνήσειέ τις, οὐ θεμιτὸν ἦν ἐσφοιτᾶν ἔσω. πρεσβεύοντι μὲν οὖν παρὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντος οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη τούτου, παρὰ βαρβάρων δὲ ἥκοντι ἢ ἀφιστοροῦντι τὴν χώραν, εἰ μὴ τὴν εἰκόνα προθεραπεύσειεν, ἄτιμον ἀπειλῆφθαι· καὶ σατραπεύεται παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις τὰ οὕτως εὐήθη. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τὴν εἰκόνα εἶδε "τίς," ἔφη, "οὗτος;" ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι ὁ βασιλεύς "οὗτος," εἶπεν, "ὃν ὑμεῖς προσκυνεῖτε, εἰ ἐπαινεθείη ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καλὸς κἀγαθὸς δόξας μεγάλων τεύξεται·" καὶ εἰπὼν

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CHAP. XXVI

Apollonius interviews the Magi

With respect to the Magi, Apollonius has said all that there is to be said, how he associated with them and learned some things from them, and taught them others before he went away. But Damis is not acquainted with the conversations which the sage held with the Magi, for the latter forbade him to accompany him in his visits to them; so he tells us merely that he visited the Magi at mid-day and about mid-night, and he says that he once asked his master: "What of the Magi?" and the latter answered: "They are wise men, but not in all respects."

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CHAP. XXVII

He refuses to worship the king's image

But of this later on. When then he arrived at Babylon, the satrap in command of the great gates having learnt that he had come to see the country, held out a golden image of the king, which everyone must kiss before he is allowed to enter the city. Now an ambassador coming from the Roman Emperor has not this ceremony imposed upon him, but anyone who comes from the barbarians or just to look at the country, is arrested with dishonour unless he has first paid his respects to this image. Such are the silly duties committed to satraps among barbarians. When therefore Apollonius saw the image, he said: "Who is that?" And on being told that it was the king, he said: "This king whom you worship would acquire a great boon, if I merely commended him as of an honourable and good reputation." And with these words he passed through

CAP. XXVII ταῦτα διὰ πυλῶν ᾔει. θαυμάσας δὲ ὁ σατράπης αὐτὸν ἐπηκολούθησέ τε καὶ κατασχὼν τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου δι᾿ ἑρμηνέος ἤρετο ὄνομά τε αὐτοῦ καὶ οἶκον καὶ ὅ τι ἐπιτηδεύοι καὶ ἐφ᾿ ὅ τι φοιτῴη, καὶ ἀπογραψάμενος ταῦτα ἐς γραμματεῖον στολήν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶδος ἐκεῖνον μὲν περιμεῖναι κελεύει,

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CAP. XXVIII Δραμὼν δὲ αὐτὸς παρὰ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἳ δὴ νομίζονται βασιλέως ὦτα, ἀνατυποῖ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, προειπὼν ὅτι μήτε προσκυνεῖν βούλεται μήτε τι ἀνθρώπῳ ἔοικεν· οἱ δὲ ἄγειν κελεύουσι τιμῶντά τε καὶ μηδὲν ὕβρει πράττοντα, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθεν, ἤρετο αὐτὸν ὁ πρεσβύτατος ὅ τι μαθὼν καταφρονήσειε τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁ δὲ "οὔπω," ἔφη, "κατεφρόνησα." "καταφρονήσειας δ᾿ ἄν;" πάλιν ἐρομένου, "νὴ Δί᾿," εἶπεν, "ἤν γε ξυγγενόμενος μὴ καλόν τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν εὕρω αὐτόν." "ἀπάγεις δὲ δὴ τίνα αὐτῷ δῶρα;" τοῦ δὲ αὖ τήν τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα φήσαντος "πότερον," ἔφη, "ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντι;" "μὰ Δί᾿," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ᾿ ὡς μαθησομένῳ χρῆσθαι, ἢν ἔχῃ αὐτάς," "καὶ μὴν χρώμενος τούτοις," ἔφη, "τήν τε βασιλείαν, ἣν ὁρᾷς, ἀπολωλυῖαν αὐτῷ ἀνέλαβε, τόν τε οἶκον ἐπανήγαγε τοῦτον, οὐκ ἀπόνως οὐδὲ ῥαθύμως." "πόστον δὲ δὴ τοῦτο ἔτος τῇ ἀνακτηθείσῃ ἀρχῇ;" "τρίτου,"

the gate. But the satrap was astonished, and followed him, and taking hold of his hand, he asked him through an interpreter his name and his family and what was his profession and why he came thither; and he wrote down the answers in a book and also a description of his dress and appearance, and ordered him to wait there. CHAP. XXVII

XXVIII

CHAP. XXVIII

His proud bearing towards the great king

But he himself ran off to the persons whom they are pleased to call the "Ears of the King," and described Apollonius to them, after first telling them both that he refused to do homage and that he was not the least like other men. They bade him bring him along, and show him respect without using any violence; and when he came the head of the department asked him what induced him to flout the king, and he answered: "I have not yet flouted him." "But would you flout him?" was the next question. "Why, of course I will," said Apollonius, "if on making his acquaintance I find him to be neither honourable nor good." "Well, and what presents do you bring for him?" Apollonius answered afresh that he brought courage and justice and so forth. "Do you mean," said the other, "to imply that the king lacks these qualities?" "No, indeed," he answered, "but I would fain teach him to practise them, in case he possesses them." "And surely it was by practising these qualities," said the other, "that he has recovered the kingdom, which you behold, after he had lost it, and has restored his house,—no light task this nor easy." "And how many years is it since he recovered his kingdom?"

CAP. XXVIII

ἔφη, "ἀρχόμεθα, δύο ἤδη που μῆνες." ἀναστήσας οὖν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τὴν γνώμην "ὦ σωματοφύλαξ," εἶπεν, "ἢ ὅ τί σε προσήκει καλεῖν, Δαρεῖος ὁ Κύρου καὶ Ἀρταξέρξου πατὴρ τὰ βασίλεια ταῦτα κατασχὼν ἑξήκοντα, οἶμαι, ἔτη λέγεται τελευτὴν ὑποπτεύσας τοῦ βίου τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ θῦσαι, καὶ "ὦ δέσποινα," εἰπεῖν, "ἥ τίς ποτε εἶ·" ὥσπερ ἐπιθυμήσας μὲν πάλαι τῆς δικαιοσύνης, οὔπω δὲ αὐτὴν γιγνώσκων, οὐδὲ δοκῶν κεκτῆσθαι, τὼ παῖδέ τε οὕτως ἀμαθῶς ἐπαίδευσεν, ὡς ὅπλα ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἄρασθαι, καὶ ὁ μὲν τρωθῆναι, ὁ δὲ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου, σὺ δ' ἤδη τοῦτον ἴσως οὐδ' ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ θρόνῳ καθῆσθαι εἰδότα ξυνειληφέναι ὁμοῦ πάσας ἀρετὰς βούλει καὶ ἐπαίρεις αὐτὸν σοὶ φέρων, οὐκ ἐμοί, κέρδος, εἰ βελτίων γένοιτο."

Βλέψας οὖν ὁ βάρβαρος ἐς τὸν πλησίον "ἕρμαιον," ἔφη, "θεῶν τις ἄγει τουτονὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐνταῦθα, ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ξυγγενόμενος ἀγαθῷ πολλῷ βελτίω τὸν βασιλέα ἡμῖν ἀποφανεῖ καὶ σωφρονέστερον καὶ ἡδίω, ταυτὶ γὰρ διαφαίνεται τοῦ ἀνδρός." ἐσέθεον οὖν εὐαγγελιζόμενοι πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις ἑστήκοι σοφός τε καὶ Ἕλλην καὶ ξύμβουλος ἀγαθός.

"This is the third year since," answered the other, "which year began about two months ago." Apollonius, then as was his custom, upheld his opinion and went on: "O bodyguard, or whatever I ought to call you, Darius the father of Cyrus and of Artaxerxes was master of these royal domains, I think, for 60 years, and he is said, when he felt that his end was near at hand, to have offered a sacrifice to Justice and to have addressed her thus: 'O lady mistress, or whosoever thou art.' This shows that he had long loved justice and desired her, but as yet knew her not, nor deemed that he had won her; and he brought up his two sons so foolishly that they took up arms against one another, and one was wounded and the other killed by his fellow. Well, here is a king who perhaps does not even know how to keep his seat on the throne, and you would have me believe that he combines already all virtues, and you extol him, though, if he does turn out fairly good, it is you and not I that will gain thereby." CHAP. XXVIII

The barbarian then glanced at his neighbour and said: "Here is a windfall! 'tis one of the gods who has brought this man here; for as one good man associating with another improves him, so he will much improve our king, and render him more temperate and more gracious; for these qualities are conspicuous in this man." They accordingly ran into the palace and told everybody the good news, that there stood at the king's gates a man who was wise and a Hellene, and a good counsellor.

XXIX

CAP. XXIX 'Επεὶ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀνηγγέλη ταῦτα, ἔτυχε μὲν θύων παρόντων αὐτῷ τῶν μάγων, τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνοις δρᾶται, καλέσας δὲ αὐτῶν ἕνα "ἥκει," ἔφη, "τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ὃ διηγούμην σοι τήμερον ἐπισκοπουμένῳ με ἐν τῇ εὐνῇ." ὄναρ δὲ ἄρα τῷ βασιλεῖ τοιοῦτον ἀφῖκτο· ἐδόκει 'Αρταξέρξης εἶναι ὁ τοῦ Ξέρξου καὶ μεθεστηκέναι ἐς ἐκεῖνον τὸ εἶδος, περιδεῶς τε εἶχε, μὴ ἐς μεταβολὴν ἤδη τὰ πράγματα ἥκῃ αὐτῷ, ἐς τοῦτο ἐξηγουμένῳ τὴν μεταβολὴν τοῦ εἴδους. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσεν Ἕλληνά τε καὶ σοφὸν εἶναι τὸν ἥκοντα, ἐσῆλθεν αὐτὸν Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ 'Αθηναῖος, ὃς ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων ποτὲ ἥκων ξυνεγένετο τῷ 'Αρταξέρξῃ καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐποίησεν ἑαυτόν τε παρέσχετο. καὶ προτείνας τὴν δεξιὰν "κάλει," ἔφη, "καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ καλλίστου ἄρξαιτο ξυνθύσας τε καὶ ξυνευξάμενος."

XXX

CAP. XXX Εἰσῄει μὲν δὴ παραπεμπόμενος ὑπὸ πλειόνων, τουτὶ γὰρ ᾤοντο καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ χαρίζεσθαι μαθόντες ὡς χαίροι ἀφιγμένῳ, διιὼν δὲ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια οὐ διέβλεψεν ἐς οὐδὲν τῶν θαυμαζομένων, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁδοιπορῶν διῄει αὐτά, καὶ καλέσας τὸν Δάμιν "ἤρου με," ἔφη, "πρώην, ὅ τι ὄνομα ἦν τῇ Παμφύλῳ γυναικί, ἣ δὴ Σαπφοῖ τε ὁμιλῆσαι

XXIX

CHAP. XXIX

The king welcomes him as a second Themistocles

When these tidings were brought to the king, he happened to be sacrificing in company with the Magi, for religious rites are performed under their supervision. And he called one of them and said: "The dream is come true, which I narrated to you to-day when you visited me in my bed." Now the dream which the king had dreamed was as follows: he thought that he was Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, and that he had altered and assumed the latter's form; and he was very much afraid lest some change should come over the face of his affairs, for so he interpreted his change of appearance. But when he heard that it was a Hellene, and a wise man, that had come, he remembered about Themistocles of Athens, who had once come from Greece and had lived with Artaxerxes, and had not only won for the king singular esteem, but had made himself equally esteemed by him. So he held out his right hand and said: "Call him in, for it will make the best of beginnings, if he will join with me in my sacrifice and prayer."

XXX

CHAP. XXX

Apollonius insensible to the palace splendours

Accordingly Apollonius entered escorted by a number of people, for they had learnt that the king was pleased with the new comer and thought that this would gratify him; but as he passed into the palace, he did not glance at anything that others admired, but he passed them by as if he was still travelling along the high-road, and calling Damis to him he said: "You asked me yesterday what

CAP. XXX λέγεται καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους, οὓς ἐς τὴν Ἄρτεμιν τὴν Περγαίαν ᾄδουσι, ξυνθεῖναι τὸν Αἰολέων τε καὶ Παμφύλων τρόπον." "ἠρόμην," ἔφη, "τὸ δὲ ὄνομα οὐκ εἶπας." "οὐκ, ὦ χρηστέ, εἶπον, ἀλλ' ἐξηγούμην σοι τοὺς νόμους τῶν ὕμνων καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ ὅπη τὰ Αἰολέων ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατόν τε καὶ τὸ ἴδιον Παμφύλων παρήλλαξε· πρὸς ἄλλῳ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγενόμεθα, καὶ οὐκέτ' ἤρου με περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος· καλεῖται τοίνυν ἡ σοφὴ αὕτη Δαμοφύλη, καὶ λέγεται τὸν Σαπφοῦς τρόπον παρθένους τε ὁμιλητρίας κτήσασθαι ποιήματά τε ξυνθεῖναι τὰ μὲν ἐρωτικά, τὰ δὲ ὕμνους. τά τοι ἐς τὴν Ἄρτεμιν καὶ παρῴδηται αὐτῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Σαπφῴων ᾖσται." ὅσον μὲν δὴ ἀπεῖχε τοῦ ἐκπεπλῆχθαι βασιλέα τε καὶ ὄγκον, ἐδήλου τῷ μηδὲ ὀφθαλμῶν ἄξια ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ ἑτέρων πέρι διαλέγεσθαι κἀκεῖνα δήπου οὐχ ἡγεῖσθαι ὁρᾶν.

XXXI

CAP. XXXI Προϊδὼν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς προσιόντα, καὶ γάρ τι καὶ μῆκος ἡ τοῦ ἱεροῦ αὐλὴ εἶχε, διελάλησέ τε πρὸς τοὺς ἐγγύς, οἷον ἀναγιγνώσκων τὸν ἄνδρα, πλησίον τε ἤδη γιγνομένου μέγα ἀναβοήσας, "οὗτος," ἔφη, "ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὃν Μεγαβάτης ὁ

CHAP. XXX

was the name of the Pamphylian woman who is said to have been intimate with Sappho, and to have composed the hymns which they sing in honour of Artemis of Perga, in the Aeolian and Pamphylian modes." "Yes, I did ask you," said Damis, "but you did not tell me her name." "I did not tell you it, my good fellow, but I explained to you about the keys in which the hymns are written, and I told you about the names; and how the Aeolian strains were altered into the highest key of all, that which is peculiar to the Pamphylians. After that we turned to another subject, for you did not ask me again about the name of the lady. Well, she is called,—this clever lady is,—Damophyle, and she is said, like Sappho, to have had girl friends and to have composed poems, some of which were love-songs and others hymns. The particular hymn to Artemis was transposed by her, and has been sung after the model of Sappho." How far then he was from being astonished at the king and his pomp and ceremony, he showed by the fact that he did not think such things worth looking at, but went on talking about other things, as if he did not think the palace worth a glance.

XXXI

CHAP. XXXI

Refuses to attend the king's sacrifice of a horse

Now the king caught sight of him approaching, for the vestibule of the Temple was of considerable length, and insisted to those by him that he recognised the sage; and when he came still nearer he cried out with a loud voice and said: "This is Apollonius, whom Megabates, my brother, said he

CAP. XXXI ἐμὸς ἀδελφὸς ἰδεῖν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ φησὶ θαυμαζόμενόν τε καὶ προσκυνούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν σπουδαίων, καὶ ἀπεζωγράφησέ μοι τότε τοιοῦτον αὐτόν, ὁποῖος ἥκει." προσελθόντα δὲ καὶ ἀσπασάμενον προσεῖπέ τε ὁ βασιλεὺς φωνῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ δὴ ἐκέλευσε θύειν μετ' αὐτοῦ· λευκὸν δὲ ἄρα ἵππον τῶν σφόδρα Νισαίων καταθύσειν ἔμελλε τῷ Ἡλίῳ φαλάροις κοσμήσας, ὥσπερ ἐς πομπήν, ὁ δ' ὑπολαβὼν "σὺ μέν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, θῦε," ἔφη, "τὸν σαυτοῦ τρόπον, ἐμοὶ δὲ ξυγχώρησον θῦσαι τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ·" καὶ δραξάμενος τοῦ λιβανωτοῦ, "Ἥλιε," ἔφη, "πέμπε με ἐφ' ὅσον τῆς γῆς ἐμοί τε καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ γιγνώσκοιμι ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς, φαύλους δὲ μήτε ἐγὼ μάθοιμι μήτε ἐμὲ φαῦλοι." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα τὸν λιβανωτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ ἧκεν, ἐπισκεψάμενος δὲ αὐτὸ ὅπη διανίσταται καὶ ὅπη θολοῦται, καὶ ὁπόσαις κορυφαῖς ᾄττει, καί που καὶ ἐφαπτόμενος τοῦ πυρός, ὅπη εὔσημόν τε καὶ καθαρὸν φαίνοιτο "θῦε," ἔφη, "λοιπόν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, κατὰ τὰ σαυτοῦ πάτρια, τὰ γὰρ πάτρια τἀμὰ τοιαῦτα."

XXXII

CAP. XXXII Καὶ ἀνεχώρησε τῆς θυσίας, ὡς μὴ κοινωνοίη τοῦ αἵματος. μετὰ δὲ τὴν θυσίαν προσῆλθε καί "ὦ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "τὴν φωνὴν τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν γιγνώσκεις, ἢ σμικρὰ αὐτῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐξυμβόλου ἴσως καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀηδὴς δοκεῖν, εἴ τις ἀφίκοιτο

saw in Antioch, the admired and respected of serious people; and he depicted him to me at that time just such a man as now comes to us." And when Apollonius approached and saluted him, the king addressed him in the Greek language and invited him to sacrifice with him; and it chanced that he was on the point of sacrificing to the Sun as a victim a white horse of the true Nisaean breed, which he had adorned with trappings as if for a triumphal procession. But Apollonius replied: "Do you, O king, go on with your sacrifice, in your own way, but permit me to sacrifice in mine." And he took up a handful of frankincense and said: "O thou Sun, send me as far over the earth as is my pleasure and thine, and may I make the acquaintance of good men, but never hear anything of bad ones, nor they of me." And with these words he threw the frankincense into the fire, and watched to see how the smoke of it curled upwards, and how it grew turbid, and in how many points it shot up; and in a manner he caught the meaning of the fire, and watched as it appeared of good omen and pure. Then he said: "Now, O king, go on with your sacrifice in accordance with your own traditions, for my traditions are such as you see." CHAP. XXXI

XXXII

And he quitted the scene of sacrifice in order not to be present at the shedding of blood. But after the sacrifice was over he approached and said: "O king, do you know the Greek tongue thoroughly, or have you a smattering of it perhaps, in order to be able to express yourself and appear polite in CHAP. XXXII

Expounds his self-discipline to the king

CAP. XXXII

Ἕλλην;" "πᾶσαν," εἶπεν, "ἴσα τῇ ἐγχωρίῳ ταύτῃ, καὶ λέγε ὅ τι βούλει, διὰ τοῦτο γάρ που ἐρωτᾷς·" "διὰ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "καὶ ἄκουε· ἡ μὲν ὁρμή μοι τῆς ἀποδημίας Ἰνδοί εἰσι, παρελθεῖν δὲ οὐδ' ὑμᾶς ἐβουλήθην, σέ τε ἀκούων ἄνδρα, οἷον ἐξ ὄνυχος ἤδη ὁρῶ, σοφίαν τε, ἥπερ ὑμῖν ἐστιν ἐπιχώριος μελετωμένη μάγοις ἀνδράσι, κατιδεῖν δεόμενος, εἰ τὰ θεῖα, ὡς λέγονται, σοφοί εἰσι· σοφία δὲ ἐμοὶ Πυθαγόρου Σαμίου ἀνδρός, ὃς θεούς τε θεραπεύειν ὧδέ με ἐδιδάξατο, καὶ ξυνιέναι σφῶν ὁρωμένων τε καὶ οὐχ ὁρωμένων, φοιτᾶν τε ἐς διάλεξιν θεῶν, καὶ γηίνῳ τούτῳ ἐρίῳ ἐστάλθαι, οὐ γὰρ προβάτου ἐπέχθη, ἀλλ' ἀκήρατος ἀκηράτων φύεται, ὕδατός τε καὶ γῆς δῶρα, ὀθόνη· καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἄνετον τῆς κόμης ἐκ Πυθαγόρου ἐπήσκησα, καὶ τὸ καθαρεύειν ζῴου βορᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου μοι σοφίας ἥκει. ξυμπότης μὲν δὴ καὶ κοινωνὸς ῥᾳστώνης ἢ τρυφῆς οὔτ' ἂν σοι γενοίμην οὔτ' ἂν ἑτέρῳ οὐδενί, φροντίδων δὲ ἀπόρων τε καὶ δυσευρέτων δοίην ἂν λύσεις, οὐ γιγνώσκων τὰ πρακτέα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προγιγνώσκων." ταῦτα ὁ Δάμις μὲν διαλεχθῆναί φησι τὸν ἄνδρα, Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ἐπιστολὴν αὐτὰ πεποίηται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἑαυτῷ ἐς διάλεξιν εἰρημένων ἐς ἐπιστολὰς ἀνετυπώσατο.

case any Greek arrives?" "I know it thoroughly," replied the king, "as well as I do my native language; so say you what you like, for this I suppose is the reason why you put the question to me." "It was my reason," said the other; "so listen. The goal of my voyage is India, but I had no intention of passing you by; for I heard that you were such a man as from a slight acquaintance I already perceive you to be, and was desirous also of examining the wisdom which is indigenous among you and is cultivated by the Magi, and of finding out whether they are such wise theologians as they are reported to be. Now my own system of wisdom is that of Pythagoras, a man of Samos, who taught me to worship the gods in the way you see, and to be aware of them whether they are seen or not seen, and to be frequent in my converse with them, and to dress myself in this land-wool; for it was never worn by sheep, but is the spotless product of spotless parents, the gift of water and of earth, namely linen. And the very fashion of letting my hair grow long, I have learnt from Pythagoras as part of his discipline, and also it is a result of his wisdom that I keep myself pure from animal food. I cannot therefore become either for you or for anybody else a companion in drinking or an associate in idleness and luxury; but if you have problems of conduct that are difficult and hard to settle, I will furnish you with solutions, for I not only know matters of practice and duty, but I even know them beforehand." Such was the conversation which Damis declares the sage to have held; and Apollonius himself composed a letter containing them, and has sketched out in his epistles much else of what he said in conversation.

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XXXIII

CAP. XXXIII

Ἐπεὶ δὲ χαίρειν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔφη καὶ ἀγάλλεσθαι ἥκοντι μᾶλλον, ἢ εἰ τὰ Περσῶν καὶ Ἰνδῶν πρὸς τοῖς οὖσιν αὐτῷ ἐκτήσατο, ξένον τε ποιεῖσθαι καὶ κοινωνὸν τῆς βασιλείου στέγης, "εἰ ἐγώ σε, ὦ βασιλεῦ," εἶπεν, "ἐς πατρίδα τὴν ἐμὴν Τύανα ἥκοντα ἠξίουν οἰκεῖν οὗ ἐγώ, οἰκῆσαι ἂν ἤρας;" "μὰ Δί'," εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ τοσαύτην γε οἰκίαν οἰκήσειν ἔμελλον, ὁπόσην δορυφόρους τε καὶ σωματοφύλακας ἐμοὺς αὐτόν τε ἐμὲ λαμπρῶς δέξασθαι." "ὁ αὐτὸς οὖν," ἔφη, "καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγος· εἰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτὸν οἰκήσω, πονηρῶς διαιτήσομαι, τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλον λυπεῖ τοὺς σοφοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμᾶς τὸ ἐλλεῖπον· ξενιζέτω με οὖν ἰδιώτης ἔχων ὁπόσα ἐγώ, σοὶ δὲ ἐγὼ ξυνέσομαι ὁπόσα βούλει." ξυνεχώρει ὁ βασιλεύς, ὡς μὴ ἀηδές τι αὐτῷ λάθοι πράξας, καὶ ᾤκησε παρ' ἀνδρὶ Βαβυλωνίῳ χρηστῷ τε καὶ ἄλλως γενναίῳ. δειπνοῦντι δὲ ἤδη εὐνοῦχος ἐφίσταται τῶν τὰς ἀγγελίας διαφερόντων, καὶ προσειπὼν τὸν ἄνδρα "βασιλεὺς," ἔφη, "δωρεῖταί σε δέκα δωρεαῖς καὶ ποιεῖται κύριον τοῦ ἐπαγγεῖλαι αὐτάς, δεῖται δέ σου μὴ μικρὰ αἰτῆσαι, μεγαλοφροσύνην γὰρ ἐνδείξασθαι σοί τε καὶ ἡμῖν βούλεται." ἐπαινέσας δὲ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν "πότε οὖν χρὴ αἰτεῖν;" ἤρετο, ὁ δὲ "αὔριον," ἔφη, καὶ ἅμα ἐφοίτησε παρὰ πάντας τοὺς βασιλέως

XXXIII

CHAP. XXXIII

Refuses to lodge in the palace

SINCE the king said that he was more pleased and delighted with his arrival than if he had added to his own possessions the wealth of Persia and India, and added that Apollonius must be his guest and share with him the royal roof, Apollonius remarked: "Supposing, O king, that you came to my country of Tyana and I invited you to live where I live, would you care to do so?" "Why no," answered the king, "unless I had a house to live in that was big enough to accommodate not only my escort and bodyguard, but myself as well, in a handsome manner." "Then," said the other, "I may use the same argument to you; for if I am housed above my rank, I shall live ill at ease, for superfluity distresses wise men more than deficiency distresses you. Let me therefore be entertained by some private person who has the same means as myself, and I will visit with you as often as you like." The king conceded this point, lest he should be betrayed into doing anything that might annoy him, and Apollonius took up his quarters with a gentleman of Babylon of good character and besides high-minded. But before he had finished dinner one of the eunuchs who carry messages presented himself and addressed him thus: "The king," he said, "bestows upon you ten presents, and leaves you free to name them; but he is anxious that you should not ask for small trifles, for he wishes to exhibit to you and to us his generosity." Apollonius commended the message, and asked: "Then when am I to ask for them?" And the messenger replied: "To-morrow," and at once went off to all the king's friends and kinsmen

CAP. XXXIII φίλους τε καὶ ξυγγενεῖς, παρεῖναι κελεύων αἰτοῦντι καὶ τιμωμένῳ τῷ ἀνδρί. φησὶ δὲ ὁ Δάμις ξυνιέναι μέν, ὅτι μηδὲν αἰτήσοι, τόν τε τρόπον αὐτοῦ καθεωρακὼς καὶ εἰδὼς εὐχόμενον τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχὴν τοιαύτην· "ὦ θεοί, δοίητέ μοι μικρὰ ἔχειν καὶ δεῖσθαι μηδενός." ἐφεστηκότα μέντοι ὁρῶν καὶ ἐνθυμουμένῳ ὅμοιον οἴεσθαι ὡς αἰτήσοι μέν, βασανίζοι δέ, ὅ τι μέλλει αἰτήσειν. ὁ δὲ ἑσπέρας ἤδη "ὦ Δάμι," ἔφη, "θεωρῶ πρὸς ἐμαυτόν, ἐξ ὅτου ποτὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς εὐνούχους σώφρονας ἡγοῦνται καὶ ἐς τὰς γυναικωνίτιδας ἐσάγονται." "ἀλλὰ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ παιδὶ δῆλον· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ τομὴ τὸ ἀφροδισιάζειν ἀφαιρεῖται σφᾶς, ἀνεῖνταί σφισιν αἱ γυναικωνίτιδες, κἂν ξυγκαθεύδειν ταῖς γυναιξὶ βούλωνται." "τὸ δὲ ἐρᾶν," εἶπεν, "ἢ τὸ ξυγγίγνεσθαι γυναιξὶν ἐκτετμῆσθαι αὐτοὺς οἴει;" "ἄμφω," ἔφη, "εἰ γὰρ σβεσθείη τὸ μόριον ὑφ᾽ οὗ διοιστρεῖται τὸ σῶμα, οὐδ᾽ ἂν τὸ ἐρᾶν ἐπέλθοι οὐδενί." ὁ δὲ βραχὺ ἐπισχὼν "αὔριον," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, μάθοις ἄν, ὅτι καὶ εὐνοῦχοι ἐρῶσι καὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, ὅπερ ἐσάγονται διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, οὐκ ἀπομαραίνεται σφῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐμμένει θερμόν τε καὶ ζώπυρον, δεῖ γάρ τι περιπεσεῖν, ὃ τὸν σὸν ἐλέγξει λόγον. εἰ δὲ καὶ τέχνη τις ἦν ἀνθρωπεία τύραννός τε καὶ δυνατὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξωθεῖν τῆς γνώμης, οὐκ ἄν μοι δοκῶ τοὺς εὐνούχους ποτὲ ἐς τὰ τῶν σωφρονούντων ἤθη προσγράψαι, κατηναγκασμένους τὴν

and bade them be present when the sage should prefer his demand and receive the honour. But Damis says that he expected him to ask for nothing, because he had studied his character and knew that he offered to the gods the following prayer: "O ye gods, grant unto me to have little and to want nothing." However, as he saw him much preoccupied and, as it were, brooding, he determined that he was going to ask and was anxiously turning over in his mind, what he should ask. But at eventide: "Damis," said Apollonius, "I am thinking over with myself the question of why the barbarians have regarded eunuchs as men sufficiently chaste to be allowed the free entry of the women's apartments." "But," answered the other, "O Apollonius, a child could tell you. For inasmuch as the operation has deprived them of the faculty, they are freely admitted into those apartments, no matter how far their wishes may go." "But do you suppose the operation has removed their desires or the further aptitude?" "Both," replied Damis, "for if you extinguish in a man the unruly member that lashes the body to madness, the fit of passion will come on him no more." After a brief pause, Apollonius said: "To-morrow, Damis, you shall learn that even eunuchs are liable to fall in love, and that the desire which is contracted through the eyes is not extinguished in them, but abides alive and ready to burst into a flame; for that will occur which will refute your opinion. And even if there were really any human art of such tyrannic force that it could expel such feelings from the heart, I do not see how we could ever attribute to them any chastity of character, seeing that they would have

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His form of prayer

Discusses Eunuchism with Damis

CAP. XXXIII σωφροσύνην καὶ βιαίῳ τέχνῃ ἐς τὸ μὴ ἐρᾶν ἠγμένους. σωφροσύνη γὰρ τὸ ὀρεγόμενόν τε καὶ ὁρμῶντα μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι ἀφροδισίων, ἀλλ' ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ κρείττω φαίνεσθαι τῆς λύττης ταύτης." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Δάμις "ταῦτα μὲν καὶ αὖθις ἐπισκεψόμεθα," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, ἃ δὲ χρὴ ἀποκρίνασθαι αὔριον πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπαγγελίαν λαμπρὰν οὖσαν διεσκέφθαι προσήκει. αἰτήσεις μὲν γὰρ ἴσως οὐδέν, τὸ δ' ὅπως ἂν μὴ ἄλλῳ, φασί, τύφῳ παραιτεῖσθαι δοκοίης, ἅπερ ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς διδῷ, τοῦτο ὅρα καὶ φυλάττου αὐτό, ὁρῶν οἷ τῆς γῆς εἶ καὶ ὅτι ἐπ' αὐτῷ κείμεθα. δεῖ δὲ φυλάττεσθαι διαβολάς, ὡς ὑπεροψίᾳ χρώμενον, γιγνώσκειν τε ὡς νῦν μὲν ἐφόδιά ἐστιν ἡμῖν ὁπόσα ἐς Ἰνδοὺς πέμψαι, ἐπανιοῦσι δὲ ἐκεῖθεν οὔτ' ἂν ἀποχρῆσαι ταῦτα, γένοιτο δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἕτερα."

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CAP. XXXIV Καὶ τοιᾷδε ὑπέθαλπεν αὐτὸν τέχνῃ, μὴ ἀπαξιῶσαι λαβεῖν, ὅ τι διδοίη, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ὥσπερ ξυλλαμβάνων αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου "παραδειγμάτων δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ Δάμι, ἀμελήσεις; ἐν οἷς ἐστιν, ὡς Αἰσχίνης μὲν ὁ τοῦ Λυσανίου παρὰ Διονύσιον ἐς Σικελίαν ὑπὲρ χρημάτων ᾤχετο, Πλάτων δὲ τρὶς ἀναμετρῆσαι λέγεται τὴν Χάρυβδιν ὑπὲρ πλούτου Σικελικοῦ, Ἀρίστιππος δὲ ὁ Κυρηναῖος καὶ Ἑλίκων ὁ ἐκ Κυζίκου καὶ Φύτων, ὅτ' ἔφευγεν, ὁ Ῥηγῖνος,

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no choice, having been by sheer force and artificially deprived of the faculty of falling in love. For chastity consists in not yielding to passion when the longing and impulse is felt, and in the abstinence which rises superior to this form of madness." Accordingly Damis answered and said: "Here is a thing that we will examine another time, O Apollonius; but we had better consider now what answer you can make to-morrow to the king's magnificent offer. For you will perhaps ask for nothing at all, but you should be careful and be on your guard lest you should seem to decline any gift the king may offer, as they say, out of mere empty pride, for you see the land that you are in and that we are wholly in his power. And you must be on your guard against the accusation of treating him with contempt, and understand, that although we have sufficient means to carry us to India, yet what we have will not be sufficient to bring us back thence, and we have no other supply to fall back upon."

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Refuses kingly gifts, and rebukes Damis for his greediness

And by such devices he tried to wheedle Apollonius into not refusing to take anything he might be offered; but Apollonius, as if by way of assisting him in his argument, said: "But, O Damis, are you not going to give me some examples? Let me supply you with some: Aeschines, the son of Lysanias, went off to Dionysius in Sicily in quest of money, and Plato is said thrice to have traversed Charybdis in quest of the wealth of Sicily, and Aristippus of Cyrene, and Helicon of Cyzicus, and Phyton of Rhegium, when

CAP. XXXIV οὕτω τι ἐς τοὺς Διονυσίου κατέδυσαν θησαυρούς, ὡς μόγις ἀνασχεῖν ἐκεῖθεν. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν Κνίδιόν φασιν Εὔδοξον, ἐς Αἴγυπτόν ποτε ἀφικόμενον, ὑπὲρ χρημάτων τε ὁμολογεῖν ἥκειν καὶ διαλέγεσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπὲρ τούτου, καὶ ἵνα μὴ πλείους διαβάλλω, Σπεύσιππον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον οὕτω τι ἐρασιχρήματον γενέσθαι φασίν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Κασάνδρου γάμον ἐς Μακεδονίαν κωμάσαι ποιήματα ψυχρὰ ξυνθέντα, καὶ δημοσίᾳ ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων ᾆσαι. ἐγὼ δὲ ἡγοῦμαι, ὦ Δάμι, τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν σοφὸν πλείω κινδυνεύειν ἢ οἱ πλέοντές τε καὶ ξὺν ὅπλοις μαχόμενοι, φθόνος γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτὸν στείχει, καὶ σιωπῶντα καὶ φθεγγόμενον, καὶ ξυντείνοντα καὶ ἀνιέντα, κἂν παρέλθῃ τι κἂν προσέλθῃ τῳ, κἂν προσείπῃ κἂν μὴ προσείπῃ. δεῖ δὲ πεφράχθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, γιγνώσκειν τε ὡς ἀργίας μὲν ἡττηθεὶς ὁ σοφὸς ἢ χολῆς ἢ ἔρωτος ἢ φιλοποσίας, ἢ ἑτοιμότερόν τι τοῦ καιροῦ πράξας, ἴσως ἂν καὶ ξυγγνώμην φέροιτο, χρήμασι δὲ ὑποθεὶς ἑαυτὸν οὔτ' ἂν ξυγγινώσκοιτο καὶ μισοῖτ' ἄν, ὡς ὁμοῦ πάσας κακίας συνειληφώς· μὴ γὰρ ἂν ἡττηθῆναι χρημάτων αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ γαστρὸς ἥττητο καὶ ἀμπεχόνης καὶ οἴνου καὶ τοῦ ἐς ἑταίρας φέρεσθαι. σὺ δ' ἴσως ἡγῇ τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἁμαρτεῖν ἧττον εἶναι τοῦ Ἀθήνησιν ἢ Ὀλυμπίασιν ἢ Πυθοῖ, καὶ οὐκ ἐνθυμῇ ὅτι σοφῷ ἀνδρὶ Ἑλλὰς πάντα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔρημον ἢ βάρβαρον χωρίον οὔτε ἡγήσεται ὁ σοφὸς οὔτε νομιεῖ, ζῶν γε ὑπὸ τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ βλέπει

he was in exile, buried their noses so deep in the treasure-houses of Dionysius, that they could barely tear themselves away. Moreover they tell of how Eudoxus of Cnidus once arrived in Egypt and both admitted that he had come there in quest of money, and conversed with the king about the matter. And not to take away more characters, they say that Speusippus, the Athenian, was so fond of money, that he reeled off festal songs, when he romped off to Macedonia, in honour of Cassander's marriage, which were frigid compositions, and that he sang these songs in public for the sake of money. Well, I think, O Damis, that a wise man runs more risk than do sailors and soldiers in action, for envy is ever assailing him, whether he holds his tongue or speaks, whether he exerts himself or is idle, whether he passes by anything or takes care to visit anyone, whether he addresses others or neglects to address them. And so a man must fortify himself and understand that a wise man who yields to laziness or anger or passion, or love of drink, or who commits any other action prompted by impulse and inopportune, will probably find his fault condoned; but if he stoops to greed, he will not be pardoned, but render himself odious as a combination of all vices at once. For surely they will not allow that he could be the slave of money, unless he was already the slave of his stomach or of fine raiment or of wine or of riotous living. But you perhaps imagine that it is a lesser thing to go wrong in Babylon than to go wrong at Athens or at the Olympian or Pythian games; and you do not reflect that a wise man finds Hellas everywhere, and that a sage will not regard or consider any place to be a desert or barbarous,

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CAP. XXXIV μὲν ὀλίγους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, μυρίοις δ' ὄμμασιν αὐτὸς ὁρᾶται. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀθλητῇ ξυνῆσθα τούτων τινί, ὦ Δάμι, οἳ παλαίειν τε καὶ παγκρατιάζειν ἀσκοῦσιν, ἆρα ἂν ἠξίους αὐτόν, εἰ μὲν Ὀλύμπια ἀγωνίζοιτο καὶ ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν ἴοι, γενναῖόν τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, καὶ νὴ Δί', εἰ Πύθια ἄγοιτο ἢ Νέμεα, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ σώματος, ἐπειδὴ φανεροὶ οἱ ἀγῶνες καὶ τὰ στάδια ἐν σπουδαίῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, εἰ δὲ θύοι Φίλιππος Ὀλύμπια πόλεις ᾑρηκώς, ἢ ὁ τούτου παῖς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ νίκαις ἀγῶνα ἄγοι, χεῖρον ἤδη παρασκευάζειν τὸ σῶμα καὶ μὴ φιλονίκως ἔχειν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ ἀγωνιεῖται ἢ Μακεδονίᾳ ἢ Αἰγύπτῳ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐν Ἕλλησι καὶ σταδίοις τοῖς ἐκεῖ;" ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ τῶν λόγων τούτων ὁ Δάμις οὕτω διατεθῆναί φησιν, ὡς ξυγκαλύψασθαί τε ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸς εἰρηκὼς ἔτυχε, παραιτεῖσθαί τε τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ξυγγνώμην αὐτῷ ἔχειν, εἰ μήπω κατανενοηκὼς αὐτὸν ἐς ξυμβουλίαν τε καὶ πειθὼ τοιαύτην ὥρμησεν. ὁ δὲ ἀναλαμβάνων αὐτόν "θάρρει," ἔφη, "οὐ γὰρ ἐπίπληξιν ποιούμενος, ἀλλὰ τοὐμὸν ὑπογράφων σοι ταῦτα εἶπον."

because he, at any rate, lives under the eyes of virtue, and although he only sees a few men, yet he is himself looked at by ten thousand eyes. Now if you came across an athlete, Damis, one of those who practise and train themselves in wrestling and boxing, surely you would require him, in case he were contending in the Olympic games, or went to Arcadia, to be both noble in character and good; nay more, if the Pythian or Nemean contest were going on, you would require him to take care of his physique, because these arenas and race-courses are well known and held in respect by Hellas; would you then, if Philip were sacrificing with Olympic rites after capturing certain cities, or if his son Alexander were holding games to celebrate his victories, tell the man forthwith to neglect the training of his body and to leave off being keen to win, because the contest was to be held in Olynthus or in Macedonia or in Egypt, rather than among the Hellenes, and on your native race-courses?" These then were the arguments by which Damis declares that he was so impressed as to blush at what he had said, and to ask Apollonius to pardon him for having through imperfect acquaintance with him, ventured to tender him such advice, and use such arguments. But the sage caught him up and said: "Never mind, for it was not by way of rebuking and humbling you that I spoke thus, but in order to give you some idea of my own point of view."

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Ἀφικομένου δὲ τοῦ εὐνούχου καὶ καλοῦντος αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα "ἀφίξομαι," εἶπεν, "ἐπειδὰν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὖ μοι ἔχῃ." θύσας οὖν καὶ εὐξάμενος ἀπῄει, περιβλεπόμενός τε καὶ θαυμαζόμενος τοῦ σχήματος. ὡς δὲ ἔσω παρῆλθε, "δίδωμί σοι," ἔφη ὁ βασιλεύς, "δέκα δωρεάς, ἄνδρα σε ἡγούμενος, οἷος οὔπω τις ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων δεῦρ' ἦλθεν." ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν "οὐ πάσας," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, παραιτήσομαι, μίαν δέ, ἣν ἀντὶ πολλῶν δεκάδων αἱροῦμαι, προθύμως αἰτήσω·" καὶ ἅμα τὸν περὶ τῶν Ἐρετριέων διῆλθε λόγον, ἀναλαβὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δάτιδος. "αἰτῶ οὖν," ἔφη, "μὴ περικόπτεσθαι τοὺς ἀθλίους τούτους τῶν ὁρίων τε καὶ τοῦ λόφου, ἀλλὰ νέμεσθαι σφᾶς μέτρον τῆς γῆς, ὃ Δαρεῖος ἐνόμισε, δεινὸν γάρ, εἰ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐκπεσόντες μηδ' ἣν ἀντ' ἐκείνης ἔχουσιν, ἕξουσιν." ξυντιθέμενος οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς "Ἐρετριεῖς," εἶπεν, "ἐς μὲν τὴν χθὲς ἡμέραν ἐμοῦ τε πολέμιοι καὶ πατέρων ἐμῶν ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ ὅπλων ποτὲ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἦρξαν, καὶ παρεωρῶντο, ὡς τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἀφανισθείη, λοιπὸν δὲ φίλοι τε ἀναγεγράψονται καὶ σατραπεύσει αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, ὃς δικαιώσει τὴν χώραν. τὰς δὲ ἐννέα δωρεάς," ἔφη, "διὰ τί οὐ λήψῃ;" "ὅτι, ὦ βασιλεῦ," εἶπεν, "οὔπω φίλους ἐνταῦθα ἐκτησάμην." "αὐτὸς

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He intercedes with the king in behalf of the Eretrians

Now when the eunuch arrived and summoned him before the king, he said: "I will come as soon as I have duly discharged my religious duties." Accordingly he sacrificed and offered his prayer, and then departed, and everyone looked at him and wondered at his bearing. And when he had come within, the king said: "I present you with ten gifts, because I consider you such a man as never before has come hither from Hellas." And he answered and said: "I will not, O king, decline all your gifts; but there is one which I prefer to many tens of gifts, and for that I will most eagerly solicit." And he at once told the story of the Eretrians, beginning it from the time of Datis. "I ask then," he said, "that these poor people should not be driven away from their borders and from the hill, but should be left to cultivate the span of earth, which Darius allowed them; for it is very hard if they are not to be allowed to retain the land which was substituted for their own when they were driven out of the latter." The king then consented and said: "The Eretrians were, until yesterday, the enemies of myself and of my fathers; for they once took up arms against us, and they have been neglected in order that their race might perish; but henceforth they shall be written among my friends, and they shall have, as a satrap, a good man who will judge their country justly. But why," he said, "will you not accept the other nine gifts?" "Because," he answered, "I have not yet, O king, made any friends

CAP. XXXV δὲ οὐδενὸς δέῃ"; "φήσαντος· "τῶν γε τραγημάτων," ἔφη, "καὶ τῶν ἄρτων, ἅ με ἡδέως τε καὶ λαμπρῶς ἑστιᾷ."

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CAP. XXXVI Τοιαῦτα δὴ λαλούντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, κραυγὴ τῶν βασιλείων ἐξεφοίτησεν εὐνούχων καὶ γυναικῶν ἅμα· εἴληπτο δὲ ἄρα εὐνοῦχός τις ἐπὶ μιᾷ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως παλλακῶν ξυγκατακείμενός τε καὶ ὁπόσα οἱ μοιχοὶ πράττων, καὶ ἦγον αὐτὸν οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν ἐπισπῶντες τῆς κόμης, ὃν δὴ ἄγονται τρόπον οἱ βασιλέως δοῦλοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν εὐνούχων ἐρῶντα μὲν τῆς γυναικὸς πάλαι ᾐσθῆσθαι ἔφη, καὶ προειρηκέναι οἱ μὴ προσδιαλέγεσθαι αὐτῇ, μηδὲ ἅπτεσθαι δέρης ἢ χειρός, μηδὲ κοσμεῖν ταύτην μόνην τῶν ἔνδον, νῦν δὲ καὶ ξυγκατακείμενον εὑρηκέναι καὶ ἀνδριζόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος ἐς τὸν Δάμιν εἶδεν, ὡς δὴ τοῦ λόγου ἀποδεδειγμένου, ὃς ἐφιλοσοφεῖτο αὐτοῖς περὶ τοῦ καὶ εὐνούχων τὸ ἐρᾶν εἶναι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας "ἀλλ' αἰσχρόν γε," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἄνδρες, παρόντος ἡμῖν Ἀπολλωνίου περὶ σωφροσύνης ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦτον, ἀποφαίνεσθαι· τί οὖν κελεύεις, Ἀπολλώνιε, παθεῖν αὐτόν; "τί δὲ ἄλλο ἢ ζῆν;" εἶπε παρὰ τὴν πάντων ἀποκρινάμενος δόξαν. ἀνερυθριάσας οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς "εἶτα οὐ πολλῶν," ἔφη, "θανάτων ἄξιος, ὑφέρπων οὕτως

here." "And do you yourself require nothing?" said the king. "Yes," he said, "I need dried fruits and bread, for that is a repast which delights me and which I find magnificent." CHAP. XXXV

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Incident illustrative of the manners of Eunuchs

WHILE they were thus conversing with one another a hubbub was heard to proceed from the palace, of eunuchs and women shrieking all at once. And in fact an eunuch had been caught misbehaving with one of the royal concubines just as if he were an adulterer. The guards of the harem were now dragging him along by the hair in the way they do royal slaves. The senior of the eunuchs accordingly declared that he had long before noticed he had an affection for this particular lady, and had already forbidden him to talk to her or touch her neck or hand, or assist her toilette, though he was free to wait upon all the other members of the harem; yet he had now caught him behaving as if he were the lady's lover. Apollonius thereupon glanced at Damis, as if to indicate that the argument they had conducted on the point that even eunuchs fall in love, was now demonstrated to be true; but the king remarked to the bystanders: "Nay, but it is disgraceful, gentlemen, that, in the presence of Apollonius, we should be enlarging on the subject of chastity rather than he. What then, O Apollonius, do you urge us to do with him?" "Why, to let him live, of course," answered Apollonius to the surprise of them all. Whereon the king reddened, and said: "Then you do not

CAP. XXXVI τὴν εὐνὴν τὴν ἐμήν;" "ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ ξυγγνώμης," ἔφη, "βασιλεῦ, ταῦτα εἶπον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τιμωρίας, ἣ ἀποκναίσει αὐτόν· εἰ γὰρ ζήσεται νοσῶν καὶ ἀδυνάτων ἁπτόμενος, καὶ μήτε σῖτα μήτε ποτὰ ἥσει αὐτὸν μήτε θεάματα, ἅ σέ τε καὶ τούς σοι συνόντας εὐφρανεῖ, πηδήσεταί τε ἡ καρδία θαμὰ ἐκθρώσκοντος τοῦ ὕπνου, ὃ δὴ μάλιστα περὶ τοὺς ἐρῶντάς φασι γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τίς μὲν οὕτω φθόη τήξει αὐτόν, τίς δὲ οὕτω λιμὸς ἐπιθρύψει τὰ σπλάγχνα; εἰ δὲ μὴ τῶν φιλοψύχων εἴη τις αὐτός, ὦ βασιλεῦ, δεήσεταί σού ποτε καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν, ἢ ἑαυτόν γε ἀποκτενεῖ, πολλὰ ὀλοφυρόμενος τὴν παροῦσαν ταύτην ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ μὴ εὐθὺς ἀπέθανε." τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ οὕτω σοφόν τε καὶ ἥμερον, ἐφ' ᾧ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνῆκε τὸν θάνατον τῷ εὐνούχῳ.

XXXVII

CAP. XXXVII Μέλλων δέ ποτε πρὸς θήρᾳ γίγνεσθαι τῶν ἐν τοῖς παραδείσοις θηρίων, ἐς οὓς λέοντές τε ἀπόκεινται τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ ἄρκτοι καὶ παρδάλεις, ἠξίου τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον παρατυχεῖν οἱ θηρῶντι, ὁ δέ "ἐκλέλησαι, ὦ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "ὅτι μηδὲ θύοντί σοι παρατυγχάνω; καὶ ἄλλως οὐχ ἡδὺ θηρίοις βεβασανισμένοις καὶ παρὰ τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν δεδουλωμένοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι." ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως, πῶς ἂν βεβαίως καὶ

think he deserves to die many times for thus trying to usurp my rights?" "Nay, but my answer, O king, was suggested not by any wish to condone his offence, but rather to mete out to him a punishment which will wear him out. For if he lives with this disease of impotence on him, and can never take pleasure in eating or drinking, nor in the spectacles which delight you and your companions, and if his heart will throb as he often leaps up in his sleep, as they say is particularly the case of people in love,—is there any form of consumption so wasting as this, any form of hunger so likely to enfeeble his bowels? Indeed, unless he be one of those who are ready to live at any price, he will entreat you, O king, before long even to slay him, or he will slay himself, deeply deploring that he was not put to death straight away this very day." CHAP. XXXVI

Such was the answer rendered on this occasion by Apollonius, one so wise and humane, that the king was moved by it to spare the life of his eunuch.

XXXVII

CHAP. XXXVII

Apollonius composes the king's quarrel with the Romans over certain frontier villages

One day the king was going to hunt the animals in the parks in which the barbarians keep lions and bears and leopards, and he asked Apollonius to accompany him on the chase, but the latter replied: "You have forgotten, O king, that I never attend you, even when you are sacrificing. And moreover, it is no pleasure to me to attack animals that have been ill-treated and enslaved in violation of their nature." And the king asking him what was the most stable and secure way of governing, Apollonius answered:

CAP. XXXVII ἀσφαλῶς ἄρχοι, "πολλούς," ἔφη, "τιμῶν, πιστεύων δὲ ὀλίγοις·" πρεσβευομένου δέ ποτε τοῦ τῆς Συρίας ἄρχοντος περὶ κωμῶν, οἶμαι, δύο προσοίκων τῷ Ζεύγματι, καὶ φάσκοντος ὑπακηκοέναι μὲν αὐτὰς Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ Σελεύκῳ πάλαι, νῦν δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῷ εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις προσηκούσας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Ἀραβίους τε καὶ Ἀρμενίους μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν τὰς κώμας, αὐτὸν δὲ ὑπερβαίνοντα τοσαύτην γῆν καρποῦσθαι σφᾶς, ὡς αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίων οὔσας, μεταστησάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς πρέσβεις "τὰς μὲν κώμας ταύτας," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε, ξυνεχώρησαν τοῖς ἐμοῖς προγόνοις οἱ βασιλεῖς, οὓς εἶπον, τροφῆς ἕνεκα τῶν θηρίων, ἃ παρ' ἡμῖν ἁλισκόμενα φοιτᾷ ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων διὰ τοῦ Εὐφράτου, οἱ δ', ὥσπερ ἐκλαθόμενοι τούτου καινῶν τε καὶ ἀδίκων ἅπτονται. τίς οὖν φαίνεταί σοι τῆς πρεσβείας ὁ νοῦς;" "μέτριος, ὦ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "καὶ ἐπιεικής, εἰ, ἃ δύνανται καὶ ἄκοντος ἔχειν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ὄντα, βούλονται παρ' ἑκόντος εὑρίσκεσθαι μᾶλλον." προσετίθει δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ δεῖν ὑπὲρ κωμῶν, ὧν μείζους κέκτηνται τάχα καὶ ἰδιῶται, διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ πόλεμον οὐδ' ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἴρεσθαι. νοσοῦντι δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ παρών, τοσαῦτά τε καὶ οὕτω θεῖα περὶ ψυχῆς διεξῆλθεν, ὡς τὸν βασιλέα ἀναπνεῦσαι, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἰπεῖν, ὅτι "Ἀπολλώνιος οὐκ ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας μόνης ἀφροντιστεῖν εἴργασταί με, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θανάτου."

"To respect many, and confide in few." And on one occasion the governor of Syria sent a mission about two villages, which, I think, are close to the Bridge, alleging that these villages had long ago been subject to Antiochus and Seleucus, but at present they were under his sway, and belonged to the Romans, and that, whereas the Arabians and Armenians did not disturb these villages, yet the king had traversed so great a distance in order to exploit them, as if they belonged to himself, rather than to the Romans. The king sent the embassy aside, and said: "O Apollonius, these villages were given to my forefathers by the kings whom I mentioned, that they might sustain the wild animals, which are taken by us in our country and sent to theirs across the Euphrates, and they, as if they had forgotten this fact, have espoused a policy that is new and unjust. What then do you think are the intentions of the embassy?" Apollonius replied: "Their intention, O king, is moderate and fair, seeing that they only desire to obtain from you, with your consent, places which, as they are in their territory, they can equally well retain without it." And he added his opinion, that it was a mistake to quarrel with the Romans over villages so paltry that probably bigger ones were owned even by private individuals; he also said that it was a mistake to go to war even over large issues. And when the king was ill he visited him, and discoursed so weightily and in such a lofty strain about the soul, that the king recovered, and said to his courtiers, that Apollonius had so wrought upon him that he now felt a contempt, not only for his kingdom but also for death.

CHAP. XXXVII

XXXVIII

CAP. XXXVIII

Τὴν δὲ σήραγγα τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ δεικνύντος αὐτῷ ποτε τοῦ βασιλέως καί "τί σοι φαίνεται τὸ θαῦμα;" εἰπόντος, καταβάλλων τὴν τερατουργίαν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος "θαῦμα ἂν ἦν, ὦ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "εἰ διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βαθέος οὕτω καὶ ἀπόρου ὄντος πεζῇ ἐβαδίζετε." δείξαντος δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις τείχη καὶ θεῶν φάσκοντος ταῦτα εἶναι οἴκησιν "θεῶν μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅλως οἴκησις," εἶπεν, "εἰ δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὐκ οἶδα· ἡ γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων, ὦ βασιλεῦ, πόλις ἀτείχιστος ᾤκισται." καὶ μὴν καὶ δίκην τινὰ δικάσαντος αὐτοῦ κώμαις καὶ μεγαλοφρονουμένου πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὡς δυοῖν ἡμερῶν ἠκροαμένος εἴη τῆς δίκης "βραδέως γ'," ἔφη, "τὸ δίκαιον εὗρες." χρημάτων δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὑπηκόου φοιτησάντων ποτὲ ἀθρόων, ἀνοίξας τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἐδείκνυ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὑπαγόμενος αὐτὸν ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν πλούτου, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ὧν εἶδε θαυμάσας "σοὶ ταῦτα," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, χρήματα, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἄχυρα·" "τί ἂν οὖν," ἔφη, "πράττων καλῶς αὐτοῖς χρησαίμην;" "χρώμενος," ἔφη, "βασιλεὺς γὰρ εἶ."

XXXVIII

CHAP. XXXVIII

He belittles the king's palaces and wealth

One day the king was showing to him the grotto under the Euphrates, and asked him what he thought of so wonderful a thing. Apollonius in answer belittled the wonder of the work, and said: "It would be a real miracle, O king, if you went dry-shod through a river as deep as this and as unfordable." And when he was shown the walls of Ecbatana, and was told that they were the dwelling-place of gods, he remarked: "They are not the dwelling-place of gods at all, and I am not sure that they are of real men either; for, O king, the inhabitants of the city of Lacedaemon do not dwell within walls, and have never fortified their city." Moreover, on one occasion the king had decided a suit for some villages and was boasting to Apollonius of how he had listened to the one suit for two whole days. "Well," said the other, "you took a mighty long time, anyhow, to find out what was just." And when the revenues from the subject country came in on one occasion in great quantities at once, the king opened his treasury and showed his wealth to the sage, to induce him to fall in love with wealth; but he admired nothing that he saw and said: "This, for you, O king, represents wealth, but to me it is mere chaff." "How, then," said the other, "and in what manner can I best make use of it?" "By spending it," he said, "for you are a king."

XXXIX

CAP. XXXIX Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εἰπὼν καὶ τυχὼν αὐτοῦ προθύμου πράττειν ἃ ξυνεβούλευεν, ἔτι καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς μάγους ξυνουσίας ἱκανῶς ἔχων "ἄγε, ὦ Δάμι," ἔφη, "ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἴωμεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Λωτοφάγοις προσπλεύσαντες ἀπήγοντο τῶν οἰκείων ἠθῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ βρώματος, ἡμεῖς δὲ μὴ γευόμενοί τινος τῶν ἐνταῦθα καθήμεθα πλείω χρόνον τοῦ εἰκότος τε καὶ ξυμμέτρου." "κἀμοί," ἔφη ὁ Δάμις, "ὑπερδοκεῖ ταῦτα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνεθυμούμην τὸν χρόνον, ὃν ἐν τῇ λεαίνῃ διεσκέψω, περιέμενον ἀνυσθῆναι αὐτόν· οὔπω μὲν οὖν ἐξήκει πᾶς, ἐνιαυτὸς γὰρ ἡμῖν ἤδη καὶ μῆνες τέτταρες· εἰ δὲ ἤδη κομιζοίμεθα, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι;" "οὐδὲ ἀνήσει ἡμᾶς," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, ὁ βασιλεὺς πρότερον ἢ τὸν ὄγδοον τελευτῆσαι μῆνα· χρηστὸν γάρ που ὁρᾷς αὐτὸν καὶ κρείττω ἢ βαρβάρων ἄρχειν."

XL

CAP. XL Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι λοιπὸν ἐδόκει καὶ ξυνεχώρησέ ποτε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπιέναι, ἀνεμνήσθη τῶν δωρεῶν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἃς ἀνεβάλλετο ἔς τ' ἂν φίλοι αὐτῷ γένωνται, καί "ὦ βέλτιστε," ἔφη, "βασιλεῦ, τὸν ξένον οὐδὲν εὖ πεποίηκα καὶ μισθὸν ὀφείλω τοῖς μάγοις· σὺ οὖν ἐπιμελήθητι αὐτῶν καὶ τοὐμὸν προθυμήθητι περὶ ἄνδρας σοφούς τε καὶ σοὶ σφόδρα εὔνους." ὑπερησθεὶς

XXXIX

CHAP. XXXIX

Is impatient to go on to India, but has to stay a year and eight months in Babylon

He had addressed many such sayings to the king, and found him ready to do what he advised him; when finding that he had had enough of the society of the Magi, he said to Damis: "Come, let us start for India. For the people who visited the lotus-eaters in their ships were seduced from their own home-principles by the food; but we, without tasting any of the victuals of this land, have remained here a longer time than is right and fitting." "And I," said Damis, "am more than of your opinion; but as I bore in mind the period of time which you discovered by the help of the lioness, I was waiting on for it to be completed. Now it has not yet all of it expired, for we have so far only spent a year and four months; however, if we can depart at once, would it be as well?" "But," said the other, "the king will not let us go, O Damis, before the eighth month has passed; for you, I think, see that he is a worthy man and too superior a person to be ruling over barbarians."

XL

CHAP. XL

The king equips them for further travel

When at last they were resolved on their departure and the king had consented that they should go away, Apollonius remembered the presents, which he had put off till he should have acquired friends, and he said: "O excellent king, I have in no way remunerated my host and I owe a reward to the Magi; do you therefore attend to them, and oblige me by bestowing your favours on men who are both wise and wholly devoted to yourself." The king then

CAP. XL οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς "τούτους μὲν αὔριον ζηλωτούς," ἔφη, "καὶ μεγάλων ἠξιωμένους ἀποδείξω σοι, σὺ δ' ἐπεὶ μηδενὸς δέῃ τῶν ἐμῶν, ἀλλὰ τούτοις γε ξυγχώρησον χρήματα παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν καὶ ὅ τι βούλονται," τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Δάμιν δείξας. ἀποστραφέντων οὖν κἀκείνων τὸν λόγον τοῦτον "ὁρᾷς," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰς ἐμὰς χεῖρας, ὡς πολλαί τέ εἰσι καὶ ἀλλήλαις ὅμοιαι;" "σὺ δὲ ἀλλὰ ἡγεμόνα ἄγου," ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔφη, "καὶ καμήλους, ἐφ' ὧν ὀχήσεσθε, τὸ γὰρ μῆκος τῆς ὁδοῦ κρεῖττον ἢ βαδίσαι πᾶσαν." "γιγνέσθω," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοῦτο, φασὶ γὰρ τὴν ὁδὸν ἄπορον εἶναι μὴ οὕτως ὀχουμένῳ, καὶ ἄλλως τὸ ζῷον εὔσιτόν τε καὶ ῥᾴδιον βόσκειν, ὅπου μὴ χιλὸς εἴη. καὶ ὕδωρ δέ, οἶμαι, χρὴ ἐπισιτίσασθαι καὶ ἀπάγειν αὐτὸ ἐν ἀσκοῖς, ὥσπερ τὸν οἶνον." "τριῶν ἡμερῶν," ἔφη ὁ βασιλεύς, "ἄνυδρος ἡ χώρα, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ πολλὴ ἀφθονία ποταμῶν τε καὶ πηγῶν, βαδίζειν δὲ δεῖ τὴν ἐπὶ Καυκάσου, τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια ἄφθονα καὶ φίλη ἡ χώρα." ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ὅ τι αὐτῷ ἀπάξει ἐκεῖθεν· "χαρίεν," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, δῶρον· ἢν γὰρ ἡ συνουσία τῶν ἀνδρῶν σοφώτερόν με ἀποφήνῃ, βελτίων ἀφίξομαί σοι ἢ νῦν εἰμι." περιέβαλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα εἰπόντα καὶ "ἀφίκοιο," εἶπε, "τὸ γὰρ δῶρον μέγα."

CHAP. XL

was more than delighted, and said: "I will show you to-morrow how much men envy them and what great rewards I hold them to have earned; but since you ask for nothing that is mine, I hope you will at least allow these gentlemen to accept from me money and what else they like," and he pointed to Damis and his companions. And when they too declined the offer, Apollonius said: "You see, O king, how many hands I have, and how closely they resemble one another." "But do you anyhow take a guide," said the king, "and camels on which to ride; for the road is too long by far for you to walk the whole of it." "Be it so," said Apollonius, "O king: for they say that the road is a difficult one for him who is not so mounted, and moreover this animal is easily fed and finds his pasture easily even where there is no herbage. And, methinks, we must lay in a supply of water also and take it in bottles, like wine." "Yes," said the king, "for three days the country is waterless, but after that there are plenty of rivers and springs; but you must take the road over the Caucasus, for there you will find plenty of the necessities of life and the country is friendly." And the king then asked him what he would bring back to him from his destination; and he answered: "A graceful gift, O king, for if I am turned into a wiser man by the society of people yonder, I shall return to you here a better man than I now am." When he said this the king embraced him and said: "May you come back, for that will indeed be a great gift."

BOOK II

B′

I

CAP. I ᾽Εντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνουσι περὶ τὸ θέρος αὐτοί τε ὀχούμενοι καὶ ὁ ἡγεμών, ἱπποκόμος δὲ ἦν τῶν καμήλων καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὁπόσων ἐδέοντο, ἦν ἄφθονα βασιλέως δόντος, ἥ τε χώρα, δι᾽ ἧς ἐπορεύοντο, εὖ ἔπραττεν, ἐδέχοντο δὲ αὐτοὺς αἱ κῶμαι θεραπεύουσαι· χρυσοῦ γὰρ ψάλιον ἡ πρώτη κάμηλος ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου ἔφερε, γιγνώσκειν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ὡς πέμποι τινὰ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων. προσιόντες δὲ τῷ Καυκάσῳ φασὶν εὐωδεστέρας τῆς γῆς αἰσθέσθαι.

II

CAP. II Τὸ δὲ ὄρος τοῦτο ἀρχὴν ποιώμεθα Ταύρου τοῦ δι᾽ ᾽Αρμενίας τε καὶ Κιλίκων ἐπὶ Παμφύλους καὶ Μυκάλην στείχοντος, ᾗ τελευτῶσα ἐς θάλατταν, ἣν Κᾶρες οἰκοῦσι, τέρμα τοῦ Καυκάσου νομίζοιτ᾽ ἄν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ, ὥς ἔνιοί φασιν, ἀρχή· τό τε γὰρ τῆς Μυκάλης ὕψος οὔπω μέγα καὶ αἱ ὑπερβολαὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου τοσοῦτον ἀνεστᾶσιν, ὡς σχίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτὰς τὸν ἥλιον. περιβάλλει δὲ Ταύρῳ ἑτέρῳ καὶ τὴν ὅμορον τῇ

BOOK II

I

In the summer our travellers, together with their guide, left Babylon and started out, mounted on camels; and the king had supplied them with the camel-driver, and plenty of provisions, as much as they wanted. The country through which they travelled was fertile; and the villages received them very respectfully, for the leading camel bore upon his forehead a chain of gold, to intimate to all who met them that the king was sending on their way some of his own friends. And as they approached the Caucasus they say that they found the land becoming more fragrant.

CHAP. I

They quit Babylon

II

We may regard this mountain as the beginning of the Taurus which extends through Armenia and Cilicia as far as Pamphylia and Mycale, and it ends at the sea on the shore of which the Carians live, and this we may regard as the extreme end of the Caucasus, and not as its beginning, as some people say. For the height of Mycale is not very great, whereas the peaks of the Caucasus are so lofty that the sun is cloven asunder by them. And it encompasses with the rest of the Taurus the whole of

CHAP. II

The ranges of Caucasus and Taurus

CAP. II ᾿Ινδικῇ Σκυθίαν πᾶσαν κατὰ Μαιῶτίν τε καὶ ἀριστερὸν Πόντον, σταδίων μάλιστα δισμυρίων μῆκος, τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐπέχει μέτρον τῆς γῆς ὁ ἀγκὼν τοῦ Καυκάσου· τὸ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἡμεδαπῇ Ταύρου λεγόμενον, ὡς ὑπὲρ τὴν ᾿Αρμενίαν πορεύοιτο, χρόνῳ ἀπιστηθὲν πιστοῦνται λοιπὸν αἱ παρδάλεις, ἃς οἶδα ἁλισκομένας ἐν τῇ Παμφύλων ἀρωματοφόρῳ. χαίρουσι γὰρ τοῖς ἀρώμασι, κἀκ πολλοῦ τὰς ὀσμὰς ἕλκουσαι φοιτῶσιν ἐξ ᾿Αρμενίας διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν πρὸς τὸ δάκρυον τοῦ στύρακος, ἐπειδὰν οἵ τε ἄνεμοι ἀπ᾿ αὐτοῦ πνεύσωσι καὶ τὰ δένδρα ὀπώδη γένηται. καὶ ἁλῶναί ποτέ φασιν ἐν τῇ Παμφυλίᾳ πάρδαλιν στρεπτῷ ἅμα, ὃν περὶ τῇ δέρῃ ἔφερε, χρυσοῦς δὲ ἦν καὶ ἐπεγέγραπτο ᾿Αρμενίοις γράμμασι ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΗΣ ΘΕΩΙ ΝΥΣΙΩΙ. βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ ᾿Αρμενίας τότε ἦν ᾿Αρσάκης, καὶ αὐτός, οἶμαι, ἰδὼν τὴν πάρδαλιν ἀνῆκε τῷ Διονύσῳ διὰ μέγεθος τοῦ θηρίου. Νύσιος γὰρ ὁ Διόνυσος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν ᾿Ινδοῖς Νύσης ᾿Ινδοῖς τε ὀνομάζεται καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πρὸς ἀκτῖνα ἔθνεσιν. ἡ δὲ χρόνον μέν τινα ὑπεζεύχθη ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ χεῖρα ἠνέσχετο ἐπαφωμένην τε καὶ καταψῶσαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνοίστρησεν αὐτὴν ἔαρ, ὅτε δὴ ἀφροδισίων ἥττους καὶ παρδάλεις, ἀνέθορεν ἐς τὰ ὄρη πόθῳ ἀρσένων, ὡς εἶχε τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ ἥλω περὶ τὸν κάτω Ταῦρον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρώματος ἑλχθεῖσα. ὁ δὲ Καύκασος ὁρίζει μὲν τὴν ᾿Ινδικήν τε καὶ Μηδικήν, καθήκει δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ᾿Ερυθρὰν θάλατταν ἑτέρῳ ἀγκῶνι.

Scythia which borders on India, and skirts Maeotis and the left side of Pontus, a distance almost of 20,000 stades; for no less than this is the extent of land enclosed by the elbow of the Caucasus. As to the statement made about such part of the Taurus as is in our own country, to the effect that it projects beyond Armenia,—it was long disbelieved, but has received definite confirmation from the conduct of the pards, which I know are caught in the spice-bearing region of Pamphylia. For these animals delight in fragrant odours, and scenting their smell from afar off they quit Armenia and traverse the mountains in search of the tear or gum of the Styrax, whenever the winds blow from its quarter and the trees are distilling. And they say that a pard was once caught in Pamphylia which was wearing a chain round its neck, and the chain was of gold, and on it was inscribed in Armenian lettering: "The king Arsaces to the Nysian god." Now the king of Armenia was certainly at that time Arsaces, and he, I imagine, finding the pard, had let it go free in honour of Dionysus because of its size. For Dionysus is called Nysian by the Indians and by all the Oriental races from Nysa in India. And this animal had been for a time under the restraint of man, and would let you pat it with your hand and caress it; but when it was goaded to excitement by the springtime, for in that season the pards begin to rut, it would rush into the mountains, from longing to meet the male, decked as it was with the ring; and it was taken in the lower Taurus whither it had been attracted by the fragrance of the gum. And the Caucasus bounds India and Media, and stretches down by another arm to the Red Sea.

On leopards

Armenian inscription on a leopard's collar

III

CAP. III Μυθολογεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων τὸ ὄρος, ἃ καὶ Ἕλληνες ἐπ' αὐτῷ ᾄδουσιν, ὡς Προμηθεὺς μὲν ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ δεθείη ἐκεῖ, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ἕτερος, οὐ γὰρ τὸν Θηβαῖόν γε βούλονται, μὴ ἀνάσχοιτο τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ τοξεύσειε τὸν ὄρνιν, ὃν ἔβοσκεν ὁ Προμηθεὺς τοῖς σπλάγχνοις· δεθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἐν ἄντρῳ φασίν, ὃ δὴ ἐν πρόποδι τοῦ ὄρους δείκνυται, καὶ δεσμὰ ὁ Δάμις ἀνῆφθαι τῶν πετρῶν λέγει οὐ ῥᾴδια ξυμβαλεῖν τὴν ὕλην, οἱ δ' ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους· δικόρυμβος δὲ ἡ κορυφὴ καί φασιν, ὡς τὰς χεῖρας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐδέθη διαλειπουσῶν οὐ μεῖον ἢ στάδιον, τοσοῦτος γὰρ εἶναι. τὸν δὲ ὄρνιν τὸν ἀετὸν οἱ τῷ Καυκάσῳ προσοικοῦντες ἐχθρὸν ἡγοῦνται καὶ καλιάς γε, ὁπόσας ἐν τοῖς πάγοις οἱ ἀετοὶ ποιοῦνται, καταπιμπρᾶσιν ἱέντες βέλη πυρφόρα, θήρατρά τε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἵστανται τιμωρεῖν τῷ Προμηθεῖ φάσκοντες· ὧδε γὰρ τοῦ μύθου ἥττηνται.

IV

CAP. IV Παραμείψαντες δὲ τὸν Καύκασον τετραπήχεις ἀνθρώπους ἰδεῖν φασιν, οὓς ἤδη μελαίνεσθαι, καὶ πενταπήχεις δὲ ἑτέρους ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἐλθόντες. ἐν δὲ τῇ μέχρι τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου

III

CHAP. III

Legend of Prometheus and the eagle

And legends are told of this mountain by the barbarians, which also have an echo in the poems of the Greeks about it, to the effect that Prometheus, because of his love of man, was bound there, and that Hercules,—another Hercules, for of course the Theban is not meant,—could not brook the ill-treatment of Prometheus, and shot the bird which was feeding upon his entrails. And some say that he was bound in a cave, which as a matter of fact is shown in a foot-hill of the mountain: and Damis says that his chains still hung from the rocks, though you could not easily guess at the material of which they were made, but others say that they bound him on the peak of the mountain; and it has two summits, and they say that his hands were lashed to them, although they are distant from one another not less than a stade,[1] so great was his bulk. But the inhabitants of the Caucasus regard the eagle of the tale as a hostile bird, and burn out the nests which they build among the rocks by hurling into them fiery darts, and they also set snares for them, declaring that they are avenging Prometheus; to such an extent are their imaginations dominated by the fable.

IV

CHAP. IV

A hobgoblin visits the voyagers

Having passed the Caucasus our travellers say they saw men four cubits high, and that they were already black, and that when they passed over the river Indus they saw others five cubits high. But on their way to this river our wayfarers found the

[1] 606 English feet.

CAP. IV ὁδοιπορίᾳ τάδε εὗρον ἀφηγήσεως ἄξια· ἐπορεύοντο μὲν γὰρ ἐν σελήνῃ λαμπρᾷ, φάσμα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐμπούσης ἐνέπεσε, τὸ δεῖνα γινομένη καὶ τὸ δεῖνα αὖ καὶ οὐδὲν εἶναι, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ξυνῆκεν, ὅ τι εἴη, καὶ αὐτός τε ἐλοιδορεῖτο τῇ ἐμπούσῃ, τοῖς τε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν προσέταξε ταὐτὸ πράττειν, ταυτὶ γὰρ ἄκος εἶναι τῆς προσβολῆς ταύτης· καὶ τὸ φάσμα φυγῇ ᾤχετο τετριγός, ὥσπερ τὰ εἴδωλα.

V

CAP. V Κορυφὴν δ' ὑπερβάλλοντες τοῦ ὄρους καὶ βαδίζοντες αὐτήν, ἐπειδὴ ἀποτόμως εἶχεν, ἤρετο οὑτωσὶ τὸν Δάμιν· "εἰπέ μοι," ἔφη, "ποῦ χθὲς ἦμεν;" ὁ δέ "ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ," ἔφη. "τήμερον δέ, ὦ Δάμι, ποῦ;" "ἐν τῷ Καυκάσῳ," εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ ἐμαυτοῦ ἐκλέλησμαι." "πότε οὖν κάτω μᾶλλον ἦσθα;" πάλιν ἤρετο, ὁ δέ "τουτὶ μέν," ἔφη, "οὐδὲ ἐπερωτᾶν ἄξιον· χθὲς μὲν γὰρ διὰ κοίλης τῆς γῆς ἐπορευόμεθα, τήμερον δὲ πρὸς τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐσμέν." "οἴει οὖν," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, τὴν μὲν χθὲς ὁδοιπορίαν κάτω εἶναι, τὴν δὲ τήμερον ἄνω;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ μαίνομαί γε." "τί οὖν ἡγῇ," ἔφη, "παραλλάττειν τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀλλήλων ἢ τί τήμερον πλέον εἶναί σοι τοῦ χθές;" "ὅτι χθές," ἔφη, "ἐβάδιζον οὗπερ πολλοί, σήμερον δέ, οὗπερ ὀλίγοι." "τί

CHAP. IV

following incidents worthy of notice. For they were travelling by bright moonlight, when the figure of an *empusa* or hobgoblin appeared to them, that changed from one form into another, and sometimes it vanished into nothing. And Apollonius realised what it was, and himself heaped abuse on the hobgoblin and instructed his party to do the same, saying that this was the right remedy for such a visitation. And the phantasm fled away shrieking even as ghosts do.

V

CHAP. V

Discussion with Damis about mountaineering and religion

AND as they were passing over the summit of the mountain, going on foot, for it was very steep, Apollonius asked of Damis the following question. "Tell me," he said, "where we were yesterday." And he replied: "On the plain." "And to-day, O Damis, where are we?" "In the Caucasus," said he, "if wholly I mistake not." "Then when were you lower down than you are now?" he asked again, and Damis replied: "That's a question hardly worth asking. For yesterday we were travelling through the valley below, while to-day we are close up to heaven." "Then you think," said the other, "O Damis, that our road yesterday lay low down, whereas our road to-day lies high up?" "Yes, by Zeus," he replied, "unless at least I'm mad." "In what respect then," said Apollonius, "do you suppose that our roads differ from one another, and what advantage has to-day's path for you over that of yesterday?" "Because," said Damis, "yesterday I was walking along where a great many people go, but to-day, where are very few." "Well," said the other, "O

CAP. V γάρ," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, οὐ καὶ τὰς ἐν ἄστει λεωφόρους ἐκτρεπομένῳ βαδίζειν ἐστὶν ἐν ὀλίγοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων;" "οὐ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "εἶπον, ἀλλ' ὅτι χθὲς μὲν διὰ κωμῶν ἐκομιζόμεθα καὶ ἀνθρώπων, σήμερον δὲ ἀστιβές τι ἀναβαίνομεν χωρίον καὶ θεῖον, ἀκούεις γὰρ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι θεῶν αὐτὸ ποιοῦνται οἶκον," καὶ ἅμα ἀνέβλεπεν ἐς τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ ὄρους. ὁ δὲ ἐμβιβάζων αὐτὸν ἐς ὃ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἠρώτα "ἔχεις οὖν εἰπεῖν, ὦ Δάμι, ὅ τι ξυνῆκας τοῦ θείου βαδίζων ἀγχοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ;" "οὐδέν," ἔφη. "καὶ μὴν ἐχρῆν γε," εἶπεν, "ἐπὶ μηχανῆς τηλικαύτης καὶ θείας οὕτως ἑστηκότα περί τε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ σαφεστέρας ἤδη ἐκφέρειν δόξας περί τε τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης, ὧν γε καὶ ῥάβδῳ ἴσως ἡγῇ ψαύσειν προσεστηκὼς τῷ οὐρανῷ τούτῳ." "ἃ χθές," ἔφη, "περὶ τοῦ θείου ἐγίγνωσκον, γιγνώσκω καὶ τήμερον, καὶ οὔπω μοι ἑτέρα προσέπεσε περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξα." "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, κάτω τυγχάνεις ὢν ἔτι, καὶ οὐδὲν παρὰ τοῦ ὕψους εἴληφας, ἀπέχεις τε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁπόσον χθές· καὶ εἰκότως σε ἠρόμην, ἃ ἐν ἀρχῇ· σὺ γὰρ ᾤου γελοίως ἐρωτᾶσθαι." "καὶ μήν," ἔφη, "καταβήσεσθαί γε σοφώτερος ᾠμην ἀκούων, Ἀπολλώνιε, τὸν μὲν Κλαζομένιον Ἀναξαγόραν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωνίαν Μίμαντος ἐπεσκέφθαι τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, Θαλῆν τε τὸν Μιλάσιον ἀπὸ τῆς

Damis, can you not also in a city turn out of the main street and walk where you will find very few people?" "I did not say that," replied Damis, "but that yesterday we were passing through villages and populations, whereas to-day we are ascending through an untrodden and divine region: for you heard our guide say that the barbarians declare this tract to be the home of the gods." And with that he glanced up to the summit of the mountain. But Apollonius recalled his attention to the original question by saying: "Can you tell me then, O Damis, what understanding of divine mystery you get by walking so near the heavens?" "None whatever," he replied. "And yet you ought," said Apollonius. "When your feet are placed on a platform so divine and vast as this, you ought at once to utter thoughts of the clearest kind about the heaven and about the sun and moon, which you probably think you could touch from a vantage ground so close to heaven." "Whatever," said he, "I knew about God's nature yesterday, I equally know to-day, and so far no fresh idea has occurred to me concerning him." "So then," replied the other, "you are, O Damis, still below, and have won nothing from being high up, and you are as far from heaven as you were yesterday. And my question which I asked you to begin with was a fair one, although you thought that I asked it in order to make fun of you." "The truth is," replied Damis, "that I thought I should anyhow go down from the mountain wiser than I came up it, because I had heard, O Apollonius, that Anaxagoras of Clazomenae observed the heavenly bodies from the mountain Mimas in Ionia, and Thales of Miletus from

CHAP. V

CAP. V προσοίκου Μυκάλης, λέγονται δὲ καὶ τῷ Παγγαίῳ ἔνιοι φροντιστηρίῳ χρήσασθαι καὶ ἕτεροι τῷ Ἄθῳ. ἐγὼ δὲ μέγιστον τούτων ἀνελθὼν ὕψος οὐδὲν σοφώτερος ἑαυτοῦ καταβήσομαι." "οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι," ἔφη, "αἱ γὰρ τοιαίδε περιωπαὶ γλαυκότερον μὲν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀποφαίνουσι καὶ μείζους τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ἐκ νυκτός, ἃ καὶ ποιμέσιν ἤδη καὶ αἰπόλοις ἐστὶ δῆλα, ὅπη δὲ τὸ θεῖον ἐπιμελεῖται τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους καὶ ὅπη χαίρει ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θεραπευόμενον, ὅ τί τε ἀρετὴ καὶ ὅ τι δικαιοσύνη τε καὶ σωφροσύνη, οὔτε Ἄθως ἐκδείξει τοῖς ἀνελθοῦσιν οὔτε ὁ θαυμαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν Ὄλυμπος, εἰ μὴ διορῴη αὐτὰ ἡ ψυχή, ἥν, εἰ καθαρὰ καὶ ἀκήρατος αὐτῶν ἅπτοιτο, πολλῷ μεῖζον ἔγωγ' ἂν φαίην ᾄττειν τουτουὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου."

VI

CAP. VI. Ὑπερβάντες δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐπ' ἐλεφάντων ἤδη ὀχουμένοις ἀνδράσιν, εἰσὶ δ' οὗτοι μέσοι Καυκάσου καὶ ποταμοῦ Κωφῆνος, ἄβιοί τε καὶ ἱππόται τῆς ἀγέλης ταύτης, καὶ κάμηλοι δὲ ἐνίους ἦγον, αἷς χρῶνται Ἰνδοὶ ἐς τὰ δρομικά, πορεύονται δὲ χίλια στάδια τῆς ἡμέρας γόνυ οὐδαμοῦ κάμψασαι. προσελάσας οὖν τῶν Ἰνδῶν εἷς ἐπὶ καμήλου τοιαύτης ἠρώτα τὸν ἡγεμόνα οἷ στείχοιεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν νοῦν τῆς ἀποδημίας ἤκουσεν, ἀπήγγειλε τοῖς νομάσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀνεβόησαν ὥσπερ

Mycale which was close by his home; and some are said to have used as their observatory mount Pangaeus and others Athos. But I have come up a greater height than any of these, and yet shall go down again no wiser than I was before." "For neither did they," replied Apollonius: "and such lookouts show you indeed a bluer heaven and bigger stars and the sun rising out of the night; but all these phenomena were manifest long ago to shepherds and goatherds, but neither Athos will reveal to those who climb up it, nor Olympus, so much extolled by the poets, in what way God cares for the human race and how he delights to be worshipped by them, nor reveal the nature of virtue and of justice and temperance, unless the soul scans these matters narrowly, and the soul, I should say, if it engages on the task pure and undefiled, will soar much higher than this summit of Caucasus." CHAP. V

VI

CHAP. VI.

Natives on the Cophen

AND having passed beyond the mountain, they at once came upon elephants with men riding on them; and these people dwell between the Caucasus and the river Cophen, and they are rude in their lives and they depend for steeds on the herds of elephants; some of them however rode on camels, which are used by Indians for carrying despatches, and they will travel 1,000 stades a day without ever bending the knee or lying down anywhere. One of the Indians, then, who was riding on such a camel, asked the guide where they were going, and when he was told the object of their voyage, he informed the nomads

CAP. VI ἡσθέντες, ἐκέλευόν τε πλησίον ἥκειν καὶ ἀφικομένοις οἶνόν τε ὤρεγον, ὃν ἀπὸ τῶν φοινίκων σοφίζονται, καὶ μέλι ἀπὸ ταὐτοῦ φυτοῦ καὶ τεμάχη λεόντων καὶ παρδάλεων, ὧν καὶ τὰ δέρματα νεόδαρτα ἦν, δεξάμενοι δὲ πλὴν τῶν κρεῶν πάντα ἀπήλασαν ἐς τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς καὶ ἐχώρουν πρὸς ἕω.

VII

CAP. VII Ἀριστοποιουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς πηγῇ ὕδατος, ἐγχέας ὁ Δάμις τοῦ παρὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἴνου "Διός," ἔφη, "Σωτῆρος ἥδε σοι, Ἀπολλώνιε, διὰ πολλοῦ γε πίνοντι. οὐ γάρ, οἶμαι, παραιτήσῃ καὶ τοῦτον, ὥσπερ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμπέλων" καὶ ἅμα ἔσπεισεν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ Διὸς ἐπεμνήσθη. γελάσας οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος "οὐ καὶ χρημάτων," ἔφη, "ἀπεχόμεθα, ὦ Δάμι;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ὡς πολλαχοῦ ἐπεδείξω." "ἆρ' οὖν," ἔφη, "χρυσῆς μὲν δραχμῆς καὶ ἀργυρᾶς ἀφεξόμεθα, καὶ οὐχ ἡττησόμεθα τοιούτου νομίσματος, καίτοι κεχηνότας ἐς αὐτὸ ὁρῶντες οὐκ ἰδιώτας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέας, εἰ δὲ χαλκοῦν τις ὡς ἀργυροῦν ἢ ὑπόχρυσόν τε καὶ κεκιβδηλευμένον ἡμῖν διδοίη, ληψόμεθα τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐκεῖνό ἐστιν, οὗ οἱ πολλοὶ γλίχονται; καὶ μὴν καὶ νομίσματά ἐστιν Ἰνδοῖς ὀρειχάλκου τε καὶ χαλκοῦ μέλανος, ὧν δεῖ δήπου πάντα ὠνεῖσθαι πάντας ἥκοντας ἐς τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἤθη· τί οὖν; εἰ

thereof; and they raised a shout of pleasure, and bade them approach, and when they came up they offered them wine which they make out of palm dates and honey from the same tree, and steaks from the flesh of lions and leopards which they had just flayed. And our travellers accepted everything except the flesh, and then started off for India and betook themselves eastwards. CHAP. VI

VII

CHAP. VII

Discussion of palm wine, and necessity of teetotalism

AND as they were taking breakfast by a spring of water, Damis poured out a cup of the Indians' wine, and said: "Here's to you, Apollonius, on the part of Zeus the Saviour; for it is a long time since you have drunk any wine. But you will not, I am sure, refuse this as you do wine that is made from the fruit of the vine." And withal he poured out a libation, because he had mentioned the name of Zeus. Apollonius then gave a laugh and said: "Do we not also abstain from money, O Damis?" "Yes, by Zeus," said the other, "as you have often demonstrated to us." "Shall we then," said the other, "abstain from the use of a golden drachma and of a silver piece, and be proof against temptation by any such coin, although we see not private individuals only, but kings as well, agape for money, and then if anyone offers us a brass coin for a silver one, or a gilded one and a counterfeit, shall we accept it, merely because it is not what it pretends to be, and what the many itch to have? And to be sure the Indians have coins of orichalcus and black brass, with which, I suppose, all who come to the Indian haunts must purchase everything; what

CAP. VII

χρήματα ἡμῖν ὤρεγον οἱ χρηστοὶ νομάδες, ἆρ' ἄν, ὦ Δάμι, παραιτούμενόν με ὁρῶν, ἐνουθέτεις τε καὶ ἐδίδασκες, ὅτι χρήματα μὲν ἐκεῖνά ἐστιν, ἃ Ῥωμαῖοι χαράττουσιν ἢ ὁ Μήδων βασιλεύς, ταυτὶ δὲ ὕλη τις ἑτέρα κεκομψευμένη τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς; καὶ ταῦτα πείσας τίνα ἂν ἡγήσω με; ἆρ' οὐ κίβδηλόν τε καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀποβεβληκότα μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ πονηροὶ στρατιῶται τὰς ἀσπίδας; καίτοι ἀσπίδος μὲν ἀποβληθείσης ἑτέρα γένοιτ' ἂν τῷ ἀποβαλόντι κακίων οὐδὲν τῆς προτέρας, ὡς Ἀρχιλόχῳ δοκεῖ, φιλοσοφία δὲ πῶς ἀνακτητέα τῷ γε ἀτιμάσαντι αὐτὴν καὶ ῥίψαντι; καὶ νῦν μὲν ἂν ξυγγιγνώσκοι ὁ Διόνυσος οὐδενὸς οἴνου ἡττημένῳ, τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν φοινίκων εἰ πρὸ τοῦ ἀμπελίνου αἱροίμην, ἀχθέσεται, εὖ οἶδα, καὶ περιυβρίσθαι φήσει τὸ ἑαυτοῦ δῶρον. ἐσμὲν δὲ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ γὰρ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἀκούεις, ὡς πλησίον ἡ Νῦσα τὸ ὄρος, ἐφ' οὗ ὁ Διόνυσος πολλά, οἶμαι, καὶ θαυμαστὰ πράττει. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ μεθύειν, ὦ Δάμι, οὐκ ἐκ βοτρύων μόνων ἐσφοιτᾷ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φοινίκων παραπλησίως ἐκβακχεύει· πολλοῖς γοῦν ἤδη τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐνετύχομεν κατεσχημένοις τῷ οἴνῳ τούτῳ, καὶ οἱ μὲν ὀρχοῦνται πίπτοντες, οἱ δὲ ᾄδουσιν ὑπονυστάζοντες, ὥσπερ οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκ πότου νύκτωρ τε καὶ οὐκ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἀναλύοντες. ὅτι δὲ οἶνον ἡγῇ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πῶμα, δηλοῖς τῷ σπένδειν τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ Διὶ καὶ ὁπόσα ἐπὶ οἴνῳ εὔχεσθαι. καὶ εἴρηταί μοι, ὦ Δάμι, πρὸς σὲ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ ταῦτα· οὔτε γὰρ σὲ

then? Supposing the nomads, good people as they are, offered us money, would you in that case, Damis, seeing me decline it, have advised me better and have explained, that what is coined by the Romans or by the king of Media is really money, whereas this is another sort of stuff polished up among the Indians? And what would you think of me, if you could persuade me of such things? Would you not think I was a cheat and abandoned my philosophy as thoroughly as cowardly soldiers do their shields? And yet, when you have thrown away your shield you can procure another that is quite as good as the first, in the opinion of Archilochus. But how can one who has dishonoured and cast away philosophy, ever recover her? And in this case Dionysus might well pardon one who refuses all wine whatever, but if I chose date-wine in preference to that made of grapes, he would be aggrieved, I am sure, and say that his gift had been scorned and flouted. And we are not far away from this god, for you hear the guide saying that the mountain of Nysa is close by, upon which Dionysus works, I believe, a great many miracles. Moreover, drunkenness, Damis, invades men not from drinking the wine of grapes alone, for they are equally roused to frenzy by date-wine. Anyhow we have seen a great many Indians overcome by this wine, some of them dancing till they fell, and others singing as they reeled about, just like the people among us, who drink of a night and don't go home till dawn. And that you yourself regard this drink as genuine wine, is clear from the fact that you poured out a libation of it to Zeus and offered up the prayers which usually accompany wine. And this, Damis, is the defence which I have to make of

CHAP. VII

CAP. VII τοῦ πίνειν ἀπάγοιμ' ἂν οὔτε τοὺς ὀπαδοὺς τούτους, ξυγχωροίην δ' ἂν ὑμῖν καὶ κρεῶν σιτεῖσθαι, τὸ γὰρ ἀπέχεσθαι τούτων ὑμῖν μὲν ἐς οὐδὲν ὁρῶ προβαῖνον, ἐμαυτῷ δὲ ἐς ἃ ὡμολόγηταί μοι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐκ παιδός." ἐδέξαντο τὸν λόγον τοῦτον οἱ περὶ τὸν Δάμιν καὶ ἠσπάσαντο εὐωχεῖσθαι, ῥᾷον ἡγούμενοι πορεύσεσθαι, ἢν ἀφθονώτερον διαιτῶνται.

VIII

CAP. VIII Διαβάντες δὲ τὸν Κωφῆνα ποταμόν, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ νεῶν, κάμηλοι δὲ πεζῇ τὸ ὕδωρ, ὁ γὰρ ποταμὸς οὔπω μέγας, ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ βασιλευομένῃ ἠπείρῳ, ἐν ᾗ ἀνατεῖνον πεφύτευται Νῦσα ὄρος ἐς κορυφὴν ἄκραν, ὥσπερ ὁ ἐν Λυδίᾳ Τμῶλος, ἀναβαίνειν δ' αὐτὸ ἔξεστιν, ὡδοποίηται γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ γεωργεῖσθαι. ἀνελθόντες οὖν ἱερῷ Διονύσου ἐντυχεῖν φασιν, ὃ δὴ Διόνυσον ἑαυτῷ φυτεῦσαι δάφναις περιεστηκυίαις κύκλῳ, τοσοῦτον περιεχούσαις τῆς γῆς, ὅσον ἀπόχρην νεῷ ξυμμέτρῳ, κιττόν τε περιβαλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀμπέλους ταῖς δάφναις, ἄγαλμά τε ἑαυτοῦ ἔνδον στήσασθαι, γιγνώσκοντα ὡς ξυμφύσει τὰ δένδρα ὁ χρόνος καὶ δώσει τινὰ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὄροφον, ὃς οὕτω ξυμβέβληται νῦν, ὡς μήτε ὕεσθαι τὸ ἱερὸν μήτ' ἀνέμῳ ἐσπνεῖσθαι. δρέπανα δὲ καὶ ἄρριχοι καὶ ληνοὶ καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ ληνοὺς ἀνάκειται

CHAP. VII

myself against you; for neither do I wish to dissuade you from drinking, nor these companions of ours either; nay, I would allow you also to eat meat; for the abstinence from these things has, I perceive, profited you nothing, though it has profited me in the philosophic profession which I have made from boyhood." The companions of Damis welcomed this speech and took to their good cheer with a will, thinking that they would find the journey easier if they lived rather better.

VIII

CHAP. VIII

Shrine of Dionysus on the mountain of Nysa

THEY crossed the river Cophen, themselves in boats, but the camels by a ford on foot; for the river has not yet reached its full size here. They were now in a continent subject to the king, in which the mountain of Nysa rises covered to its very top with plantations, like the mountain of Tmolus in Lydia; and you can ascend it, because paths have been made by the cultivators. They say then that when they had ascended it, they found the shrine of Dionysus, which it is said Dionysus founded in honour of himself, planting round it a circle of laurel trees which encloses just as much ground as suffices to contain a moderate sized temple. He also surrounded the laurels with a border of ivy and vines; and he had set up inside an image of himself, knowing that in time the trees would grow together and make themselves into a kind of roof; and this had now formed itself, so that neither rain can wet nor wind blow upon the shrine. And there were sickles and baskets and wine-presses and their

CAP. VIII τῷ Διονύσῳ χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καθάπερ τρυγῶντι. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα εἴκασται μὲν ἐφήβῳ Ἰνδῷ, λίθου δὲ ἔξεσται λευκοῦ. ὀργιάζοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ σείοντος τὴν Νῦσαν, ἀκούουσιν αἱ πόλεις αἱ ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει καὶ ξυνεξαίρονται.

IX

CAP. IX Διαφέρονται δὲ περὶ τοῦ Διονύσου τούτου καὶ Ἕλληνες Ἰνδοῖς καὶ Ἰνδοὶ ἀλλήλοις· ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ τὸν Θηβαῖον ἐπ᾽ Ἰνδοὺς ἐλάσαι φαμὲν στρατεύοντά τε καὶ βακχεύοντα τεκμηρίοις χρώμενοι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῷ Πυθοῖ ἀναθήματι, ὃ δὴ ἀπόθετον οἱ ἐκεῖ θησαυροὶ ἴσχουσιν· ἔστι δὲ ἀργύρου Ἰνδικοῦ δίσκος, ᾧ ἐπιγέγραπται· ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ Ο ΣΕΜΕΛΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΙΝΔΩΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΔΕΛΦΩΙ. Ἰνδῶν δὲ οἱ περὶ Καύκασον καὶ Κωφῆνα ποταμὸν ἐπηλύτην Ἀσσύριον αὐτόν φασιν ἐλθεῖν τὰ τοῦ Θηβαίου εἰδότα· οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἰνδοῦ τε καὶ Ὑδραώτου μέσην νεμόμενοι καὶ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα ἤπειρον, ἣ δὴ ἐς ποταμὸν Γάγγην τελευτᾷ, Διόνυσον γενέσθαι ποταμοῦ παῖδα Ἰνδοῦ λέγουσιν, ᾧ φοιτήσαντα τὸν ἐκ Θηβῶν ἐκεῖνον, θύρσου τε ἅψασθαι καὶ δοῦναι ὀργίοις, εἰπόντα δέ, ὡς εἴη Διὸς καὶ τῷ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐμβιῴη μηρῷ τόκου ἕνεκα, Μηρόν τε εὑρέσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὄρος, ᾧ προσβέβηκεν ἡ Νῦσα, καὶ τὴν Νῦσαν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐκφυτεῦσαι ἀπάγοντα

furniture dedicated to Dionysus, as if to one who gathers grapes, all made of gold and silver. And the image resembled a youthful Indian, and was carved out of polished white stone. And when Dionysus celebrates his orgies and shakes Nysa, the cities underneath the mountain hear the noise and exult in sympathy.

CHAP. VIII

IX

CHAP. IX

Visit of Dionysus to India

Now the Hellenes disagree with the Indians, and the Indians among themselves, concerning this Dionysus. For we declare that the Theban Dionysus made an expedition to India in the rôle both of soldier and of reveller, and we base our arguments, among other things, on the offering at Delphi, which is secreted in the treasuries there. And it is a disc of Indian silver bearing the inscription: "Dionysus the son of Semele and of Zeus, from the men of India to the Apollo of Delphi." But the Indians who dwell in the Caucasus and along the river Cophen say that he was an Assyrian visitor when he came to them, who understood the affairs of the Theban. But those who inhabit the district between the Indus and the Hydraotes and the continental region beyond, which ends at the river Ganges, declare that Dionysus was son of the river Indus, and that the Dionysus of Thebes having become his disciple took to the thyrsus and introduced it in the orgies; that this Dionysus having declared that he was the son of Zeus and had lived safe inside his father's thigh until he was born, obtained from him a mountain called Merus or "Thigh" on which Nysa borders, and planted Nysa in honour of Dionysus with

His offering to Delphi

Indian legends of Dionysus

CAP. IX ἐκ Θηβῶν τὸ γόνυ τῆς ἀμπέλου, οὗ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὀργιάσαι. οἱ δὲ τὴν Νῦσαν οἰκοῦντες οὔ φασι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀνελθεῖν ἐς τὸ ὄρος, ἀλλ' ὁρμῆσαι μέν, ἐπειδὴ φιλότιμός τε ἦν καὶ ἀρχαιολογίας ἥττων, δείσαντα δὲ μὴ ἐς ἀμπέλους παρελθόντες οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἃς χρόνου ἤδη οὐχ ἑωράκεσαν, ἐς πόθον τῶν οἴκοι ἀπενεχθῶσιν, ἢ ἐπιθυμίαν τινὰ οἴνου ἀναλάβωσιν εἰθισμένοι ἤδη τῷ ὕδατι, παρελάσαι τὴν Νῦσαν, εὐξάμενον τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ θύσαντα ἐν τῇ ὑπωρείᾳ. καὶ γιγνώσκω μὲν οὐκ ἐς χάριν ταῦτα ἐνίοις γράφων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατεύσαντες οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀνέγραψαν, δεῖ δὲ ἀληθείας ἐμοὶ γοῦν, ἣν εἰ κἀκεῖνοι ἐπήνεσαν, οὐκ ἂν ἀφείλοντο καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἐγκωμίου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον· τοῦ γὰρ ἀνελθεῖν ἐς τὸ ὄρος καὶ βακχεῦσαι αὐτόν, ἃ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι, μεῖζον, οἶμαι, τὸ ὑπὲρ καρτερίας τοῦ στρατοῦ μηδὲ ἀναβῆναι.

X

CAP. X Τὴν δὲ Ἄορνον πέτραν οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχουσαν τῆς Νύσης ἰδεῖν μὲν οὔ φησιν ὁ Δάμις, ἐν ἐκβολῇ γὰρ κεῖσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ δεδιέναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐκτρέπεσθαί ποι παρὰ τὸ εὐθύ, ἀκοῦσαι δέ, ὡς ἁλωτὸς μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γένοιτο, Ἄορνος δὲ ὀνομάζοιτο οὐκ ἐπειδὴ στάδια πεντεκαίδεκα ἀνέστηκε, πέτονται

CHAP. IX

Alexander never ascended to his shrine

the vine of which he had brought the suckers from Thebes; and that it was there that Alexander held his orgies. But the inhabitants of Nysa deny that Alexander ever went up the mountain, although he was eager to do so, being an ambitious person and fond of old-world things; but he was afraid lest his Macedonians, if they got among vines, which they had not seen for a long time, would fall into a fit of homesickness or recover their taste for wine, after they had already become accustomed to water only. So they say he passed by Nysa, making his vow to Dionysus, and sacrificing at the foot of the mountain. Well I know that some people will take amiss what I write, because the companions of Alexander on his campaigns did not write down the truth in reporting this, but I at any rate insist upon the truth, and hold that, if they had respected it more, they would never have deprived Alexander of the praise due to him in this matter; for, in my opinion it was a greater thing that he never went up, in order to maintain the sobriety of his army, than that he should have ascended the mountain and have himself held a revel there, which is what they tell you.

X

CHAP. X

The rock *Aornus*

Damis says that he did not see the rock called the "Birdless" (*Aornus*), which is not far distant from Nysa, because this lay off their road, and their guide feared to diverge from the direct path. But he says he heard that it had been captured by Alexander, and was called "Birdless," not because it rises 9,000 feet, for the sacred birds fly higher than that;

CAP. X γὰρ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦτο οἱ ἱεροὶ ὄρνιθες, ἀλλ' ἐν κορυφῇ τῆς πέτρας ῥῆγμα εἶναί φασι τοὺς ὑπερπετομένους τῶν ὀρνίθων ἐπισπώμενον, ὡς Ἀθήνησί τε ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἐν προδόμῳ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῆς Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν γῆς, ὑφ' οὗ τὴν πέτραν Ἄορνον κεκλῆσθαί τε καὶ εἶναι.

XI

CAP. XI Ἐλαύνοντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν παιδὶ ἐντυγχάνουσι τρισκαίδεκά που ἔτη γεγονότι, ἐπ' ἐλέφαντος ὀχουμένῳ καὶ παίοντι τὸ θηρίον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐθαύμασαν ὁρῶντες "τί ἔργον," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, ἀγαθοῦ ἱππέως;" "τί δ' ἄλλο γε," εἶπεν, "ἢ ἱζήσαντα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἄρχειν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ χαλινῷ στρέφειν καὶ κολάζειν ἀτακτοῦντα, καὶ προορᾶν, ὡς μὴ ἐς βόθρον ἢ τάφρον ἢ χάσμα κατενεχθείη ὁ ἵππος, ὅτε γε δι' ἕλους ἢ πηλοῦ χωροίη;" "ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν, ὦ Δάμι, ἀπαιτήσομεν," ἔφη, "τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἱππέα;" "νὴ Δί," εἶπε, "τό τε ἀναπηδῶντι μὲν τῷ ἵππῳ πρὸς τὸ σιμὸν ἐφεῖναι τὸν χαλινόν, κατὰ πρανοῦς δὲ ἰόντι οἱ μὴ ξυγχωρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνθέλκειν, καὶ τὸ καταψῆσαι δὲ τὰ ὦτα ἢ τὴν χαίτην, καὶ μὴ ἀεὶ ἡ μάστιξ σοφοῦ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἱππέως, καὶ ἐπαινοίην ἂν τὸν ὧδε ὀχούμενον." "τῷ δὲ δὴ μαχίμῳ τε καὶ πολεμιστηρίῳ τίνων δεῖ;" "τῶν γε αὐτῶν," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ πρός γε τούτοις τοῦ βάλλειν τε καὶ φυλάττεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐπελάσαι δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπελάσαι, καὶ τὸ ἀνειλῆσαι πολεμίους, καὶ μὴ ἐᾶν ἐκπλήττεσθαι τὸν ἵππον, ὅτε

CHAP. X

but because on the summit of the rock there is, they say, a cleft which draws into itself the birds which fly over it, as we may see at Athens also in the vestibule of the Parthenon, and in several places in Phrygia and Lydia. And this is the reason why the rock was called and actually is "Birdless."

XI

CHAP. XI

Discussion of mahouts and elephant intelligence

AND as they made their way to the Indus they met a boy of about thirteen years old mounted on an elephant and striking the animal. And when they wondered at the sight, Apollonius said: "Damis, what is the business of a good horseman?" "Why, what else," he replied, "than to sit firm upon the horse, and then control it, and turn it with the bit, and punish it when it is unruly, and to take care that the horse does not plunge into a chasm or a ditch or a hole, especially when he is passing over a marsh or a clay bog?" "And shall we require nothing else, O Damis, of a good horseman?" said Apollonius. "Why, yes," he said, "when the horse is galloping up a hill he must slacken the bit; and when he is going down hill he must not let the horse have his way, but hold him in; and he must caress his ears and mane; and in my opinion a clever rider hardly ever uses a whip, and I should commend any one who rode in this way." "And what is needful for a soldier who rides a charger?" "The same things," he said, "O Apollonius, and in addition the ability to inflict and parry blows and to pursue and to retire, and to crowd the enemies together, without letting his horse be frightened by the rattling of

CAP. XI δουπήσειεν ἀσπὶς ἢ ἀστράψειαν αἱ κόρυθες, ἢ παιανιζόντων τε καὶ ἀλαλαζόντων βοὴ γένοιτο, σοφίᾳ, οἶμαι, ἱππικῇ πρόσκειται." "τοῦτον οὖν," ἔφη, "τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐλέφαντος ἱππέα τί φήσεις;" "πολλῷ," ἔφη, "θαυμασιώτερον, Ἀπολλώνιε, τὸ γὰρ θηρίῳ τηλικούτῳ ἐπιτετάχθαι τηλικόνδε ὄντα, καὶ εὐθύνειν αὐτὸ καλαύροπι, ἣν ὁρᾷς αὐτὸν ἐμβαλόντα τῷ ἐλέφαντι, ὥσπερ ἄγκυραν, καὶ μήτε τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ θηρίου δεδιέναι μήτε τὸ ὕψος μήτε τὴν ῥώμην τοσαύτην οὖσαν, δαιμόνιον ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, καὶ οὐδ' ἂν ἐπίστευσα, μὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, εἰ ἑτέρου ἤκουσα." "τί οὖν," ἔφη, "εἰ ἀποδόσθαι τις ἡμῖν τὸν παῖδα βούλοιτο, ὠνήσῃ αὐτόν, ὦ Δάμι;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπε, "τῶν γε ἐμαυτοῦ πάντων. τὸ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἀκρόπολιν κατειληφότα δεσπόζειν θηρίου μεγίστου ὧν ἡ γῆ βόσκει, ἐλευθέρας ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ φύσεως καὶ λαμπρᾶς εἶναι." "τί οὖν χρήσῃ τῷ παιδί," ἔφη, "εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν ἐλέφαντα ὠνήσῃ;" "τῇ τε οἰκίᾳ," ἔφη, "ἐπιστήσω τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις καὶ πολλῷ βέλτιον τούτων ἢ ἐγὼ ἄρξει." "σὺ δὲ οὐχ ἱκανός," ἔφη, "τῶν σεαυτοῦ ἄρχειν;" "ὅν γε," εἶπε, "καὶ σὺ τρόπον, ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε· καταλιπὼν γὰρ τἀμὰ περίειμι, ὥσπερ σύ, φιλομαθῶν καὶ περιφρονῶν τὰ ἐν τῇ ξένῃ." "εἰ δὲ δὴ πρίαιο τὸν παῖδα, καὶ ἵππω σοι γενοίσθην ὁ μὲν ἁμιλλητήριος, ὁ δὲ πολεμικός, ἀναθήσῃ αὐτόν, ὦ Δάμι, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους;" "ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν ἁμιλλητήριον," εἶπεν, "ἴσως ἄν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἑτέρους ὁρῶ, τὸν

shields or the flashing of the helmets, or by the noise made when the men raise their war-cry and give a whoop; this, I think all belongs to good horsemanship." "What then will you say of this boy who is riding on the elephant?" "He is much more wonderful, Apollonius. For it seems to me a superhuman feat for such a tiny mite to manage so huge an animal and guide it with the crook, which you see him digging into the elephant like an anchor, without fearing either the look of the brute or its height, or its enormous strength; and I would not have believed it possible, I swear by Athene, if I had heard another telling it, and had not seen it." "Well then," said Apollonius, "if anyone wanted to sell us this boy, would you buy him, Damis?" "Yes, by Zeus," he said, "and I would give everything I have to possess him. For it seems to me the mark of a liberal and splendid nature, to be able to capture like a citadel the greatest animal which earth sustains, and then govern it as its master." "What then would you do with the boy," said the other, "unless you bought the elephant as well?" "I would set him," said Damis, "to preside over my household and over my servants, and he would rule them much better than I can." "And are you not able," said Apollonius, "to rule your own servants?" "About as able to do so," replied Damis, "as you are yourself, Apollonius. For I have abandoned my property, and am going about, like yourself, eager to learn and to investigate things in foreign countries." "But if you did actually buy the boy, and if you had two horses, one of them a racer, and the other a charger, would you put him, O Damis, on these horses?" "I would perhaps," he answered, "upon

CHAP. XI

CAP. XI δὲ μάχιμόν τε καὶ ὁπλιτεύοντα πῶς ἂν ἀναβαίνοι οὗτος; οὔτε γὰρ ἀσπίδα δύναιτ᾽ ἂν φέρειν, ἧς δεῖ τοῖς ἱππεύουσιν, οὔτ᾽ ἂν θώρακα ἢ κράνος, αἰχμὴν δὲ πῶς οὗτος, ὃς οὐδὲ ἄτρακτον βέλους ἢ τοξεύματος κραδαίνοι ἄν, ψελλιζομένῳ ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ ἐοικὼς ἔτι;" "ἕτερον οὖν τι," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, ἐστίν, ὃ τὸν ἐλέφαντα τοῦτον ἡνιοχεῖ καὶ πέμπει, καὶ οὐχ ὁ ἡνίοχος οὗτος, ὃν σὺ μόνον οὐ προσκυνεῖς ὑπὸ θαύματος." τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος "τί ἂν εἴη τοῦτο, Ἀπολλώνιε; ὁρῶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ θηρίου πλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς οὐδὲν ἕτερον." "τὸ θηρίον," ἔφη, "τοῦτο εὐπαίδευτόν τε παρὰ πάντα ἐστί, κἀπειδὰν ἅπαξ ἀναγκασθῇ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπῳ ζῆν, ἀνέχεται τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πάντα καὶ ὁμοήθειαν ἐπιτηδεύει τὴν πρὸς αὐτόν, χαίρει τε σιτούμενον ἀπὸ τῆς χειρός, ὥσπερ οἱ μικροὶ τῶν κυνῶν, προσιόντα τε τῇ προνομαίᾳ αἰκάλλει καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὴν φάρυγγα ἐσωθοῦντα ἀνέχεται καὶ κέχηνεν ἐφ᾽ ὅσον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ δοκεῖ, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς νομάσιν ἑωρῶμεν. νύκτωρ δὲ λέγεται τὴν δουλείαν ὀλοφύρεσθαι, μὰ Δί᾽, οὐ τετριγός, ὁποῖον εἴωθεν, ἀλλ᾽ οἰκτρόν τε καὶ ἐλεεινὸν ἀνακλᾶον, εἰ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἐπισταίη ὀδυρομένῳ ταῦτα, ἴσχει τὸν θρῆνον ὁ ἐλέφας, ὥσπερ αἰδούμενος. αὐτὸς δὴ ἑαυτοῦ, ὦ Δάμι, ἄρχει καὶ ἡ πειθὼ αὐτὸν ἡ τῆς φύσεως ἄγει μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ ἐπικείμενός τε καὶ ἀπευθύνων."

the racer, for I see others doing the same, but how could he ever mount a war-horse accustomed to carry armour? For he could not either carry a shield, as knights must do; or wear a breast-plate or helmet; and how could he wield a javelin, when he cannot use the shaft of a bolt or of an arrow, but he would in military matters be like a stammerer." "Then," said the other, "there is, Damis, something else which controls and guides this elephant, and not the driver alone, whom you admire almost to the point of worshipping." Damis replied: "What can that be, Apollonius? For I see nothing else upon the animal except the boy." "This animal," he answered, "is docile beyond all others; and when he has once been broken in to serve man, he will put up with anything at the hands of man, and he makes it his business to be tractable and obedient to him, and he loves to eat out of his hands, in the way little dogs do; and when his master approaches he fondles him with his trunk, and he will allow him to thrust his head into his jaws, and he holds them wide open as long as his master likes, as we have seen among the nomads. But of a night the elephant is said to lament his state of slavery, yes, by heaven, not by trumpeting in his ordinary way, but by wailing mournfully and piteously. And if a man comes upon him when he is lamenting in this way, the elephant stops his dirge at once as if he were ashamed. Such control, O Damis, has he over himself, and it is his instinctive obedience which actuates him rather than the man who sits upon him and directs him."

CHAP. XI

XII

CAP. XII ᾿Επὶ δὲ τὸν ᾿Ινδὸν ἐλθόντες ἀγέλην ἐλεφάντων ἰδεῖν φασι περαιουμένους τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ τάδε ἀκοῦσαι περὶ τοῦ θηρίου· ὡς οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἕλειοι, οἱ δ᾿ αὖ ὄρειοι, καὶ τρίτον ἤδη γένος πεδινοί εἰσιν, ἁλίσκονταί τε ἐς τὴν τῶν πολεμικῶν χρείαν. μάχονται γὰρ δὴ ἐπεσκευασμένοι πύργους οἵους κατὰ δέκα καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα ὁμοῦ τῶν ᾿Ινδῶν δέξασθαι, ἀφ᾿ ὧν τοξεύουσί τε καὶ ἀκοντίζουσιν οἱ ᾿Ινδοί, καθάπερ ἐκ πυλῶν βάλλοντες. καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ θηρίον χεῖρα τὴν προνομαίαν ἡγεῖται, καὶ χρῆται αὐτῇ ἐς τὸ ἀκοντίζειν. ὅσον δὲ ἵππου Νισαίου μείζων ὁ Λιβυκὸς ἐλέφας, τοσοῦτον τῶν ἐκ Λιβύης οἱ ᾿Ινδοὶ μείζους. περὶ δὲ ἡλικίας τοῦ ζῴου καὶ ὡς μακροβιώτατοι, εἴρηται μὲν καὶ ἑτέροις, ἐντυχεῖν δὲ καὶ οὗτοί φασιν ἐλέφαντι περὶ Τάξιλα μεγίστην τῶν ἐν ᾿Ινδοῖς πόλιν, ὃν μυρίζειν τε οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ ταινιοῦν· εἶναι γὰρ δὴ τῶν πρὸς ᾿Αλέξανδρον ὑπὲρ Πώρου μεμαχημένων εἷς οὗτος, ὅν, ἐπειδὴ προθύμως ἐμεμάχητο, ἀνῆκεν ὁ ᾿Αλέξανδρος τῷ ῾Ηλίῳ. εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρυσοῦ ἕλικας περὶ τοῖς εἴτ᾿ ὀδοῦσιν εἴτε κέρασι, καὶ γράμματα ἐπ᾿ αὐτῶν ῾Ελληνικὰ λέγοντα ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ Ο ΔΙΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΙΑΝΤΑ ΤΩΙ ΗΛΙΩΙ. ὄνομα γὰρ τοῦτο τῷ ἐλέφαντι ἔθετο, μεγάλου ἀξιώσας μέγαν. ξυνεβάλοντο δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι πεντήκοντα εἶναι καὶ τριακόσια ἔτη μετὰ τὴν μάχην, οὔπω λέγοντες καὶ ὁπόσα γεγονὼς ἐμάχετο.

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CHAP. XII

Different breeds of elephants

And when they came to the Indus, they saw a herd of elephants crossing the river, and they say that they heard this account of the animals. Some of them are marsh elephants, others again mountain elephants, and there is also a third kind which belongs to the plain; and they are captured for use in war. For indeed they go into battle, saddled with towers big enough to accommodate ten or fifteen Indians all at once; and from these towers the Indians shoot their bows and hurl their javelins, just as if they were taking aim from gate towers. And the animal itself regards his trunk as a hand, and uses it to hurl weapons. And the Indian elephants are as much bigger than those of Libya, as these are bigger than the horses of Nisa. And other authorities have dwelt on the age of the animals, and say that they are very long-lived; but our party too say that they came on an elephant near Taxila, the greatest city in India, who was anointed with myrrh by the natives and adorned with fillets. For, they said, this elephant was one of those who fought on the side of Porus against Alexander; and, as it had made a brave fight, Alexander dedicated it to the Sun. And it had, they say, gold rings around its tusks or horns, whichever you call them, and an inscription was on them written in Greek, as follows: "Alexander the son of Zeus dedicates Ajax to the Sun." For he had given this name to the elephant, thinking so great an animal deserved a great name. And the natives reckoned that 350 years had elapsed since the battle, without taking into account how old the elephant was when he went into battle.

Elephants used in war

The elephant of Porus at Taxila

XIII

CAP. XIII ᾿Ιόβας δέ, ὃς ἦρξέ ποτε τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ ἔθνους, φησὶ μὲν ξυμπεσεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐπ' ἐλεφάντων πάλαι Λιβυκοὺς ἱππέας—εἶναι δὲ τοῖς μὲν πύργον ἐς τοὺς ὀδόντας κεχαραγμένον, τοῖς δὲ οὐδέν—νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης τὴν μάχην ἡττηθῆναι μὲν τοὺς ἐπισήμους φησί, φυγεῖν δὲ ἐς τὸν ῎Ατλαντα τὸ ὄρος, αὐτὸς δὲ ἑλεῖν τετρακοσίων μήκει ἐτῶν ὕστερον τῶν διαφυγόντων ἕνα καὶ τοὐπίσημον εἶναι αὐτῷ κοῖλον καὶ οὔπω περιτετριμμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου. οὗτος ὁ ᾿Ιόβας τοὺς ὀδόντας κέρατα ἡγεῖται τῷ φύεσθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς ὅθεν περ οἱ κρόταφοι, παραθήγεσθαι δὲ μηδενὶ ἑτέρῳ, μένειν δ' ὡς ἔφυσαν καὶ μή, ὅπερ οἱ ὀδόντες, ἐκπίπτειν εἶτ' ἀναφύεσθαι· ἐγὼ δ' οὐ προσδέχομαι τὸν λόγον· κέρατά τε γὰρ εἰ μὴ πάντα, τά γε τῶν ἐλάφων ἐκπίπτει καὶ ἀναφύεται, ὀδόντες δὲ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκπεσοῦνται καὶ ἀναφύσονται πάντες, ζῴων δ' ἂν οὐδενὶ ἑτέρῳ χαυλιόδους ἢ κυνόδους αὐτομάτως ἐκπέσοι, οὐδ' ἂν ἐπανέλθοι ἐκπεσών, ὅπλου γὰρ ἕνεκα ἡ φύσις ἐμβιβάζει αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰς γένυς. καὶ ἄλλως τὰ κέρατα γραμμὴν ἀποτορνεύει κύκλῳ πρὸς τῇ ῥίζῃ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον, ὡς αἶγές τε δηλοῦσι καὶ ποῖμναι καὶ βόες, ὀδοὺς δὲ λεῖος ἐκφύεται καὶ ἢν μὴ πηρώσῃ τι αὐτόν, τοιόσδε ἀεὶ μένει, μετέχει γὰρ τῆς λιθώδους ὕλης τε καὶ οὐσίας. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ κερασφορεῖν περὶ τὰ δίχηλα τῶν ζῴων μόνα

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CHAP. XIII

Juba on the age of elephants

And Juba, who was once sovereign of the Libyan race, says that formerly the knights of Libya fought with one another on elephants, and one division of these had a tower engraved upon their tusks, but the others nothing. And when night interrupted the fray the animals which were so marked had, he says, got the worst of it, and fled into Mount Atlas; but he himself 400 years afterwards caught one of the fugitives and found the cavity of the stamp still fresh on the tusk and not yet worn away by time. This Juba is of opinion that the tusks are horns, because they grow just where the temples are, and because they need no sharpening of any kind, and remain as they grew and do not, like teeth, fall out and then grow afresh. But I cannot accept this view; for horns, if not all, at any rate those of stags, do fall out and grow afresh, but the teeth, although in the case of men those which may fall out, will every one of them grow again, on the other hand there is not a single animal whose tusk or dog-tooth falls out naturally, nor in which, when it has fallen out, it will come again. For nature implants these tusks in their jaws for the sake of defence. And moreover, a circular ridge is formed year by year at the base of the horns, as we see in the case of goats and sheep and oxen; but a tusk grows out quite smooth, and unless something breaks it, it always remains so, for it consists of a material and substance as hard as stone. Moreover the carrying of horns is confined to animals with cloven hoofs, but this animal has five nails and the sole

And on the character of their tusks

CAP. XIII ἕστηκε, τὸ δὲ ζῷον τοῦτο πεντώνυχον καὶ πολυσχιδὲς τὴν βάσιν, ἢ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐσφίγχθαι χηλαῖς ὥσπερ ἐν ὑγρῷ ἕστηκε. καὶ τοῖς μὲν κερασφόροις ἅπασιν ὑποβάλλουσα ἡ φύσις ὀστᾶ σηραγγώδη περιφύει τὸ κέρας ἔξωθεν, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων πλῆρες ἀποφαίνει καὶ ὅμοιον, ἀναπτύξαντι δὲ σύριγξ αὐτὸ λεπτὴ διέρπει μέσον, ὥσπερ τοὺς ὀδόντας· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἑλείων ὀδόντες πελιδνοὶ καὶ μανοὶ μεταχειρίσασθαί τε ἄτοποι, πολλαχοῦ γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑποδεδύκασι σήραγγες, πολλαχοῦ δὲ ἀνεστᾶσι χάλαζαι μὴ ξυγχωροῦσαι τῇ τέχνῃ, οἱ δὲ τῶν ὀρείων μείους μὲν ἢ οὗτοι, λευκοὶ δὲ ἱκανῶς καὶ δύσεργον περὶ αὐτοὺς οὐδέν, ἄριστοι δὲ οἱ τῶν πεδινῶν ὀδόντες, μέγιστοί τε γὰρ καὶ λευκότατοι καὶ ἀναπτύξαι ἡδεῖς καὶ γίγνονται πᾶν ὅ τι θέλει ἡ χείρ. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἤθη ἐλεφάντων χρὴ ἀναγράφειν, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἑλῶν ἁλισκομένους ἀνοήτους ἡγοῦνται καὶ κούφους Ἰνδοί, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν κακοήθεις τε καὶ ἐπιβουλευτάς, καὶ ἢν μὴ δέωνταί τινος, οὐ βεβαίους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οἱ πεδινοὶ δὲ χρηστοί τε εἶναι λέγονται καὶ εὐάγωγοι καὶ μιμήσεως ἐρασταί· γράφουσι γοῦν καὶ ὀρχοῦνται καὶ παρενσαλεύουσι πρὸς αὐλὸν καὶ πηδῶσιν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐκεῖνοι.

of his foot has many furrows in it, and not being confined by hoofs, it seems to stand on a soft, flabby foot. And in the case of all animals that have horns, nature supplies cavernous bones and causes the horn to grow from outwards, whereas she makes the elephant tusk solid and equally massive throughout; and when in the lathe you lay bare the interior, you find a very thin tube piercing the centre of it, as is the case with teeth. Now the tusks of the marsh elephants are dark in colour and porous and difficult to work, because they are hollowed out into many cavities, and often knots are formed in them which oppose difficulties to the craftsman's tool; but the tusks of the mountain kind, though smaller than these, are pretty white and there is nothing about them difficult to work; but best of all are the tusks of the elephants of the plain, for these are very large and very white and so pleasant to turn and carve that the hand can shape them into whatever it likes. CHAP. XIII

If I may also describe the characters of these elephants; those which come from the marshes, and are taken there, are considered to be stupid and idle by the Indians; but those which come from the mountains they regard as wicked and treacherous and, unless they want something, not to be relied upon by man; but the elephants of the plain are said to be good and tractable, and fond of learning tricks; for they will write and dance, and will sway themselves to and fro and leap up and down from the ground to the sound of the flute.

XIV

CAP. XIV Ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὸν Ἰνδὸν περαιουμένους, ἦσαν δέ, οἶμαι, τριάκοντα, καὶ χρωμένους ἡγεμόνι τῷ σμικροτάτῳ σφῶν, καὶ τοὺς μείζους αὐτῶν ἀνειληφότας τοὺς αὐτῶν πώλους ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ὀδόντων προβολὰς τάς τε προνομαίας ἐπεξευχότας δεσμοῦ ἕνεκα "ταῦτα μέν," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, οὐδὲ ἐπιτάττοντος οὐδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν οὗτοι διὰ ξύνεσίν τε καὶ σοφίαν πράττουσι, καὶ ὁρᾷς, ὡς παραπλησίως τοῖς σκευαγωγοῦσιν ἀνειλήφασι τοὺς πώλους καὶ καταδησάμενοι αὐτοὺς ἄγουσιν;" "ὁρῶ," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, ὡς σοφῶς τε αὐτὸ καὶ ξυνετῶς πράττουσι. τί οὖν βούλεται τὸ εὔηθες ἐκεῖνο φρόντισμα τοῖς ἐρεσχελοῦσι φυσικὴν ἢ μὴ τὴν πρὸς τὰ τέκνα εἶναι εὔνοιαν; τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐλέφαντες ἤδη βοῶσιν, ὡς παρὰ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῖς ἥκει· οὐ γὰρ δὴ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων γε μεμαθήκασιν αὐτό, ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα, οἵ γε μηδὲ ξυμβεβιώκασί πω ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ φύσει κεκτημένοι τὸ φιλεῖν ἃ ἔτεκον, προκήδονταί τε αὐτῶν καὶ παιδοτροφοῦσι." "καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας εἴπῃς, ὦ Δάμι· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ζῷον δεύτερον ἀνθρώπου τάττω κατὰ ξύνεσίν τε καὶ βουλάς, ἀλλὰ τάς τε ἄρκτους ἐνθυμοῦμαι μᾶλλον, ὡς ἀγριώταται θηρίων οὖσαι πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν σκύμνων πράττουσι, τούς τε λύκους, ὡς ἀεὶ προσκείμενοι τῷ ἁρπάζειν ἡ μὲν θήλεια φυλάττει

XIV

CHAP. XIV

Affection of elephants for their young

And Apollonius saw a herd, I think, of about thirty elephants crossing over the River Indus, and they were following as their leader the smallest among them; but the bigger ones had picked up their young ones on their projecting tusks, where they held them fast by twining their trunks around them. Said Apollonius: "No one, O Damis, has instructed them to do this, but they act of their own instinctive wisdom and cleverness; and you see how, like baggage-porters, they have picked up their young, and have them bound fast on, and so carry them along." "I see," he said, "Apollonius, how cleverly and with what sagacity they do this. What then is the sense of the silly speculation indulged in by those who idly dispute whether the affection of animals for their young is natural or not, when these very elephants, by their conduct, proclaim that it is so, and that it comes to them by nature? For they have certainly not learnt to do so from men, as have other creatures; for these have never yet shared the life of men, but have been endowed by nature with their love of their offspring, and that is why they provide for them and feed their young." "And," said Apollonius, "you need not, Damis, confine your remarks to elephants; for this animal is only second to man, in my opinion, in understanding and foresight; but I am thinking rather of bears, for they are the fiercest of all animals, and yet they will do anything for their whelps; and also of wolves, among which, although they are so addicted to plunder, yet the female protects its young ones, and

Apollonius on parental love in all animals

CAP. XIV ἃ ἔτεκεν, ὁ δὲ ἄρρην ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν σκυλάκων ἀπάγει αὐτῇ σῖτον, τάς τε παρδάλεις ὡσαύτως, αἳ διὰ θερμότητα χαίρουσι τῷ γίγνεσθαι μητέρες, δεσπόζειν γὰρ δὴ τότε βούλονται τῶν ἀρρένων καὶ τοῦ οἴκου ἄρχειν, οἱ δὲ ἀνέχονται τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν πᾶν ἡττώμενοι τοῦ τόκου. λέγεται δέ τις καὶ περὶ τῶν λεαινῶν λόγος, ὡς ἐραστὰς μὲν ποιοῦνται τοὺς παρδάλεις καὶ δέχονται αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς εὐνὰς τῶν λεόντων ἐς τὰ πεδία, τῆς δὲ γαστρὸς ὥραν ἀγούσης ἀναφεύγουσιν ἐς τὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰ τῶν παρδάλεων ἤθη, στικτὰ γὰρ τίκτουσιν, ὅθεν κρύπτουσιν αὐτὰ καὶ θηλάζουσιν ἐν σκολιαῖς λόχμαις πλασάμεναι ἀφημερεύειν πρὸς θήραν. εἰ γὰρ φωράσειαν τουτὶ οἱ λέοντες, διασπῶνται τοὺς σκύμνους καὶ ξαίνουσι τὴν σπορὰν ὡς νόθον. ἐνέτυχες δήπου καὶ τῶν Ὁμηρείων λεόντων ἑνί, ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ σκύμνων δεινὸν βλέπει καὶ ῥώννυσιν ἑαυτὸν μάχης ἅπτεσθαι. καὶ τὴν τίγριν δὲ χαλεπωτάτην οὖσάν φασιν ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ περὶ τὴν θάλατταν τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἵεσθαι, τοὺς σκύμνους ἀπαιτοῦσαν, καὶ ἀπολαβοῦσαν μὲν ἀπιέναι χαίρουσαν, εἰ δὲ ἀποπλεύσαιεν, ὠρύεσθαι αὐτὴν πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐνίοτε. τὰ δὲ τῶν ὀρνίθων τίς οὐκ οἶδεν; ὡς ἀετοὶ μὲν καὶ πελαργοὶ καλιὰς οὐκ ἂν πήξαιντο μὴ πρότερον αὐταῖς ἐναρμόσαντες ὁ μὲν τὸν ἀετίτην λίθον, ὁ δὲ τὸν λυχνίτην ὑπὲρ τῆς ᾠογονίας καὶ τοῦ μὴ πελάζειν σφίσι τοὺς ὄφεις. κἂν τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ σκοπῶμεν, τοὺς μὲν δελφῖνας

the male brings her food in order to save the life of the whelps. And I also equally have in mind the panther, which, from the warmth of its temperament, delights to become a mother, for that is the time when it is determined to rule the male and be mistress of the household; and the male puts up with anything and everything from her, subordinating everything to the welfare of the offspring. And there is also told a story of the lioness, how she will make a lover of the panther and receive him in the lion's lair in the plain; but when she is going to bring forth her young she flees into the mountains to the haunts of the panthers; for she brings forth young ones that are spotted, and that is why she hides her young and nurses them in winding thickets, pretending that she is spending the day out hunting. For if the lion detected the trick, he would tear the whelps in pieces and claw her offspring as illegitimate. You have read no doubt, also, of one of Homer's lions, and of how he made himself look terrible in behalf of his own whelps and steeled himself to do battle for them. And they say the tigress, although she is the cruellest animal, will in this country and also on the Red Sea approach the ships, to demand back her whelps; and if she gets them back, she goes off mightily delighted; but if the ships sail away, they say that she howls along the sea-coast and sometimes dies outright. And who does not know the ways of birds, how that the eagles and the storks will not build their nests until they have fixed in them, the one an eagle-stone, and the other a stone of light, to help the hatching out of the eggs and to drive away the snakes. And if we look at creatures in the sea, we need not wonder at the dolphins loving their

CHAP. XIV

CAP. XIV οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμεν, εἰ χρηστοὶ ὄντες φιλοτεκνοῦσι, φαλαίνας δὲ καὶ φώκας καὶ τὰ ζῳοτόκα ἔθνη πῶς οὐ θαυμασόμεθα, εἰ φώκη μέν, ἣν εἶδον ἐγὼ ἐν Αἰγαῖς καθειργμένην ἐς κυνήγια, οὕτως ἐπένθησεν ἀποθανόντα τὸν σκύμνον, ὃν ἐν τῷ οἰκίσκῳ ἀπεκύησεν, ὡς μὴ προσδέξασθαι τριῶν ἡμερῶν σῖτον, καίτοι βορωτάτη θηρίων οὖσα, φάλαινα δὲ ἐς τοὺς χηραμοὺς τῆς φάρυγγος ἀναλαμβάνει τοὺς σκύμνους, ἐπειδὰν φεύγῃ τι ἑαυτῆς μεῖζον; καὶ ἔχιδνα ὤφθη ποτὲ τοὺς ὄφεις, οὓς ἀπέτεκε, λιχμωμένη καὶ θεραπεύουσα ἐκκειμένη τῇ γλώττῃ. μὴ γὰρ δεχώμεθα, ὦ Δάμι, τὸν εὐήθη λογον, ὡς ἀμήτορες οἱ τῶν ἐχιδνῶν τίκτονται, τουτὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἡ φύσις ξυγκεχώρηκεν, οὔτε ἡ πεῖρα." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Δάμις "ξυγχωρεῖς οὖν," ἔφη, "τὸν Εὐριπίδην ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰαμβείῳ τούτῳ, ᾧ πεποίηται αὐτῷ ἡ Ἀνδρομάχη λέγουσα

ἅπασι δ' ἀνθρώποις ἄρ' ἦν
ψυχὴ τέκνα;"

"ξυγχωρῶ," ἔφη, "σοφῶς γὰρ καὶ δαιμονίως εἴρηται, πολλῷ δ' ἂν σοφώτερον καὶ ἀληθέστερον εἶχεν, εἰ περὶ πάντων ζῴων ὕμνητο." "ἔοικας," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε, μεταγράφειν τὸ ἰαμβεῖον, ἵν' οὕτως ᾄδοιμεν·

ἅπασι δὲ ζῴοις ἄρ' ἦν
ψυχὴ τέκνα.

καὶ ἕπομαί σοι, βέλτιον γάρ."

offspring, for they are superior creatures; but shall we not admire the whales and seals and the viviparous species? For I once saw a seal that was kept shut up at Aegae in the circus, and she mourned so deeply for her whelp, which had died after being born in confinement, that she refused food for three days together, although she is the most voracious of animals. And the whale takes up its young ones into the cavities of its throat, whenever it is fleeing from a creature stronger than itself. And a viper has been seen licking the serpents which it had borne, and caressing them with her tongue, which she shoots out for the purpose. But we need not entertain, Damis, the silly story that the young of vipers are brought into the world without mothers; for that is a thing which is consistent neither with nature nor with experience."

CHAP. XIV

The tame seal at Aegae

Damis then resumed the conversation by saying: "You will allow me then to praise Euripides, for this iambic line which he puts into the mouth of Andromache:

'And in the case of all men, then, their life lay
in their children.' "

"I admit," said Apollonius, "that that is said cleverly and divinely; but much cleverer and truer would have been the verse, if it had included all animals." "Then you would like," said Damis, "O Apollonius, to rewrite the line so that we might sing it as follows:

'And in the case of all animals, then, their life lay
in their children.'

and I agree with you, for it is better so."

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CAP. XV

"'Αλλ' ἐκεῖνό μοι εἰπέ· οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν λόγων ἔφαμεν σοφίαν εἶναι περὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ νοῦν περὶ ἃ πράττουσι;" "καὶ εἰκότως," εἶπεν, "ὦ Δάμι, ἔφαμεν, εἰ γὰρ μὴ νοῦς ἐκυβέρνα τόδε τὸ θηρίον, οὔτ' ἂν αὐτὸ διεγίγνετο οὔτ' ἂν τὰ ἔθνη, ἐν οἷς γίγνεται." "τί οὖν," ἔφη, "οὕτως ἀμαθῶς καὶ οὐ πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον ἑαυτοῖς τὴν διάβασιν ποιοῦνται; ἡγεῖται μὲν γάρ, ὡς ὁρᾷς, ὁ μικρότατος, ἕπεται δὲ αὐτῷ τις ὀλίγῳ μείζων, εἶτα ὑπὲρ τοῦτον ἕτερος, καὶ οἱ μέγιστοι κατόπιν πάντες. ἔδει δέ που τὸν ἐναντίον τρόπον αὐτοὺς πορεύεσθαι καὶ τοὺς μεγίστους τείχη καὶ προβλήματα ἑαυτῶν ποιεῖσθαι." "ἀλλ', ὦ Δάμι," ἔφη, "πρῶτον μὲν ὑποφεύγειν ἐοίκασι δίωξιν ἀνθρώπων, οἷς που καὶ ἐντευξόμεθα ἑπομένοις τῷ ἴχνει, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους δεῖ τὰ κατὰ νώτου πεφράχθαι μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, καὶ τοῦτο τακτικώτατον ἡγοῦ τῶν θηρίων, ἔπειτα ἡ διάβασις, εἰ μὲν προδιέβαινον οἱ μέγιστοι σφῶν, οὔπω τεκμαίρεσθαι παρεῖχον ἂν τοῦ ὕδατος εἰ διαβήσονται πάντες, τοῖς μὲν γὰρ εὔπορός τε καὶ ῥᾳδία ἡ περαίωσις ὑψηλοτάτοις οὖσι, τοῖς δὲ χαλεπή τε καὶ ἄπορος,

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CHAP. XV

Intelligence shewn by elephants when pursued in crossing a river

"But tell me this: did we not, at the beginning of our conversation, declare that the elephants display wisdom and intelligence in what they do?" "Why certainly," he replied, "we did say so, Damis; for if intelligence did not govern this animal, neither would it subsist, nor the populations among which it lived." "Why then," said Damis, "do they conduct their passage over the river in a way so stupid and inconvenient to themselves? For as you see, the smallest one is leading the way, and he is followed by a slightly larger one, then comes another still larger than he, and the biggest ones come last of all. But surely they ought to travel in the opposite fashion, and make the biggest ones a wall and rampart in front of themselves." "But," replied Apollonius, "in the first place they appear to be running away from men who are pursuing them, and whom we shall doubtless come across, as they follow the animals' tracks; and they must and ought to use their best strength to fortify their rear against attack, as is done in war; so that you may regard the elephant as the best tactician to be found among animals. Secondly, as they are crossing a river, if their biggest ones went first, that would not enable the rest of the herd to judge whether the water is shallow enough for all to pass; for the tallest ones would find the passage practicable and easy, but the others would find it dangerous and difficult, because they would not rise above the level of the stream. But the fact that the smallest is able to get across is a sign in itself to the rest that there is no difficulty. And

CAP. XV μὴ ὑπεραίρουσι τοῦ ῥεύματος, διελθὼν δὲ ὁ σμικρότατος τὸ ἄλυπον ἤδη καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἑρμηνεύει, καὶ ἄλλως οἱ μὲν μείζους προεμβαίνοντες κοιλότερον ἂν τὸν ποταμὸν ἀποφαίνοιεν τοῖς σμικροῖς, ἀνάγκη γὰρ συνιζάνειν τὴν ἰλὺν ἐς βόθρους διά τε βαρύτητα τοῦ θηρίου διά τε παχύτητα τῶν ποδῶν, οἱ δ' ἐλάττους οὐδὲν ἂν βλάπτοιεν τὴν τῶν μειζόνων διαπορείαν ἧττον ἐμβοθρεύοντες."

XVI

CAP. XVI "'Εγὼ δὲ εὗρον ἐν τοῖς 'Ιόβα λόγοις, ὡς καὶ ξυλλαμβάνουσιν ἀλλήλοις ἐν τῇ θήρᾳ καὶ προΐστανται τοῦ ἀπειπόντος, κἂν ἐξέλωνται αὐτόν, τὸ δάκρυον τῆς ἀλόης ἐπαλείφουσι τοῖς τραύμασι περιεστῶτες ὥσπερ ἰατροί." πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἐφιλοσοφεῖτο αὐτοῖς ἀφορμὰς ποιουμένοις τὰ λόγου ἄξια.

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CAP. XVII Τὰ δὲ Νεάρχῳ τε καὶ Πυθαγόρᾳ περὶ τοῦ 'Ακεσίνου ποταμοῦ εἰρημένα, ὡς ἐσβάλλει μὲν ἐς τὸν 'Ινδὸν οὗτος, τρέφει δὲ ὄφεις ἑβδομήκοντα πηχῶν μῆκος, τοιαῦτα εἶναί φασιν, ὁποῖα εἴρηται, καὶ ἀνακείσθω μοι ὁ λόγος ἐς τοὺς δράκοντας, ὧν ὁ Δάμις ἀφηγεῖται τὴν θήραν. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν 'Ινδὸν καὶ πρὸς διαβάσει τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄντες ἤροντο τὸν Βαβυλώνιον, εἴ τι τοῦ ποταμοῦ οἶδε, διαβάσεως πέρι ἐρωτῶντες, ὁ δὲ οὔπω ἔφη

moreover, if the bigger ones went in first, they would deepen the river for the small ones, for the mud is forced to settle down into ruts and trenches, owing to the heaviness of the animal and the thickness of his feet; whereas the larger ones are in no way prejudiced by the smaller ones crossing in front, because they sink in less deeply." CHAP. XV

XVI

"AND I have read in the discourse of Juba that elephants assist one another when they are being hunted, and that they will defend one that is exhausted, and if they can remove him out of danger, they anoint his wounds with the tears of the aloe tree, standing round him like physicians." Many such learned discussions were suggested to them as one occasion after another worth speaking of arose. CHAP. XVI

XVII

AND the statements made by Nearchus and Pythagoras, about the river Acesines, to the effect that it debouches into the Indus, and that snakes breed in it seventy cubits long, were, they say, fully verified by them; but I will defer what I have to say till I come to speak about dragons, of whose capture Damis gives an account. But when they reached the Indus and were inclined to pass over the river, they asked the Babylonian whether he knew anything of the river, and questioned him about how to get across it. CHAP. XVII The Letter of King Vardanes

CAP. XVII πεπλευκέναι αὐτόν, οὐδὲ γιγνώσκειν, ὁπόθεν πλεῖται. "τί οὖν," ἔφασαν, "οὐκ ἐμισθώσω ἡγεμόνα;" "ὅτι ἔστιν," ἔφη, "ὁ ἡγησόμενος," καὶ ἅμα ἐδείκνυ τινὰ ἐπιστολὴν ὡς τοῦτο πράξουσαν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὸν Οὐαρδάνην τῆς τε φιλανθρωπίας καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ἀγασθῆναί φασι· πρὸς γὰρ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ σατράπην ἔπεμψε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ταύτην καίτοι μὴ ὑποκείμενον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῇ, εὐεργεσίας ἀναμιμνήσκων αὐτόν, καὶ χάριν μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῃ ἀπαιτῆσαι φάσκων—οὐ γὰρ εἶναι πρὸς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ τρόπου τὸ ἀνταπαιτεῖν—Ἀπολλώνιον δὲ ὑποδεξαμένῳ καὶ πέμψαντι οἷ βούλεται χάριν ἂν γνῶναι. χρυσίον δὲ τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἔδωκεν, ἵν᾽ εἰ δεηθέντα τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον αἴσθοιτο, δοίη τοῦτο καὶ μὴ ἐς ἄλλου χεῖρα βλέψειεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὁ Ἰνδὸς ἔλαβε, μεγάλων τε ἀξιοῦσθαι ἔφη καὶ φιλοτιμήσεσθαι περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα μεῖον οὐδὲν ἢ εἰ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰνδῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἔγραφε, καὶ τήν τε ναῦν τὴν σατραπίδα ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ἐμβῆναι πλοῖά τε ἕτερα, ἐφ᾽ ὧν αἱ κάμηλοι ἐκομίζοντο, ἡγεμόνα τε τῆς γῆς πάσης, ἣν ὁ Ὑδραώτης ὁρίζει, πρός τε τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἔγραψε μὴ χείρω αὐτοῦ Οὐαρδάνου γενέσθαι περὶ ἄνδρα Ἕλληνά τε καὶ θεῖον.

But he said that he had never navigated it, nor did he know whence they could get a boat on to it. "Why then," said they, "did you not hire a guide?" "Because," he said, "I have one who will direct us." And with that, he showed them a letter, written to that effect, and this gave them occasion to marvel afresh at the humanity and foresight of Vardanes. For he had addressed the letter in question to the satrap of the Indus, although he was not subject to his dominion; and in it he reminded him of the good service he had done him, but declared that he would not ask any recompense for the same, "for," he said, "it is not my habit to ask for a return of favours." But he said he would be very grateful, if he would give a welcome to Apollonius and send him on wherever he wished to go. And he had given gold to the guide, so that in case he found Apollonius in want thereof, he might give it him and save him from looking to the generosity of anyone else. And when the Indian received the letter, he declared that he was highly honoured, and would interest himself in the sage as much as if the king of India had written in his behalf; and he lent his official boat for him to embark in and other vessels on which the camels were ferried across, and he also sent a guide to the whole of the country which is bordered by the Hydraotes, and he wrote to his own king, begging him not to treat with less respect than Vardanes a man who was a Greek and divine. CHAP. XVII

XVIII

CAP. XVIII Τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἰνδὸν ὧδε ἐπεραιώθησαν σταδίους μάλιστα τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ γὰρ πλόιμον αὐτοῦ τοσοῦτον, περὶ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου τάδε γράφουσι· τὸν Ἰνδὸν ἄρχεσθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Καυκάσου μείζω αὐτόθεν ἢ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ποταμοὶ πάντες, προχωρεῖν δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν ναυσιπόρων ἑαυτοῦ ποιούμενον, ἀδελφὰ δὲ τῷ Νείλῳ πράττοντα τῇ τε Ἰνδικῇ ἐπιχεῖσθαι γῆν τε ἐπάγειν τῇ γῇ καὶ παρέχειν Ἰνδοῖς τὸν Αἰγυπτίων τρόπον σπείρειν. χιόσι δ' Αἰθιόπων τε καὶ Καταδούπων ὀρῶν ἀντιλέγειν μὲν οὐκ ἀξιῶ διὰ τοὺς εἰπόντας, οὐ μὴν ξυντίθεμαί γε λογιζόμενος τὸν Ἰνδόν, ὡς ταὐτὸν τῷ Νείλῳ ἐργάζεται μὴ νιφομένης τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν χώρας, καὶ ἄλλως τὸν θεὸν οἶδα κέρατα τῆς γῆς ξυμπάσης Αἰθίοπάς τε καὶ Ἰνδοὺς ἀποφαίνοντα μελαίνοντά τε τοὺς μὲν ἀρχομένου ἡλίου, τοὺς δὲ λήγοντος, ὃ πῶς ἂν ξυνέβαινε περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐθέροντο; ἣν δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος θάλπει γῆν ἥλιος, πῶς ἄν τις ἡγοῖτο νίφεσθαι, πῶς δ' ἂν τὴν χιόνα χορηγὸν τοῖς ἐκείνῃ ποταμοῖς γίγνεσθαι τοῦ ὑπεραίρειν τὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν μέτρα; εἰ δὲ καὶ φοιτᾶν χιόνα ἐς τὰ οὕτω πρόσειλα, πῶς ἂν αὐτὴν ἐς τοσόνδε ἀναχυθῆναι πέλαγος; πῶς δ' ἂν ἀποχρῆσαι ποταμῷ βυθίζοντι Αἴγυπτον;

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CHAP. XVIII

An account of the River Indus

Thus they crossed the Indus at a point where it was nearly 40 stades broad, for such is the size of its navigable portion; and they write the following account of this river. They say that the Indus arises in the Caucasus and is bigger at its source than any of the other rivers of Asia; and as it advances it absorbs into itself several navigable rivers and, like the Nile, it floods the land of India and brings down soil over it, and so provides the Indians with land to sow in the manner of the Egyptians. Now it is said that there is snow on the hills in Ethiopia and in the land of the Catadupi, and I do not choose to contradict, out of respect for the authorities; nevertheless, I cannot agree with them, when I consider how the river Indus effects the same results as the Nile, without any snow falling on the country that rises behind and above it. And moreover I know that God has set the Ethiopian and the Indian at the two extremes or horns of the entire earth, making black the latter who dwell where the sun rises no less than the former who dwell where it sets; now how should this be the case of the inhabitants, unless they enjoyed summer heat even in the winter? But where the sun warms the earth all through the year, how can one suppose that it ever snows? And how could it ever snow there so hard, as to supply the rivers there with water, and make them rise above their normal levels? But even if there were frequent snowfalls in regions so exposed to the sun, how could the melted snow ever cover such an expanse as to resemble a sea? And how could it ever supply a river which deluges the whole of Egypt?

XIX

CAP. XIX Κομιζόμενοι δὲ διὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ πολλοῖς μὲν ποταμίοις ἵπποις ἐντυχεῖν φασι, πολλοῖς δὲ κροκοδείλοις, ὥσπερ οἱ τὸν Νεῖλον πλέοντες, λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ἄνθη τῷ Ἰνδῷ εἶναι, οἷα τοῦ Νείλου ἀναφύεται, καὶ τὰς ὥρας, αἳ περὶ τὴν Ἰνδικήν εἰσι, χειμῶνος μὲν ἀλεεινὰς εἶναι, θέρους δὲ πνιγηράς, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο ἄριστα μεμηχανῆσθαι τῷ δαίμονι, τὴν γὰρ χώραν αὐτοῖς θαμὰ ὕεσθαι. φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ὡς ἀφικνοῖτο μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον, ὅτε ἀναβιβάζοιεν αὐτὸν αἱ ὧραι, θύοι δὲ αὐτῷ ταύρους τε καὶ ἵππους μέλανας—τὸ γὰρ λευκὸν ἀτιμότερον Ἰνδοὶ τίθενται τοῦ μέλανος δι᾽, οἶμαι, τὸ ἑαυτῶν χρῶμα—θύσαντα δὲ καταποντοῦν φασι τῷ ποταμῷ χρυσοῦν μέτρον, εἰκασμένον τῷ ἀπομετροῦντι τὸν σῖτον, καὶ ἐφ᾽ ὅτῳ μὲν τοῦτο πράττει ὁ βασιλεύς, οὐ ξυμβαλέσθαι τοὺς Ἰνδούς, αὐτοὶ δὲ τεκμαίρεσθαι τὸ μέτρον καταποντοῦσθαι τοῦτο ἢ ὑπὲρ ἀφθονίας καρπῶν, οὓς γεωργοὶ ἀπομετροῦσιν, ἢ ὑπὲρ ξυμμετρίας τοῦ ῥεύματος, ὡς μὴ κατακλύσειε τὴν γῆν πολὺς ἀφικόμενος.

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CAP. XX Πορευθέντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν ποταμὸν ἦγεν ὁ παρὰ τοῦ σατράπου ἡγεμὼν εὐθὺ τῶν Ταξίλων, οὗ τὰ βασίλεια ἦν τῷ Ἰνδῷ. στολὴν δὲ εἶναι τοῖς

XIX

CHAP. XIX

Comparison of the Indus with the Nile

And as they were being conveyed across the Indus, they say that they came across many river-horses, and many crocodiles, just as those do who sail along the Nile; and they say that the vegetation on the Indus resembles that which grows along the Nile, and that the climate of India is sunny in winter, but suffocating in summer; but to counteract this Providence has excellently contrived that it should often rain in their country. And they also say that they learned from the Indians that the king was in the habit of coming to this river when it rose in the appropriate seasons, and would sacrifice to the river black bulls and horses; for white is less esteemed by the Indians than black, because, I imagine, the latter is their own colour; and when he has sacrificed, they say that he plunges into the river a measure of gold made to resemble that which is used in measuring wheat. And why the king does this, the Indians, they say, have no idea; but they themselves conjectured that this measure was sunk in the river, either to secure the plentiful harvest, whose yield the farmers use such a measure to gauge, or to keep the river within its proper bounds and prevent it from rising to such heights as that it would drown the land.

XX

CHAP. XX

Dress of the Indian natives

And after they had crossed the river, they were conducted by the satrap's guide direct to Taxila, where the Indian had his royal palace. And they say that on that side of the Indus the dress of the

CAP. XX μετὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν λίνου φασὶν ἐγχωρίου καὶ ὑποδήματα βύβλου καὶ κυνῆν, ὅτε ὕοι, καὶ βύσσῳ δὲ τοὺς φανερωτέρους αὐτῶν φασιν ἐστάλθαι, τὴν δὲ βύσσον φύεσθαι δένδρου φασὶν ὁμοίου μὲν τῇ λεύκῃ τὴν βάσιν, παραπλησίου δὲ τῇ ἰτέᾳ τὰ πέταλα. καὶ ἡσθῆναι τῇ βύσσῳ φησὶν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἐπειδὴ ἔοικε φαιῷ τρίβωνι. καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον δὲ ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐς πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν φοιτᾷ ἡ βύσσος. τὰ δε Τάξιλα μέγεθος μὲν εἶναι κατὰ τὴν Νῖνον, τετειχίσθαι δὲ ξυμμέτρως, ὥσπερ αἱ Ἑλλάδες, βασίλεια δὲ εἶναι ἀνδρὸς τὴν Πώρου τότε ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντος, νεὼν δὲ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ἰδεῖν φασιν οὐ παρὰ πολὺ τῶν ἑκατομπόδων λίθου κογχυλιατου, καὶ κατεσκευάσθαι τι ἱερὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ἧττον μὲν ἢ κατὰ τὸν νεὼν τοσοῦτόν τε ὄντα καὶ περικίονα, θαυμάσαι δὲ ἄξιον· χαλκοῖ γὰρ πίνακες ἐγκεκρότηνται τοίχῳ ἑκάστῳ, γεγραμμένοι τὰ Πώρου τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα· γεγράφαται δὲ ὀρειχάλκῳ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ χαλκῷ μέλανι ἐλέφαντες ἵπποι στρατιῶται κράνη ἀσπίδες, λόγχαι δὲ καὶ βέλη καὶ ξίφη σιδήρου πάντα, καὶ ὥσπερ λόγος εὐδοκίμου γραφῆς, οἷον εἰ Ζεύξιδος εἴη τι ἢ Πολυγνώτου τε καὶ Εὐφράνορος, οἳ τὸ εὔσκιον ἠσπάσαντο καὶ τὸ ἔμπνουν καὶ τὸ ἐσέχον τε καὶ ἐξέχον, οὕτως, φασί, κἀκεῖ διαφαίνεται, καὶ ξυντετήκασιν αἱ ὕλαι καθάπερ χρώματα. ἡδὺ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἦθος τῆς γραφῆς· ἀναθεὶς γὰρ ταῦτα μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Μακεδόνος τελευτὴν ὁ Πῶρος νικᾷ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁ Μακεδὼν καὶ τὸν Πῶρον ἀνακτᾶται

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people consists of native linen, with shoes of byblus and a hat when it rains; but that the upper classes there are apparelled in byssus; and that the byssus grows upon a tree of which the stem resembles that of the white poplar, and the leaves those of the willow. And Apollonius says that he was delighted with the byssus, because it resembled his sable philosopher's cloak. And the byssus is imported into Egypt from India for many sacred uses. Taxila, they tell us, is about as big as Nineveh, and was fortified fairly well after the manner of Greek cities; and here was the royal residence of the personage who then ruled the empire of Porus. And they saw a Temple, they say, in front of the wall, which was not far short of 100 feet in size, made of porphyry, and there was constructed within it a shrine, somewhat small as compared with the great size of the Temple which is also surrounded with columns, but deserving of notice. For bronze tablets were nailed into each of its walls on which were engraved the exploits of Porus and Alexander. But the pattern was wrought with orichalcus and silver and gold and black bronze, of elephants, horses, soldiers, helmets, shields, but spears, and javelins and swords, were all made of iron; and the whole composition revealed a masterful style of art resembling that of Zeuxis or Polygnotus and Euphranor, who delighted in light and shade and infused life into their designs, as well as a sense of depth and relief. And the metals were blended in the design, melted in like so many colours; and the character of the picture was also pleasing in itself, for Porus dedicated these designs after the death of the Macedonian, who is depicted in them in the hour of victory, reinstating Porus who

Byssus exported to Egypt

Greek reliefs in Temple at Taxila

CAP. XX τετρωμένον καὶ δωρεῖται τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἑαυτοῦ λοιπὸν οὖσαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ πενθῆσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποθανόντα ὁ Πῶρος, ὀλοφύρασθαί τε ὡς γενναῖον καὶ χρηστὸν βασιλέα, ζῶντός τε Ἀλεξάνδρου μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀναχώρησιν μήτε εἰπεῖν τι ὡς βασιλεὺς καίτοι ξυγχωροῦντος, μήτε προστάξαι τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ σατράπης σωφροσύνης μεστὸς εἶναι καὶ πράττειν ἐς χάριν τὴν ἐκείνου πάντα.

XXI

CAP. XXI Οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ μοι ὁ λόγος παρελθεῖν ἃ περὶ τοῦ Πώρου τούτου ἀναγράφουσι· πρὸς διαβάσει γὰρ τοῦ Μακεδόνος ὄντος καὶ ξυμβουλευόντων αὐτῷ ἐνίων τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὕφασίν τε καὶ τὸν Γάγγην ποταμὸν ποιεῖσθαι ξυμμάχους, οὐ γὰρ ἂν πρὸς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν πᾶσαν ξυμφρονοῦσαν παρατάξεσθαί ποτε αὐτόν, "εἰ τοιοῦτόν ἐστί μοι," ἔφη, "τὸ ὑπήκοον, ὡς μὴ σώζεσθαι ἄνευ ξυμμάχων, ἐμοὶ βέλτιον τὸ μὴ ἄρχειν." ἀπαγγείλαντος δὲ αὐτῷ τινος, ὅτι Δαρεῖον ᾕρηκε, "βασιλέα," ἔφη, "ἄνδρα δὲ οὔ." τὸν δὲ ἐλέφαντα, ἐφ᾽ οὗ μάχεσθαι ἔμελλε, κοσμήσαντος τοῦ ὀρεωκόμου καὶ εἰπόντος "οὗτος σέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οἴσει," "ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν," ἔφη, "τοῦτον, ἤν γε ἀνὴρ ἐμαυτῷ ὅμοιος γένωμαι." γνώμην δὲ ποιουμένων θῦσαι αὐτὸν τῷ ποταμῷ, ὡς μὴ δέξαιτο τὰς Μακεδόνων σχεδίας, μηδὲ εὔπορος τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γένοιτο, "οὐκ ἔστιν," ἔφη, "τῶν ὅπλα ἐχόντων τὸ καταρᾶσθαι." μετὰ δὲ τὴν

is wounded, and presenting him with India which was now in his gift. And it is said that Porus mourned over the death of Alexander, and that he lamented him as a generous and good prince; and as long as Alexander was alive after his departure from India, he never used the royal diction and style, although he had license to do so, nor issued kingly edicts to the Indians, but figured himself as a satrap full of moderation, and guided in every action by the wish to please Alexander.

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Alexander and King Porus

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My argument does not allow me to pass over the accounts written of this Porus. For when the Macedonian was about to cross the river, and some of Porus' advisers wished him to make an alliance with the kings on the other side of the Hyphasis and of the Ganges, urging that the invader would never face a general coalition against him of the whole of India, he replied: "If the temper of my subjects is such that I cannot save myself without allies, then for me it is better not to be king." And when some one announced to him that Alexander had captured Darius, he remarked, "a king but not a man." And when the mule-driver had caparisoned the elephant on which he meant to fight, and said: "He, oh king, will carry you," he replied: "Nay, I shall carry him, if I prove myself the same man I used to be." And when they counselled him to sacrifice to the river, and induce it to reject the rafts of the Macedonians, and make itself impassable to Alexander, he said: "It ill befits those who have arms to resort to imprecation." And after the

CAP. XXI μάχην, ὅτε καὶ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ θεῖός τε καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἔδοξεν, εἰπόντος τῶν ξυγγενῶν τινος, "εἰ δὲ προσεκύνησας διαβάντα, ὦ Πῶρε, οὔτ' ἂν ἡττήθης μαχόμενος οὔτ' ἂν τοσοῦτοι Ἰνδῶν ἀπώλοντο, οὔτ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἐτέτρωσο," "ἐγὼ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον," εἶπε, "φιλοτιμότατον ἀκούων ξυνῆκα, ὅτι προσκυνήσαντα μὲν δοῦλόν με ἡγήσεται, πολεμήσαντα δὲ βασιλέα, καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἠξίουν ἢ ἐλεεῖσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθην· παρασχὼν γὰρ ἐμαυτόν, οἷον Ἀλέξανδρος εἶδε, πάντα ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ καὶ ἀπώλεσα καὶ ἐκτησάμην." τοιοῦτον μὲν τὸν Ἰνδὸν τοῦτον ἐξιστοροῦσι, γενέσθαι δέ φασιν αὐτὸν κάλλιστον Ἰνδῶν καὶ μῆκος, ὅσον οὔπω τινὰ ἀνθρώπων τῶν μετὰ τοὺς Τρωικοὺς ἄνδρας, εἶναι δὲ κομιδῇ νέον, ὅτε τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπολέμει.

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CAP. XXII Ὃν δὲ διέτριβεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χρόνον, πολὺς δὲ οὗτος ἐγένετο, ἔστ' ἀνηγγέλθη τῷ βασιλεῖ ξένους ἥκειν, "ὦ Δάμι," ἔφη ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἔστι τι γραφική;" "εἴ γε," εἶπε, "καὶ ἀλήθεια." "πράττει δὲ τί ἡ τέχνη αὕτη;" "τὰ χρώματα," ἔφη, "ξυγκεράννυσιν, ὁπόσα ἐστί, τὰ κυανᾶ τοῖς βατραχείοις καὶ τὰ λευκὰ τοῖς μέλασι καὶ τὰ πυρσὰ τοῖς ὠχροῖς." "ταυτὶ δέ," ἦ δ' ὅς, "ὑπὲρ τίνος μίγνυσιν; οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ μόνου τοῦ ἄνθους, ὥσπερ αἱ κήριναι." "ὑπὲρ μιμήσεως," ἔφη, "καὶ τοῦ κύνα τε ἐξεικάσαι καὶ ἵππον καὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ ναῦν καὶ

battle, in which his conduct struck Alexander as divine and superhuman, when one of his relations said to him: "If you had only paid homage to him after he had crossed, O Porus, you would not yourself have been defeated in battle, nor would so many Indians have lost their lives, nor would you yourself have been wounded," he said: "I knew from report that Alexander was so fond of glory that, if I did homage to him, he would regard me as a slave, but if I fought him, as a king. And I much preferred his admiration to his pity, nor was I wrong in my calculation. For by shewing myself to be such a man as Alexander found me, I both lost and won everything in one day." Such is the character which historians give of this Indian, and they say that he was the handsomest of his race, and in stature taller than any man since the Trojan heroes, but that he was quite young, when he went to war with Alexander. CHAP. XXI

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Apollonius discusses painting with Damis

While he was waiting in the Temple,—and it took a long time for the king to be informed that strangers had arrived,—Apollonius said: "O Damis, is there such a thing as painting?" "Why, yes," he answered, "if there be any such thing as truth." "And what does this art do?" "It mixes together," replied Damis, "all the colours there are, blue with green, and white with black, and red with yellow." "And for what reason," said the other, "does it mix these? For it isn't merely to get a colour, like dyed wax." "It is," said Damis, "for the sake of imitation, and

CAP. XXII ὁπόσα ὁρᾷ ὁ ἥλιος· ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον αὐτὸν ἐξεικάζει τοτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ τεττάρων ἵππων, οἷος ἐνταῦθα λέγεται φαίνεσθαι, τοτὲ δ' αὖ καὶ διαπυρσεύοντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐπειδὰν αἰθέρα ὑπογράφῃ καὶ θεῶν οἶκον." "μίμησις οὖν ἡ γραφική, ὦ Δάμι;" "τί δὲ ἄλλο;" εἶπεν, "εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο πράττοι, γελοία δόξει χρώματα ποιοῦσα εὐήθως." "τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ," ἔφη, "βλεπόμενα, ἐπειδὰν αἱ νεφέλαι διασπασθῶσιν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τοὺς κενταύρους καὶ τραγελάφους καί, νὴ Δί', οἱ λύκοι τε καὶ οἱ ἵπποι, τί φήσεις; ἆρ' οὐ μιμητικῆς εἶναι ἔργα;" "ἔοικεν," ἔφη. "ζωγράφος οὖν ὁ θεός, ὦ Δάμι, καὶ καταλιπὼν τὸ πτηνὸν ἅρμα, ἐφ' οὗ πορεύεται διακοσμῶν τὰ θεῖά τε καὶ ἀνθρώπεια, κάθηται τότε ἀθύρων τε καὶ γράφων ταῦτα, ὥσπερ οἱ παῖδες ἐν τῇ ψάμμῳ;" ἠρυθρίασεν ὁ Δάμις ἐς οὕτως ἄτοπον ἐκπεσεῖν δόξαντος τοῦ λόγου. οὐχ ὑπεριδὼν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, οὐδὲ γὰρ πικρὸς πρὸς τὰς ἐλέγξεις ἦν, "ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "βούλει λέγειν, ὦ Δάμι, τὸ ταῦτα μὲν ἄσημά τε καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε διὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φέρεσθαι τόγε ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ, ἡμᾶς δὲ φύσει τὸ μιμητικὸν ἔχοντας ἀναρρυθμίζειν τε αὐτὰ καὶ ποιεῖν;" "μᾶλλον," ἔφη, "τοῦτο ἡγώμεθα, ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, πιθανώτερον γὰρ καὶ πολλῷ βέλτιον." "διττὴ ἄρα ἡ μιμητική, ὦ Δάμι, καὶ

to get a likeness of a dog, or a horse, or a man, or a ship, or of anything else under the sun; and what is more, you see the sun himself represented, sometimes borne upon a four horse car, as he is said to be seen here, and sometimes again traversing the heaven with his torch, in case you are depicting the ether and the home of the gods." "Then, O Damis, painting is imitation?" "And what else could it be?" said he: "for if it did not effect that, it would be voted to be an idle playing with colours." "And," said the other, "the things which are seen in heaven, whenever the clouds are torn away from one another, I mean the centaurs and stag-antelopes, yes, and the wolves too, and the horses, what have you got to say about them? Are we not to regard them as works of imitation?" "It would seem so," he replied. "Then, Damis, God is a painter, and has left his winged chariot, upon which he travels, as he disposes of affairs human and divine, and he sits down on these occasions to amuse himself by drawing these pictures, as children make figures in the sand." Damis blushed, for he felt that his argument was reduced to such an absurdity. But Apollonius, on his side, had no wish to humiliate him, for he was not unfeeling in his refutations of people, and said: "But I am sure, Damis, you did not mean that; rather that these figures flit through the heaven not only without meaning, but, so far as providcnce is concerned, by mere chance; while we who by nature are prone to imitation rearrange and create them in these regular figures." "We may," he said, "rather consider this to be the case, O Apollonius, for it is more probable, and a much sounder idea." "Then, O Damis, the mimetic art is

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CAP. XXII τὴν μὲν ἡγώμεθα οἵαν τῇ χειρὶ ἀπομιμεῖσθαι καὶ τῷ νῷ, γραφικὴν δὲ εἶναι ταύτην, τὴν δ' αὖ μόνῳ τῷ νῷ εἰκάζειν." "οὐ διττήν," ἔφη ὁ Δάμις, "ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν τελεωτέραν ἡγεῖσθαι προσήκει γραφικήν γε οὖσαν, ἣ δύναται καὶ τῷ νῷ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἐξεικάσαι, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ἐκείνης μόριον, ἐπειδὴ ξυνίησι μὲν καὶ μιμεῖται τῷ νῷ καὶ μὴ γραφικός τις ὤν, τῇ χειρὶ δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἐς τὸ γράφειν αὐτὰ χρήσαιτο." "ἆρα," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, πεπηρωμένος τὴν χεῖρα ὑπὸ πληγῆς τινος ἢ νόσου;" "μὰ Δί," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ μήτε γραφίδος τινὸς ἧφθαι, μήτε ὀργάνου τινὸς ἢ χρώματος, ἀλλ' ἀμαθῶς ἔχειν τοῦ γράφειν." "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, ἄμφω ὁμολογοῦμεν μιμητικὴν μὲν ἐκ φύσεως τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἥκειν, τὴν γραφικὴν δὲ ἐκ τέχνης. τουτὶ δ' ἂν καὶ περὶ τὴν πλαστικὴν φαίνοιτο. τὴν δὲ δὴ ζωγραφίαν αὐτὴν οὔ μοι δοκεῖς μόνον τὴν διὰ τῶν χρωμάτων ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ γὰρ ἓν χρῶμα ἐς αὐτὴν ἤρκεσε τοῖς γε ἀρχαιοτέροις τῶν γραφέων καὶ προϊοῦσα τεττάρων εἶτα πλειόνων ἥψατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ γραμμὴν καὶ τὸ ἄνευ χρώματος, ὃ δὴ σκιᾶς τε ξύγκειται καὶ φωτός, ζωγραφίαν προσήκει καλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁμοιότης τε ὁρᾶται εἶδός τε καὶ νοῦς καὶ αἰδὼς καὶ θρασύτης, καίτοι χηρεύει χρωμάτων ταῦτα, καὶ οὔτε αἷμα ἐνσημαίνει οὔτε κόμης τινὸς ἢ ὑπήνης ἄνθος, ἀλλὰ μονοτρόπως ξυντιθέμενα τῷ τε ξανθῷ ἀνθρώπῳ

twofold, and we may regard the one kind as an employment of the hands and mind in producing imitations, and declare that this is painting, whereas the other kind consists in making likenesses with the mind alone." "Not twofold," replied Damis, "for we ought to regard the former as the more perfect and more complete kind, being anyhow painting and a faculty of making likenesses with the help both of mind and hand; but we must regard the other kind as a department of that, since its possessor perceives and imitates with the mind, without having the delineative faculty, and would never use his hand in depicting its objects." "Then," said Apollonius, "you mean, Damis, that the hand may be disabled by a blow or by disease?" "No," he answered, "but it is disabled, because it has never handled pencil nor any instrument or colour, and has never learned to draw." "Then," said the other, "we are both of us, Damis, agreed that man owes his mimetic faculty to nature, but his power of painting to art. And the same would appear to be true of plastic art. But, methinks, you would not confine painting itself to the mere use of colours, for a single colour was often found sufficient for this purpose by our older painters; and as the art advanced, it employed four, and later, yet more; but we must also concede the name of a painting to an outline drawn without any colour at all, and composed merely of shadow and light. For in such designs we see a resemblance, we see form and expression, and modesty and bravery, although they are altogether devoid of colour; and neither blood is represented, nor the colour of a man's hair or beard; nevertheless these compositions in monochrome are likenesses of people either tawny

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CAP. XXII ἔοικε καὶ τῷ λευκῷ, κἂν τούτων τινὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν λευκῇ τῇ γραμμῇ γράψωμεν, μέλας δήπου δόξει, τὸ γὰρ ὑπόσιμον τῆς ῥινὸς καὶ οἱ ὀρθοὶ βόστρυχοι καὶ ἡ περιττὴ γένυς καὶ ἡ περὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς οἷον ἔκπληξις μελαίνει τὰ ὁρώμενα καὶ Ἰνδὸν ὑπογράφει τοῖς γε μὴ ἀνοήτως ὁρῶσιν. ὅθεν εἴποιμ᾽ ἂν καὶ τοὺς ὁρῶντας τὰ τῆς γραφικῆς ἔργα μιμητικῆς δεῖσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐπαινέσειέ τις τὸν γεγραμμένον ἵππον ἢ ταῦρον μὴ τὸ ζῷον ἐνθυμηθεὶς ᾧ εἴκασται, οὐδ᾽ ἂν τὸν Αἴαντά τις τὸν Τιμομάχου ἀγασθείη, ὃς δὴ ἀναγέγραπται αὐτῷ μεμηνώς, εἰ μὴ ἀναλάβοι τι ἐς τὸν νοῦν Αἴαντος εἴδωλον καὶ ὡς εἰκὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεκτονότα τὰ ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ βουκόλια καθῆσθαι ἀπειρηκότα, βουλὴν ποιούμενον καὶ ἑαυτὸν κτεῖναι. ταυτὶ δέ, ὦ Δάμι, τὰ τοῦ Πώρου δαίδαλα μήτε χαλκευτικῆς μόνον ἀποφαινώμεθα, γεγραμμένοις γὰρ εἴκασται, μήτε γραφικῆς, ἐπειδὴ ἐχαλκεύθη, ἀλλ᾽ ἡγώμεθα σοφίσασθαι αὐτὰ γραφικόν τε καὶ χαλκευτικὸν ἕνα ἄνδρα, οἷον δή τι παρ᾽ Ὁμήρῳ τὸ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου περὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἀσπίδα ἀναφαίνεται. μεστὰ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων, καὶ τὴν γῆν ᾑματῶσθαι φήσεις χαλκῆν οὖσαν."

or white, and if we drew one of these Indians with a pencil without colour, yet he would be known for a negro, for his flat nose, and his stiff curling locks and prominent jaw, and a certain gleam about his eyes, would give a black look to the picture and depict an Indian to the eyes of all those who have intelligence. And for this reason I should say that those who look at works of painting and drawing require a mimetic faculty; for no one could appreciate or admire a picture of a horse or of a bull, unless he had formed an idea of the creature represented. Nor again could one admire a picture of Ajax, by the painter Timomachus, which represents him in a state of madness, unless one had conceived in one's mind first an idea or notion of Ajax, and had entertained the probability that after killing the flocks in Troy he would sit down exhausted and even meditate suicide. But these elaborate works of Porus we cannot, Damis, regard as works of brass founding alone, for they resemble regular pictures, nor as works of painting alone, for they are cast in brass; so let us regard them as the *chefs d' œuvre* of a man who is both painter and brass-founder at once, and as similar to the work of Hephaestus upon the shield of Achilles, as revealed in Homer. For there are crowded together in that work too men slaying and slain, and you would say that the earth was stained with gore, though it is made of brass."

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CAP. XXIII Τοιαῦτα σπουδάζοντι τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐφίστανται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄγγελοι καὶ ἑρμηνεύς, ὡς ποιοῖτο αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς ξένον ἐς τρεῖς ἡμέρας, μὴ γὰρ πλειόνων νενομίσθαι τοὺς ξένους ἐνομιλεῖν τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἡγοῦντο αὐτῷ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια. ἡ πόλις δ' ὡς μὲν ἔχει τοῦ τείχους, εἴρηκα, φασὶ δ' ὡς ἀτάκτως τε καὶ Ἀττικῶς τοὺς στενωποὺς τέτμηται κατεσκεύασταί τε οἰκίαις, εἰ μὲν ἔξωθεν ὁρῴη τις αὐτάς, ἕνα ἐχούσαις ὄροφον, εἰ δ' ἔσω παρέλθοι τις, ὑπογείοις ἤδη καὶ παρεχομέναις ἴσα τοῖς ἄνω τὰ ὑπὸ τῇ γῇ.

XXIV

CAP. XXIV Ἱερὸν δὲ ἰδεῖν Ἡλίου φασίν, ᾧ ἀνεῖτο Αἴας ἐλέφας, καὶ ἀγάλματα Ἀλεξάνδρου χρυσᾶ καὶ Πώρου ἕτερα, χαλκοῦ δ' ἦν ταῦτα μέλανος. οἱ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῖχοι, πυρσαῖς λίθοις ὑπαστράπτει χρυσὸς αὐγὴν ἐκδιδοὺς ἐοικυῖαν ἀκτῖνι. τὸ δὲ ἕδος αὐτὸ μαργαρίτιδος ξύγκειται ξυμβολικὸν τρόπον, ᾧ βάρβαροι πάντες ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ χρῶνται.

XXIII

CHAP. XXIII

Description of houses in Taxila

While the sage was engaged in this conversation, messengers and an interpreter presented themselves from the king, to say that the king would make him his guest for three days,[1] because the laws did not allow of strangers residing in the city for a longer time; and accordingly they conducted him into the palace. I have already described the way in which the city is walled, but they say that it was divided up into narrow streets in the same irregular manner as is Athens, and that the houses were built in such a way that if you look at them from outside they had only one storey, while if you went into one of them, you at once found subterranean chambers extending as far below the level of the earth as did the chambers above.

XXIV

CHAP. XXIV

The temple elephant Ajax, and images of Alexander

And they say that they saw a Temple of the Sun in which was kept loose a sacred elephant called Ajax, and there were images of Alexander made of gold, and others of Porus, though the latter were of black bronze. But on the walls of the Temple there were red stones, and gold glittered underneath, and gave off a sheen as bright as sunlight. But the statue was compacted of pearls arranged in the symbolic manner affected by all barbarians in their shrines.

[1] Compare the proverb "Saepe dies post tres vilescit piscis et hospes," and cp. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 1901, p. 270.

XXV

CAP. XXV Περὶ δὲ τὰ βασίλεια οὔτε ὄγκον ἰδεῖν φασιν οἰκοδομημάτων, οὔτε δορυφόρους ἢ φύλακας, ἀλλ' οἷα περὶ τὰς τῶν λαμπρῶν οἰκίας, ὀλίγους οἰκέτας καὶ διαλεχθῆναι τῷ βασιλεῖ δεομένους τρεῖς, οἶμαι, ἢ τέτταρας· καὶ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον ἀγασθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι φλεγμαίνοντα, καὶ πολλῷ πλέον ἔσω παρελθόντες· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀνδρῶνας καὶ τὰς στοὰς καὶ τὴν αὐλὴν πᾶσαν κεκολάσθαι φασίν.

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CAP. XXVI "Εδοξεν οὖν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ φιλοσοφεῖν ὁ Ἰνδὸς καὶ παραστησάμενος τὸν ἑρμηνέα, "χαίρω," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, φιλοσοφοῦντά σε ὁρῶν." "ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπερχαίρω," ἔφη, "ἐπειδὴ οὕτω περὶ ἐμοῦ οἴει." "τουτὶ δὲ νενόμισται παρ' ὑμῖν," εἶπεν, "ἢ σὺ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιεικὲς τοῦτο τὴν ἀρχὴν κατεστήσω;" "σωφρόνως," ἔφη, "νενομισμένῳ σωφρονέστερον χρῶμαι, καὶ πλεῖστα μὲν ἔχω ἀνθρώπων, δέομαι δὲ ὀλίγων, τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν φίλων τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ ἡγοῦμαι." "μακάριε τοῦ θησαυροῦ," εἶπεν, "εἰ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἀντερύῃ τοὺς φίλους, ἐξ ὧν ἀναφύεταί σοι πολλά τε καὶ ἀγαθά." "καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς," ἔφη, "κοινωνῶ τοῦ πλούτου. τοὺς γὰρ ἀεί ποτε διαφόρους τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ βαρβάρους

XXV

CHAP. XXV

Simplicity of the Indian king's life

And in the palace they say that they saw no magnificent chambers, nor any bodyguards or sentinels, but, as is the case in the houses of the upper class, a few servants; and only three or four persons, who required to converse with the king. And they say that they admired this arrangement more than they did the pompous splendour of Babylon, and their esteem was enhanced when they went within. For the men's chambers and the porticoes and the whole of the vestibule were in a very chaste style.

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CHAP. XXVI

The king's life and policy

So the Indian was regarded by Apollonius as a philosopher, and addressing him through an interpreter, he said: "I am delighted, O king, to find you living like a philosopher." "And I," said the other, "am over delighted that you should think of me thus." "And," said Apollonius, "is this customary among you, or was it you yourself established your government on so modest a scale?" "Our customs," said the king, "are dictated by moderation, and I am still more moderate in my carrying them out; and though I have more than other men, yet I want little, for I regard most things as belonging to my own friends." "Blessed are you then in your treasure," said Apollonius," "if you rate your friends more highly than gold and silver, for out of them grows up for you a harvest of blessings." "Nay more," said the king, "I share my wealth also with my enemies. For the barbarians who live on the

CAP. XXVI προσοικοῦντας καὶ καταδρομαῖς χρωμένους ἐς τἀμὰ ὅρια ὑποποιοῦμαι τουτοισὶ τοῖς χρήμασι, καὶ δορυφορεῖταί μοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἡ χώρα, καὶ οὔτε αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τἀμὰ φοιτῶσι τούς τε ὁμόρους αὐτοῖς βαρβάρους ἀνείργουσι, χαλεποὺς ὄντας." ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, εἰ καὶ Πῶρος αὐτοῖς ἐτέλει χρήματα, "Πῶρος," εἶπε, "πολέμου ἤρα, ἐγὼ δὲ εἰρήνης." πάνυ τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις ἐχειροῦτο τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, καὶ οὕτως αὐτοῦ ἡττήθη, ὡς Εὐφράτῃ ποτὲ ἐπιπλήττων μὴ φιλοσοφοῦντι, "ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν Φραώτην αἰδώμεθα," φάναι, ὄνομα γὰρ τῷ Ἰνδῷ τοῦτο ἦν. σατράπου δέ, ἐπειδὴ μεγάλων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἠξιώθη, βουληθέντος αὐτὸν ἀναδῆσαι μίτρᾳ χρυσῇ κεκοσμημένῃ λίθοις ποικίλοις, "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "εἰ καὶ τῶν ζηλούντων τὰ τοιαῦτα ἦν, παρῃτησάμην ἂν αὐτὰ νῦν καὶ ἀπέρριψα τῆς κεφαλῆς Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐντυχών, οἷς δὲ μήπω πρότερον ἀναδεῖσθαι ἠξίωσα, πῶς ἂν νῦν κοσμοίμην τὸν μὲν ξένον ἀγνοήσας, ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ ἐκλαθόμενος;" ἤρετο αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ διαίτης ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὁ δέ, "οἴνου μέν," ἔφη, "πίνω τοσοῦτον, ὅσον τῷ Ἡλίῳ σπένδω, ἃ δ' ἂν ἐν θήρᾳ λάβω, ταῦτα σιτοῦνται ἕτεροι, ἐμοὶ δ' ἀπόχρη τὸ γεγυμνάσθαι. τὰ δὲ ἐμὰ σιτία λάχανα καὶ φοινίκων ἐγκέφαλοι καὶ ὁ καρπὸς τῶν φοινικῶν καὶ ὁπόσα ὁ ποταμὸς κηπεύει. πολλὰ δέ μοι καὶ ἀπὸ δένδρων φύεται, ὧν γεωργοὶ αἵδε αἱ χεῖρες." ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ὑπερήδετό τε καὶ ἐς τὸν Δάμιν θαμὰ ἑώρα.

border of this country were perpetually quarrelling with us and making raids into my territories, but I keep them quiet and control them with money, so that my country is patrolled by them, and instead of their invading my dominions, they themselves keep off the barbarians that are on the other side of the frontier, and are difficult people to deal with." And when Apollonius asked him, whether Porus also had paid them subsidy, he replied: "Porus was as fond of war as I am of peace." By expressing such sentiments he quite disarmed Apollonius, who was so captivated by him, that once, when he was rebuking Euphrates for his want of philosophic self-respect, he remarked: "Nay, let us at least reverence Phraotes the Indian," for this was the name of the Indian. And when a satrap, for the great esteem in which he was held by the monarch, desired to bind on his brow a golden mitre adorned with various stones, he said: "Even if I were an admirer of such things, I should decline them now, and cast them off my head, because I have met with Apollonius. And how can I now adorn myself with ornaments which I never before deigned to bind upon my head, without ignoring my guest and forgetting myself?" Apollonius also asked him about his diet, and he replied: "I drink just as much wine as I pour out in libation to the Sun; and whatever I take in the chase I give to others to eat, for I am satisfied with the exercise I get. But my own meal consists of vegetables and of the pith and fruit of date palms, and of all that a well-watered garden yields in the way of fruit. And a great deal of fruit is yielded to me by the trees which I cultivate with these hands." When Apollonius heard this, he was more than gratified, and kept glancing at Damis.

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CAP. XXVII ᾿Επεὶ δὲ ἱκανῶς διελέχθησαν περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς παρὰ τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας, τὸν μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου ἡγεμόνα ἐκέλευσε ξενίζειν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει τοὺς ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἥκοντας, τὸν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ σατράπου ἀπιέναι λαβόντα ἐφόδια, αὐτὸς δὲ λαβόμενος τῆς τοῦ ᾿Απολλωνίου χειρός, καὶ κελεύσας ἀπελθεῖν τὸν ἑρμηνέα, "ἆρ᾽ ἄν," ἔφη, "ποιήσαιό με συμπότην;" ἤρετο δ᾽ αὐτὸν φωνῇ ῾Ελλάδι. ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ τοῦ ᾿Απολλωνίου καί, "τοῦ χάριν οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὕτω διελέγου;" φήσαντος, "ἔδεισα," ἔφη, "θρασὺς δόξαι μὴ γιγνώσκων ἐμαυτόν, μηδ᾽ ὅτι βάρβαρον εἶναί με δοκεῖ τῇ τύχῃ, σοῦ δὲ ἡττηθείς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ σὲ ὁρῶ ἐμοὶ χαίροντα, οὐκ ἠδυνήθην ἐμαυτὸν κρύπτειν, ὡς δὲ μεστός εἰμι τῆς ῾Ελλήνων φωνῆς, ἐν πολλοῖς δηλώσω." "τί οὖν," εἶπεν, "οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐπήγγειλας ἐμοὶ τὸ συμπόσιον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐμέ σοι κελεύεις ἐπαγγέλλειν;" "ὅτι σε," ἔφη, "βελτίω ἐμαυτοῦ ἡγοῦμαι, τὸ γὰρ βασιλικώτερον σοφία ἔχει." καὶ ἅμα ἦγεν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ᾽ αὐτόν, οὗπερ εἰώθει λοῦσθαι. τὸ δὲ βαλανεῖον παράδεισος ἦν σταδίου μῆκος, ᾧ μέση κολυμβήθρα ἐνωρώρυκτο πηγὰς ἐκδεχομένη ποτίμου τε καὶ ψυχροῦ ὕδατος, τὰ δὲ ἐφ᾽ ἑκάτερα δρόμοι ἦσαν, ἐν οἷς ἀκοντίῳ τε καὶ δίσκῳ τὸν ῾Ελληνικὸν τρόπον

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CHAP. XXVII

The Brahmans

And when they had conversed a good deal about which road to take to the Brahmans, the king ordered the guide from Babylon to be well entertained, as it was customary so to treat those who came from Babylon; and the guide from the satrap, to be dismissed after being given provisions for the road. Then he took Apollonius by the hand, and having bidden the interpreter to depart, he said: "You will then, I hope, choose me for your boon companion." And he asked the question of him in the Greek tongue. But Apollonius was surprised, and remarked: "Why did you not converse with me thus, from the beginning?" "I was afraid," said the king, "of seeming presumptuous, for I do not know myself, not to mention the fact that I am a barbarian by decree of fate; but you have won my affection, and as soon as I saw that you take pleasure in my society, I was unable to keep myself concealed. But that I am quite competent in the Greek speech I will show you amply." "Why then," said Apollonius, "did you not invite me to the banquet, instead of begging me to invite you?" "Because," he replied, "I regard you as my superior, for wisdom has more of the kingly quality about it." And with that he led him and his companions to where he was accustomed to bathe. And the bathing-place was a garden, a stade in length, in the middle of which was dug out a pool, which was fed by fountains of water, cold and drinkable; and on each side there were exercising places, in which he was accustomed to practise himself after the manner

Apollonius talks Greek with him

The king's bath

CAP. XXVII ἑαυτὸν ἐξήσκει, καὶ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἔρρωτο ὑπό τε ἡλικίας—ἑπτὰ γὰρ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονὼς ἦν—ὑπό τε τοῦ ὧδε γυμνάζεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱκανῶς ἔχοι ἐπήδα ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἐγύμναζεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ νεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἐλούσαντο, ἐβάδιζον ἐς τὸ συσσίτιον ἐστεφανωμένοι, τουτὶ δὲ νενόμισται Ἰνδοῖς, ἐπειδὰν ἐν τῷ βασιλέως πίνωσιν.

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CAP. XXVIII Ἄξιον δὲ μηδὲ τὸ σχῆμα παραλιπεῖν τοῦ πότου σαφῶς γε ἀναγεγραμμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Δάμιδος· εὐωχεῖται μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ στιβάδος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τῶν ξυγγενῶν μέχρι πέντε οἱ ἐγγύς, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐν θάκοις συσσιτοῦσι. τράπεζα δέ, ὥσπερ βωμὸς ὕψος ἐς γόνυ ἀνδρὸς ἐξῳκοδόμηται μέση, κύκλον ἐπέχουσα χοροῦ ξυμβεβλημένου ἀνδρῶν τριάκοντα, ἐφ' ἧς δάφναι τε διαστρώννυνται καὶ κλῶνες ἕτεροι παραπλήσιοι μὲν τῇ μυρρίνῃ, φέροντες δὲ Ἰνδοῖς μύρον. ἐνταῦθα διάκεινται ἰχθῦς μὲν καὶ ὄρνιθες, διάκεινται δὲ λέοντές τε ὅλοι καὶ δορκάδες καὶ σύες καὶ τίγρεων ὀσφύες, τὰ γὰρ λοιπὰ τοῦ θηρίου παραιτοῦνται ἐσθίειν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ζῷον τοῦτό, φασιν, ὅταν πρῶτον γένηται, τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους τῶν ποδῶν ἀνίσχοντι αἴρειν τῷ Ἡλίῳ. καὶ ἀνιστάμενος ὁ δαιτυμὼν φοιτᾷ πρὸς τὴν τράπεζαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνελόμενος τούτων, τὰ δὲ

of the Greeks with javelin and quoit-throwing; for physically he was very robust, both because he was still young, for he was only seven-and-twenty years old, and because he trained himself in this way. And when he had had enough exercise, he would jump into the water and exercised himself in swimming. But when they had taken their bath, they proceeded into the banqueting chamber with wreaths upon their heads; for this is the custom of the Indians, whenever they drink wine in the palace. CHAP. XXVII

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CHAP. XXVIII

The Royal Banquet

And I must on no account omit to describe the arrangement of the banquet, since this has been clearly described and recorded by Damis. The king then banquets lying upon a mattress, and as many as five of his nearest relations with him; but all the rest join in the feast sitting upon chairs. And the table resembles an altar in that it is built up to the height of a man's knee in the middle of the chamber, and allows room for thirty to dispose themselves around it like a choir in a close circle. Upon it laurels are strewn, and other branches which are similar to the myrtle, but yield to the Indians their balm. Upon it are served up fish and birds, and there are also laid upon it whole lions and gazelles and swine and the loins of tigers; for they decline to eat the other parts of this animal, because they say that, as soon as it is born, it lifts up its front paws to the rising Sun. Next, the master of ceremonies rises and goes to the table, and he selects some of the viands for himself, and cuts off other portions, and then he goes

CAP. XXVIII ἀποτεμών, ἀπελθὼν ἐς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θᾶκον ἐμπίπλαται, θαμινὰ ἐπεσθίων τοῦ ἄρτου. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἱκανῶς ἔχωσιν, ἐσφέρονται κρατῆρες ἀργυροῖ τε καὶ χρυσοῖ, δέκα συμπόταις ἀποχρῶν εἷς, ἀφ' ὧν πίνουσι κύψαντες, ὥσπερ ποτιζόμενοι. μεταξὺ δὲ πίνοντες ἐπεσάγονται ἀγερωχίας ἐπικινδύνους καὶ οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ σπουδάζειν· παῖς γάρ τις, ὥσπερ ὁ τῶν ὀρχηστρίδων, ἀνερριπτεῖτο κούφως συναφιεμένου αὐτῷ βέλους ἐς τὸ ἄνω, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς γένοιτο, ἐκυβίστα ὁ παῖς ὑπεραίρων ἑαυτὸν τοῦ βέλους, καὶ ἁμαρτόντι τοῦ κυβιστᾶν ἕτοιμα ἦν βεβλῆσθαι· ὁ γὰρ τοξότης πρὶν ἀφιέναι περιῄει τοὺς ξυμπότας ἐπιδεικνὺς τὴν ἀκίδα καὶ διδοὺς ἔλεγχον τοῦ βέλους. καὶ τὸ διὰ σφενδόνης δὲ τοξεῦσαι καὶ τὸ ἐς τρίχα ἱέναι, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ σκιαγραφῆσαι βέλεσιν ἀνεστῶτα πρὸς σανίδα, σπουδάζουσιν ἐν τοῖς πότοις, καὶ κατορθοῦσιν αὐτὰ μεθύοντες.

XXIX

CAP. XXIX Οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὸν Δάμιν ἐξεπλήττοντο αὐτὰ ὡς εὔσκοπα, καὶ τὴν ξυμμετρίαν τῆς τοξείας ἐθαύμαζον, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, ξυνεσίτει γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ ὁμοδιαίτῳ ὄντι, τούτοις μὲν ἧττον προσεῖχε, πρὸς δὲ τὸν βασιλέα, "εἰπέ μοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "πόθεν οὕτως ἔχεις φωνῆς Ἑλλάδος, φιλοσοφία τε ἡ περὶ

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back to his own chair and eats his full, constantly munching bread with it. And when they have all had enough, goblets of silver and gold are brought in, each of which is enough for ten banqueters, and out of these they drink, stooping down like animals that are being watered. And while they are drinking, they have brought in performers of various dangerous feats, requiring elaborate preparation. For a boy, like an attendant on *danseuses*, would throw a light somersault, and at the same moment a javelin was aimed at him, up in the air, and when he was a long way from the ground, the boy would, by a tumblers' leap, raise himself above the weapon, and if he missed his leap, he was sure to be hit. For the archer, before he let fly, went round the banqueters and showed them the point of his weapon, and let them try the missile themselves. And another would shoot through a sling and aim at a hair or would shoot at his own son, and pick out his figure with the missiles as he stood erect against a hoarding. Such are their forms of entertainment in their banquets, and they aim straight, even when they are drunk.

Tumblers, feats at the banquet

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The king expounds Indian philosophical training

WELL, the companions of Damis marvelled at the accuracy of their eye, and were surprised at the exactness with which they aimed their weapons; but Apollonius, who was eating beside the king from the same dishes, was less interested in these feats and said to the king: "Tell me, O King, how you acquired such a command of the Greek tongue,

CAP. XXIX σὲ πόθεν ἐνταῦθα; οὐ γὰρ ἐς διδασκάλους γε οἶμαι ἀναφέρειν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ εἶναί τινας ἐν Ἰνδοῖς εἰκὸς διδασκάλους τούτου." γελάσας οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς, "οἱ μὲν παλαιοί," ἔφη, "τὰς ἐρωτήσεις τῶν καταπλεόντων ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ λησταί εἰσιν, οὕτως αὐτὸ καίτοι χαλεπὸν ὂν κοινὸν ἡγοῦντο, ὑμεῖς δέ μοι δοκεῖτε τοὺς ἐπιφοιτῶντας ὑμῖν ἐρωτᾶν, μὴ φιλόσοφοί εἰσιν, οὕτως αὐτὸ καίτοι θειότατον τῶν κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὂν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσιν ὑπάρχειν οἴεσθε. καὶ ὅτι μὲν παρ' ὑμῖν ταὐτὸν τῷ ληστεύειν ἐστίν, οἶδα, ὁμοίῳ μὲν γὰρ σοὶ ἀνδρὶ οὔ φασιν εἶναι ἐντυχεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πολλούς, ὥσπερ σκυλεύσαντας αὐτὸ ἑτέρων περιβεβλῆθαί τε ἀναρμόστως, καὶ σοβεῖν ἀλλοτρίαν ἐσθῆτα ἐπισύροντας· καὶ νὴ Δί', ὥσπερ οἱ λησταὶ τρυφῶσιν εἰδότες ὅτι ὑπὸ τῇ δίκῃ κεῖνται, οὕτω κἀκείνους φασὶ γαστρί τε διδόναι καὶ ἀφροδισίοις καὶ ἀμπεχόνῃ λεπτῇ. τὸ δὲ αἴτιον· νόμοι ὑμῖν, οἶμαι, εἰσίν, εἰ μὲν τὸ νόμισμα παραφθείροι τις, ἀποθνήσκειν αὐτόν, καὶ παιδίον εἴ τις παρεγγράφοι, ἢ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι ἐπὶ τούτῳ, τοὺς δὲ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὑποβαλλομένους ἢ παραφθείροντας οὐδείς, οἶμαι, νόμος παρ' ὑμῖν ἴσχει, οὐδὲ ἀρχή τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τέτακται.

CHAP. XXIX

and whence you derived all your philosophical attainments in this place? For I don't imagine that you owe them to teachers, for it is not likely that there are, in India, any who could teach it." The king then smiled and said: "Our ancestors used to ask questions of mariners who sailed to their coast, to see whether they were pirates, so widespread did they consider that calling to be in spite of its cruelty; but so far as I can make out, you Greeks ask your visitors whether they are not philosophers, so convinced are you that everyone you meet with must needs possess this divinest of human attainments. And that philosophy and piracy are one and the same thing among you, I am well aware; for they say that a man like yourself is not to be found anywhere; but that most of your philosophers are like people who have despoiled another man of his garment and then have dressed themselves up in it, although it does not fit them, and proceed to strut about trailing another man's garment. Nay, by Zeus, just as robbers live in luxury, well knowing that they lie at the mercy of justice, so are they, it is said, addicted to gluttony and riotous living and to delicate apparel. And the reason is this: you have laws, I believe, to the effect that if a man is caught forging money, he must die, and the same if anyone illegally enrolls a child upon the register, or there is some penalty, I know not what; but people who utter a counterfeit philosophy or corrupt her are not, I believe, restrained among you by any law, nor is any authority set to suppress them.

XXX

CAP. XXX Παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ ὀλίγοι μὲν τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν ἅπτονται, δοκιμάζονται δὲ ὧδε· χρὴ τὸν νέον, ἐπειδὰν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονὼς τύχῃ, τουτὶ δ', οἶμαι, καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐφήβου μέτρον, ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὕφασιν ποταμὸν ἐλθεῖν παρὰ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς σὺ ὥρμηκας, εἰπόντα δημοσίᾳ πρότερον ὅτι φιλοσοφήσοι, ἵν' ᾖ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐξείργειν αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ καθαρὸς φοιτῴη. καθαρὸν δὲ λέγω πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἐς πατέρα καὶ μητέρα ἧκον, μὴ περὶ αὐτοὺς ὄνειδός τι ἀναφαίνοιτο, εἶθ' οἱ τούτων γονεῖς καὶ τρίτον γένος ἐς ἄνω, μὴ ὑβριστής τις ἢ ἀκρατὴς ἢ χρηματιστὴς ἄδικος. ὅταν δὲ μηδεμία οὐλὴ περὶ τούτους ἀναφαίνηται, μηδὲ στίγμα ὅλως μηδέν, αὐτὸν ἤδη διορᾶν τὸν νέον καὶ βασανίζειν, πρῶτον μέν, εἰ μνημονικός, εἶτα, εἰ κατὰ φύσιν αἰδήμων, ἀλλὰ μὴ πλαττόμενος τοῦτο, μὴ μεθυστικὸς μὴ λίχνος μὴ ἀλαζὼν μὴ φιλόγελως μὴ θρασὺς μὴ φιλολοίδορος, εἰ πατρὸς ὑπήκοος εἰ μητρὸς εἰ διδασκάλων εἰ παιδαγωγῶν, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, εἰ μὴ κακὸς περὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὥραν. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν γειναμένων αὐτὸν καὶ οἳ ἐκείνους ἐγείναντο, ἐκ μαρτύρων ἀναλέγονται καὶ γραμμάτων, ἃ δημοσίᾳ κεῖται. ἐπειδὰν γὰρ τελευτήσῃ ὁ Ἰνδός, φοιτᾷ ἐπὶ θύρας αὐτοῦ μία ἀρχὴ τεταγμένη ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἀναγράφειν αὐτόν, ὡς ἐβίω, καὶ ψευσα-

XXX

Now among us few engage in philosophy, and they are sifted and tried as follows: A young man so soon as he reaches the age of eighteen, and this I think is accounted the time of full age among you also, must pass across the river Hyphasis to the men whom you are set upon visiting, after first making a public statement that he will become a philosopher, so that those who wish to may exclude him, if he does not approach the study in a state of purity. And by pure I mean, firstly, in respect of his parentage, that no disgraceful deed can be proved against either his father or his mother; next that their parents in turn, and the third generation upwards, are equally pure, that there was no ruffian among them, no debauchee, nor any unjust usurer. And when no scar or reproach can be proved against them, nor any other stain whatever, then it is time narrowly to inspect the young man himself and test him, to see firstly, whether he has a good memory, and secondly, whether he is modest and reserved in disposition, and does not merely pretend to be so, whether he is addicted to drink, or greedy, or a quack, or a buffoon, or rash, or abusive, to see whether he is obedient to his father, to his mother, to his teachers, to his school-masters, and above all, if he makes no bad use of his personal attractions. The particulars then of his parents and of their progenitors are gathered from witnesses and from the public archives. For whenever an Indian dies, there visits his house a particular authority charged by the law to make a record of him, and of how he CHAP. XXX

CAP. XXX μένῳ ἢ ψευσθέντι τῷ ἄρχοντι ἐπιτιμῶσιν οἱ νόμοι μὴ ἄρξαι αὐτὸν ἔτι ἀρχὴν μηδεμίαν, ὡς παραποιήσαντα βίον ἀνθρώπου, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐφήβων ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁρῶντες ἀναμανθάνουσι· πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἠθῶν ἑρμηνεύουσι, πολλὰ δ' ἐν ὀφρύσι καὶ παρειαῖς κεῖται γνωματεύειν τε καὶ θεωρεῖν, ἀφ' ὧν σοφοί τε καὶ φυσικοὶ ἄνδρες, ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ εἴδωλα, τοὺς νοῦς τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαθεῶνται. μεγάλων γὰρ δὴ ἀξιουμένης φιλοσοφίας ἐνταῦθα, καὶ τιμὴν τούτου παρ' Ἰνδοῖς ἔχοντος, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἐκβασανίζεσθαί τε τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἰόντας ἐλέγχοις τε ὑποβεβλῆσθαι μυρίοις. ὡς μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ διδασκάλοις αὐτὸ ποιούμεθα καὶ ἐς δοκιμασίαν ἡμῖν τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν ἥκει, σαφῶς εἴρηκα, τοὐμὸν δὲ ὧδε ἔχει.

XXXI

CAP. XXXI Ἐγὼ μὲν πάππου βασιλέως ἐγενόμην, ὃς ἦν μοι ὁμώνυμος, πατρὸς δὲ ἰδιώτου· καταλειφθεὶς γὰρ κομιδῇ νέος ἐπίτροποι μὲν αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο δύο τῶν ξυγγενῶν κατὰ τοὺς τῶν Ἰνδῶν νόμους, ἔπραττον δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὰ βασιλικὰ οὐ χρηστῶς, μὰ τὸν Ἥλιον, οὐδὲ ξυμμέτρως, ὅθεν βαρεῖς τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐφαίνοντο καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ κακῶς ἤκουε. ξυστάντες οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῶν δυνατῶν τινες ἐπιτίθενταί σφισιν ἐν ἑορτῇ καὶ

lived, and if this officer lies or allows himself to be deceived, he is condemned by the law and forbidden ever to hold another office, on the ground that he has counterfeited a man's life. But the particulars of the youths themselves are duly learnt by inspection of them. For in many cases a man's eyes reveal the secrets of his character, and in many cases there is material for forming a judgment and appraising his value in his eyebrows and cheeks, for from these features the dispositions of people can be detected by wise and scientific men, as images are seen in a looking-glass. For seeing that philosophy is highly esteemed in this country, and it is held in honour by the Indians, it is absolutely necessary that those who take to it should be tested and subjected to a thousand modes of proof. That then we rely thus on the evidence of teachers, and put their philosophical aptitude to a test, I have clearly explained; and now I will relate to you my own history. CHAP. XXX

XXXI

My grandfather was king, and had the same name as myself; but my father was a private person. For he was left quite young, and two of his relations were appointed his guardians in accordance with the laws of the Indians. But they did not carry on the king's government honestly on his behalf. No, by the Sun, but so unfairly that their subjects found their regime oppressive and the government fell into bad repute. A conspiracy then was formed against them by some of the magnates, who attacked them CHAP. XXXI

And relates his history to Apollonius

CAP. XXXI κτείνουσι τῷ Ἰνδῷ θύοντας, αὐτοί τε ἐπεσπηδήσαντες τῷ ἄρχειν ξυνέσχον τὰ κοινά. δείσαντες οὖν οἱ ξυγγενεῖς περὶ τῷ πατρὶ μήπω ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονότι πέμπουσιν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὕφασιν παρὰ τὸν ἐκεῖ βασιλέα. πλειόνων δὲ ἢ ἐγὼ ἄρχει καὶ εὐδαίμων ἡ χώρα παρὰ πολὺ τῆς ἐνταῦθα. βουλομένου δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως παῖδα ποιεῖσθαι, τουτὶ μὲν παρῃτήσατο φήσας μὴ φιλονεικεῖν τῇ τύχῃ ἀφῃρημένῃ αὐτὸν τὸ ἄρχειν, ἐδεήθη δ' αὐτοῦ ξυγχωρῆσαί οἱ φιλοσοφῆσαι βαδίσαντι παρὰ τοὺς σοφούς, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ῥᾷον καρτερῆσαι τὰ οἴκοι κακά. βουλομένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ κατάγειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχήν, "εἰ γνησίως," ἔφη, "φιλοσοφοῦντα αἴσθοιο, κάταγε, εἰ δὲ μή, ἔα με οὕτως ἔχειν." αὐτὸς οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἥκων παρὰ τοὺς σοφοὺς μεγάλων ἂν ἔφη παρ' αὐτῶν τυχεῖν, εἰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπιμεληθεῖεν γενναίου τὴν φύσιν ἤδη ὄντος, οἱ δὲ κατιδόντες τι ἐν αὐτῷ πλέον ἠσπάσαντο προσδοῦναί οἱ τῆς αὐτῶν σοφιας, καὶ προθύμως ἐπαίδευον προσκείμενον πάνυ τῷ μανθάνειν. ἑβδόμῳ δὲ ἔτει νοσῶν ὁ βασιλεύς, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐτελεύτα, μεταπέμπεται αὐτὸν καὶ κοινωνὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποφαίνει τῷ υἱῷ, τήν τε θυγατέρα ὁμολογεῖ πρὸς ὥραν οὖσαν, ὁ δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως υἱὸν εἶδε κολάκων καὶ οἴνου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν ἥττω μεστόν τε ὑποψιῶν πρὸς αὐτόν, "σὺ μέν," ἔφη, "ταῦτ' ἔχε

at a festival and slew them when they were sacrificing to the river Indus. The conspirators then seized upon the reins of government and held the State together. Now my father's kinsmen entertained apprehensions for him, because he was not yet sixteen years of age, so they sent him across the Hyphasis to the king there. And he has more subjects than I have, and his country is much more fertile than this one. This monarch wished to adopt him, but this my father declined on the ground that he would not struggle with fate that had robbed him of his kingdom; but he besought him to allow him to take his way to the sages and become a philosopher, for he said that this would make it easier for him to bear the reverses of his house. The king however being anxious to restore him to his father's kingdom, my father said: "If you see that I am become a genuine philosopher, then restore me; but if not, let me remain as I am." The king accordingly went in person to the sages, and said that he would lie under great obligation to them if they would take care of a youth who already showed such nobility of character, and they, discerning in him something out of the common run, were delighted to impart to him their wisdom, and were glad to educate him when they saw how addicted he was to learning. Now seven years afterwards the king fell sick, and at the very moment when he was dying, he sent for my father, and appointed him co-heir in the government with his own son, and promised his daughter in marriage to him as she was already of marriageable age. And my father, since he saw that the king's son was the victim of flatterers and of wine and of such like vices, and was also full of suspicions of himself, said to

CHAP. XXXI

CAP. XXXI

καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἁπάσης ἐμφοροῦ, καὶ γὰρ εὔηθες μηδὲ τὴν προσήκουσαν ἑαυτῷ βασιλείαν κτήσασθαι δυνηθέντα θρασέως δοκεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν μὴ προσήκουσαν ἥκειν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὴν ἀδελφὴν δίδου, τουτὶ γὰρ μόνον ἀπόχρη μοι τῶν σῶν." καὶ λαβὼν τὸν γάμον ἔζη πλησίον τῶν σοφῶν ἐν κώμαις ἑπτὰ εὐδαίμοσιν, ἃς ἐπέδωκε τῇ ἀδελφῇ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐς ζώνην. γίγνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ τοῦ γάμου τούτου καί με ὁ πατὴρ τὰ Ἑλλήνων παιδεύσας ἄγει παρὰ τοὺς σοφοὺς πρὸ ἡλικίας ἴσως, δώδεκα γάρ μοι τότε ἦν ἔτη, οἱ δὲ ἔτρεφον ἴσα καὶ ἑαυτῶν παῖδα, οὓς γὰρ ἂν ὑποδέξωνται τὴν Ἑλλήνων φωνὴν εἰδότας, ἀγαπῶσι μᾶλλον, ὡς ἐς τὸ ὁμόηθες αὐτοῖς ἤδη προσήκοντας.

XXXII

CAP. XXXII

Ἀποθανόντων δέ μοι καὶ τῶν γονέων οὐ μεταπολὺ ἀλλήλων, αὐτοί με βαδίσαντα ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας ἐκέλευσαν ἐπιμεληθῆναι τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ γεγονότα ἐννεακαίδεκα ἔτη. τὰς μὲν οὖν κώμας ἀφῄρητό με ἤδη ὁ χρηστὸς θεῖος καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ γῄδιά μοι ὑπέλιπε τὰ κεκτημένα τῷ πατρί, πάντα γὰρ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῇ προσήκειν αὐτά, ἐμὲ δ᾽ ἂν μεγάλων παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τυχεῖν, εἴ με ἐῴη ζῆν. ἔρανον οὖν ξυλλεξάμενος παρὰ τῶν τῆς μητρὸς ἀπελευθέρων ἀκολούθους εἶχον τέτταρας. καί μοι ἀναγιγνώσκοντι τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας τὸ δρᾶμα, ἐπέστη τις ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιστολὴν φέρων παρὰ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιτηδείου τῷ πατρί, ὅς με ἐκέλευσε διαβάντα τὸν Ὑδραώτην

him: "Do you keep all this and swill down the whole Empire as your own; for it is ridiculous that one who could not even keep the kingdom which belonged to him should presume to meddle with one which does not; but give me your sister, for this is all I want of yours." So having obtained her in marriage he lived hard by the sages in seven fertile villages which the king bestowed upon his sister as her pin-money. I then am the issue of this marriage, and my father after teaching me Greek brought me to the sages at an age, somewhat too early perhaps, for I was only twelve at the time, but they brought me up like their own son; for any that they admit knowing the Greek tongue they are especially fond of, because they consider that in virtue of the similarity of his disposition he already belongs to themselves. CHAP. XXXI

XXXII

CHAP. XXXII

His restoration to his grandfather's throne

AND when my parents had died, which they did almost together, the sages bade me repair to the villages and look after my own affairs, for I was now nineteen years of age. But, alas, my good uncle had already taken away the villages, and didn't even leave me the few acres my father had acquired; for he said that the whole of them belonged to his kingdom, and that I should get more than I deserved if he spared my life. I accordingly raised a subscription among my mother's freedmen, and kept four retainers. And one day when I was reading the play called "The Children of Hercules," a man presented himself from my own country bringing a letter from a person devoted to my father, who urged me to cross

CAP. XXXII ποταμὸν ξυγγίγνεσθαί οἱ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐνταῦθα, πολλὰς γὰρ ἐλπίδας εἶναί μοι ἀνακτήσασθαι αὐτὴν μὴ ἐλινύοντι. τὸ μὲν δὴ δρᾶμα θεῶν τις οἶμαι ἐπὶ νοῦν ἤγαγε καὶ εἰπόμην τῇ φήμῃ, διαβὰς δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν μὲν ἕτερον τῶν βεβιασμένων ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τεθνάναι ἤκουσα, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις πολιορκεῖσθαι τούτοις. ἐχώρουν δὴ ξυντείνων καὶ βοῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, δι᾽ ὧν ἔστειχον, ὡς ὁ τοῦ δεῖνος εἴην υἱὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἴοιμι, οἱ δὲ χαίροντές τε καὶ ἀσπαζόμενοί με προὔπεμπον παραπλήσιον ἡγούμενοι τῷ πάππῳ, ἐγχειρίδιά τε ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ τόξα, καὶ πλείους ἀεὶ ἐγιγνόμεθα, καὶ προσελθόντα ταῖς πύλαις οὕτω τι ἄσμενοι ἐδέξαντο οἱ ἐνταῦθα, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ἡλίου δᾷδας ἁψάμενοι πρὸ πυλῶν τε ἥκειν καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι δεῦρο ἐφυμνοῦντες πολλὰ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ πάππῳ, τὸν δὲ ἔσω κηφῆνα πέριξ τὸ τεῖχος ἔκλῃσαν καίτοι ἐμοῦ παραιτουμένου μὴ τοιῷδε τρόπῳ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν."

XXXIII

CAP. XXXII Ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "Ἡρακλειδῶν," ἔφη, "κάθοδον ἀτεχνῶς διελήλυθας, καὶ ἐπαινετέοι οἱ θεοὶ τῆς διανοίας, ὅτι γενναίῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ στείχοντι ξυνήραντο τῆς καθόδου. ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνό μοι περὶ τῶν σοφῶν εἰπέ· οὐ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ποτὲ ἐγένοντο οὗτοι καὶ ἀναχθέντες

the river Hydraotes and confer with him about my present kingdom; for he said there was a good prospect of my recovering it, if I wavered not. I cannot but think that some god set me on reading this drama at the moment, and I followed the omen; and having crossed the river I learnt that one of the usurpers of the kingdom was dead, and that the other was besieged in this very palace. Accordingly I hurried forward, and proclaimed to the inhabitants of the villages through which I passed that I was the son of so and so, naming my father, and that I was come to take possession of my own kingdom; but they received me with open arms and escorted me, recognising my resemblance to my grandfather, and they had daggers and bows, and our numbers increased from day to day. And when I approached the gates the population received me with such enthusiasm that they snatched up torches off the altar of the Sun and came before the gates and escorted me hither with many hymns in praise of my father and grandfather. But the drone that was within they walled up, although I protested against his being put to such a death." CHAP. XXXII

XXXIII

CHAP. XXXIII

The castle of the Brahman Sages never visited by Alexander

Here Apollonius interrupted and said: "You have exactly played the part of the restored sons of Hercules in the play, and praised be the gods who have helped so noble a man to come by his own and restored you by their providential intervention. But tell me this about these sages: were they not once actually subject to Alexander, and were they not brought before him

CAP. XXXIII αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐφιλοσόφησαν;" "Ὀξυδράκαι," ἔφη, "ἐκεῖνοι ἦσαν, τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο ἐλευθεριάζει τε ἀεὶ καὶ πολεμικῶς ἐξήρτυται, σοφίαν τε μεταχειρίζεσθαί φασιν οὐδὲν χρηστὸν εἰδότες· οἱ δὲ ἀτεχνῶς σοφοὶ κεῖνται μὲν τοῦ Ὑφάσιδος καὶ τοῦ Γάγγου μέσοι, τὴν δὲ χώραν ταύτην οὐδὲ ἐπῆλθεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὔτι που τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ δείσας, ἀλλ', οἶμαι, τὰ ἱερὰ ἀπεσήμηνεν αὐτῷ. εἰ δὲ καὶ διέβη τὸν Ὕφασιν καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς γῆν ἠδυνήθη ἑλεῖν, ἀλλὰ τήν γε τύρσιν, ἣν ἐκεῖνοι κατοικοῦσιν, οὐδ' ἂν μυριους μὲν Ἀχιλλέας, τρισμυρίους δὲ Αἴαντας ἄγων ποτὲ ἐχειρώσατο· οὐ γὰρ μάχονται τοῖς προσελθοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ διοσημίαις τε καὶ σκηπτοῖς βάλλοντες ἀποκρούονται σφᾶς ἱεροὶ καὶ θεοφιλεῖς ὄντες· τὸν γοῦν Ἡρακλέα τὸν Αἰγύπτιον καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ξὺν ὅπλοις διαδραμόντας τὸ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος φασὶ μέν ποτε ἐλάσαι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἅμα μηχανάς τε παλαμήσασθαι καὶ τοῦ χωρίου ἀποπειρᾶσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀντιπράττειν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀτρεμεῖν, ὡς ἐκείνοις ἐφαίνοντο, ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτοὶ προσῄεσαν, πρηστῆρες αὐτοὺς ἀπεώσαντο καὶ βρονταὶ κάτω στρεφόμεναι καὶ ἐμπίπτουσαι τοῖς ὅπλοις, τήν τε ἀσπίδα χρυσῆν οὖσαν ἀποβαλεῖν ἐκεῖ λέγεται ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, καὶ πεποίηνται αὐτὴν ἀνάθημα οἱ σοφοὶ διά τε τὴν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους δόξαν, διά τε τὸ ἐκτύπωμα τῆς ἀσπίδος· αὐτὸς γὰρ πεποίηται ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὁρίζων τὰ Γάδειρα καὶ τὰ ὄρη στήλας ποιούμενος τόν τε Ὠκεανὸν ἐς τὰ ἔσω

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to philosophise about the heavens?" "Those were the Oxydrakae," he said, "but this race has always been independent and well equipped for war; and they say that they attempted, yet never acquired any real knowledge of wisdom. But the genuine sages live between the Hyphasis and the Ganges, in a country which Alexander never assailed; not I imagine because he was afraid of what was in it, but, I think, because the omens warned him against it. But if he had crossed the Hyphasis, and had been able to take the surrounding country, he could certainly never have taken possession of their castle in which they live, not even if he had had ten thousand like Achilles, and thirty thousand like Ajax behind him; for they do not do battle with those who approach them, but they repulse them with prodigies and thunderbolts which they send forth, for they are holy men and beloved of the gods. It is related, anyhow, that Hercules of Egypt and Dionysus after they had overrun the Indian people with their arms, at last attacked them in company, and that they constructed engines of war, and tried to take the place by assault; but the sages, instead of taking the field against them, lay quiet and passive, as it seemed to the enemy; but as soon as the latter approached they were driven off by rockets of fire and thunderbolts which were hurled obliquely from above and fell upon their armour. It was on that occasion, they say, that Hercules lost his golden shield, and the sages dedicated it as an offering, partly out of respect for Hercules' reputation, and partly because of the reliefs upon the shield. For in these Hercules is represented fixing the frontier of the world at Gadira, and turning the

CAP. XXXIII ἐπισπώμενος, ὅθεν δηλοῦται μὴ τὸν Θηβαῖον Ἡρακλέα, τὸν δὲ Αἰγύπτιον ἐπὶ τὰ Γάδειρα ἐλθεῖν καὶ ὁριστὴν γενέσθαι τῆς γῆς."

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CAP. XXXIV Τοιαῦτα διαλεγομένων αὐτῶν ἐπῆλθεν ὁ ὕμνος αὐλῷ ἅμα, ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τὸν βασιλέα, ὅ τι ἐθέλοι ὁ κῶμος, "Ἰνδοί," ἔφη, "παραινέσεις τῷ βασιλεῖ ᾄδουσιν, ἐπειδὰν πρὸς τῷ καθεύδειν γίγνηται, ὀνείρασί τε ἀγαθοῖς χρῆσθαι χρηστόν τε ἀνίστασθαι καὶ εὐξύμβολον τοῖς ὑπηκόοις." "πῶς οὖν," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, διάκεισαι πρὸς ταῦτα; σὲ γάρ που αὐλοῦσιν." "οὐ καταγελῶ," ἔφη, "δεῖ γὰρ προσίεσθαι αὐτὰ τοῦ νόμου ἕνεκεν, παραινέσεως μέντοι μηδεμιᾶς δεῖσθαι, ὅσα γὰρ ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς μετρίως τε καὶ χρηστῶς πράττῃ, ταῦτα ἑαυτῷ δήπου χαριεῖται μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις."

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CAP. XXXV Τοιαῦτα διαλεχθέντες, ἀνεπαύσαντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ὑπεφαίνετο, αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον, ᾧ ἐνεκάθευδον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, καὶ τὸν σκίμποδα ἐπιψηλαφήσας προσεῖπέ

mountains into pillars, and confining the ocean within its bounds. Thence it is clear that it was not the Theban Hercules, but the Egyptian one, that came to Gadira, and fixed the limits of the world."

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The Hymn to the king

WHILE they were thus talking, the strain of the hymn sung to the flute fell upon their ears, and Apollonius asked the king what was the meaning of their cheerful ode. "The Indians," he answered, "sing their admonitions to the king, at the moment of his going to bed; and they pray that he may have good dreams, and rise up propitious and affable towards his subjects." "And how," said Apollonius, "do you, O king, feel in regard to this matter? For it is yourself I suppose that they honour with their pipes." "I don't laugh at them," he said, "for I must allow it because of the law, although I do not require any admonition of the kind: for in so far as a king behaves himself with moderation and integrity, he will bestow, I imagine, favours on himself rather than on his subjects."

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Discussion of the relation of drinking to divination

AFTER this conversation they laid themselves down to repose; but when the day dawned, the king himself went to the chamber in which Apollonius and his companions were sleeping, and gently stroking the bed he addressed the sage, and asked him what

CAP. XXXV τε τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ἤρετο αὐτόν, ὅ τι ἐνθυμοῖτο, "οὐ γάρ που καθεύδεις," εἶπεν, "ὕδωρ πίνων καὶ καταγελῶν τοῦ οἴνου." "οὐ γὰρ καθεύδειν ἡγῇ," ἔφη, "τοὺς τὸ ὕδωρ πίνοντας;" "καθεύδειν μέν," ἔφη, "λεπτὸν δὲ ὕπνον, ὅνπερ ἄκροις αὐτῶν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐφιζάνειν φῶμεν, οὐ τῷ νῷ." "ἀμφοτέροις," εἶπε, "καὶ ἴσως τῷ νῷ μᾶλλον· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἀτρεμήσει ὁ νοῦς, οὐδὲ ὑποδέξονται οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τὸν ὕπνον· οἱ γοῦν μεμηνότες οὐδὲ καθεύδειν δύνανται διὰ τὴν τοῦ νοῦ πήδησιν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα ἀπιούσης τῆς ἐννοίας γοργότερόν τε ἀναβλέπουσι καὶ ἀναιδέστερον, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄυπνοι τῶν δρακόντων. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν, ὦ βασιλεῦ," εἶπε, "σαφῶς ἡρμήνευται τὸ τοῦ ὕπνου ἔργον καὶ ἅττα δηλοῦται αὐτῷ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, σκεψώμεθα, τί μειονεκτήσει ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τοῦ μεθύοντος ὁ τὸ ὕδωρ πίνων." "μὴ σοφίζου," ἔφη ὁ βασιλεύς, "εἰ γὰρ μεθύοντα ὑποθήσῃ, οὐ καθευδήσει τοῦτο, βακχεύουσα γὰρ ἡ γνώμη στροβήσει τε αὐτὸν καὶ ταραχῆς ἐμπλήσει· δοκοῦσί τοι πάντες οἱ ἐκ μέθης καταδαρθεῖν πειρώμενοι ἀναπέμπεσθαί τε ἐς τὸν ὄροφον, καὶ αὖ ὑπόγειοι εἶναι δίνην τε ἐμπεπτωκέναι σφίσιν, οἷα δὴ περὶ τὸν Ἰξίονα λέγεται ξυμβαίνειν. οὔκουν ἀξιῶ τὸν μεθύοντα, ἀλλὰ τὸν πεπωκότα μὲν τοῦ οἴνου, νήφοντα δὲ θεωρεῖν, ὡς καθευδήσει καὶ ὡς πολλῷ βέλτιον τοῦ ἀοίνου."

he was thinking about. "For," he said, "I don't imagine you are asleep, since you drink water and despise wine." Said the other: "Then you don't think that those who drink water go to sleep?" "Yes," said the king, "they sleep, but with a very light sleep, which just sits upon the tips of their eyelids, as we say, but not upon their minds." "Nay with both do they sleep," said Apollonius, "and perhaps more with the mind than with the eyelids. For unless the mind is thoroughly composed, the eyes will not admit of sleep either. For note how madmen are not able to go to sleep because their mind leaps with excitement, and their thoughts run coursing hither and thither, so that their glances are full of fury and morbid impulse, like those of the dragons who never sleep. Since then, O king," he went on, "we have clearly intimated the use and function of sleep, and what it signifies for men, let us examine whether the drinker of water need sleep less soundly than the drunkard." "Do not quibble," said the king, "for if you put forward the case of a drunkard, he, I admit, will not sleep at all, for his mind is in a state of revel, and whirls him about and fills him with uproar. All, I tell you, who try to go to sleep when in drink seem to themselves to be rushed up on to the roof, and then to be dashed down under the ground, and to fall into a whirl, as they say happened to Ixion. Now I do not put the case of a drunkard, but of a man who has merely drunk wine, but remains sober; I wish to consider whether he will sleep, and how much better he will sleep than a man who drinks no wine." CHAP. XXXV

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CAP. XXXVI Καλέσας οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὸν Δάμιν, "πρὸς δεινὸν ἄνδρα," ἔφη, "ὁ λόγος καὶ σφόδρα γεγυμνασμένον τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι." "ὁρῶ," ἔφη, "καὶ τοῦτ' ἴσως ἦν τὸ μελαμπύγου τυχεῖν. κἀμὲ δὲ πάνυ αἱρεῖ ὁ λόγος, ὃν εἴρηκεν· ὥρα οὖν σοι ἀφυπνίσαντι ἀποτελεῖν αὐτόν." ἀνακουφίσας οὖν τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "καὶ μὴν ὅσον," ἔφη, "πλεονεκτοῦμεν οἱ τὸ ὕδωρ πίνοντες πρὸς τὸ καθεύδειν ἥδιον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω τοῦ γε σοῦ λόγου ἐχόμενος· ὡς μὲν γὰρ τετάρακται ἡ γνώμη τοῖς μεθύουσι καὶ μανικώτερον διάκεινται, σαφῶς εἴρηκας, ὁρῶμεν γὰρ τοὺς μέθῃ κατεσχημένους διττὰς μὲν σελήνας δοκοῦντας βλέπειν, διττοὺς δὲ ἡλίους, τοὺς δὲ ἧττον πεπωκότας, κἂν πάνυ νήφωσιν, οὐδὲν μὲν τούτων ἡγουμένους, μεστοὺς δὲ εὐφροσύνης καὶ ἡδονῆς, ἣ δὴ προσπίπτει σφίσιν οὐδὲ ἐξ εὐπραγίας πολλάκις, καὶ μελετῶσι δὲ οἱ τοιοῦτοι δίκας οὐδὲ φθεγξάμενοί πω ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, καὶ πλουτεῖν φασιν οὐδὲ δραχμῆς αὐτοῖς ἔνδον οὔσης. ταῦτα δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μανικὰ πάθη· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τὸ ἥδεσθαι διακινεῖ τὴν γνώμην καὶ πολλοὺς οἶδα τῶν σφόδρα ἡγουμένων εὖ πράττειν οὐδὲ καθεύδειν δυναμένους, ἀλλ' ἐκπηδῶντας τοῦ ὕπνου, καὶ τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη τὸ παρέχειν φροντίδας καὶ τἀγαθά. ἔστι δὲ καὶ

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All effects of drinking hostile to reason and sound divination

Apollonius then summoned Damis, and said: "'Tis a clever man with whom we are discussing and one thoroughly trained in argument." "I see it is so," said Damis, "and perhaps this is what is meant by the phrase 'catching a Tartar.' But the argument excites me very much, of which he has delivered himself; so it is time for you to wake up and finish it." Apollonius then raised his head slightly and said: "Well I will prove, out of your own lips and following your own argument, how much advantage we who drink water have in that we sleep more sweetly. For you have clearly stated and admitted that the minds of drunkards are disordered and are in a condition of madness; for we see those who are under the spell of drink imagining that they see two moons at once and two suns, while those who have drunk less, even though they are quite sober, while they entertain no such delusions as these, are yet full of exultation and pleasure; and this fit of joy often falls upon them, even though they have not had any good luck, and men in such a condition will plead cases, although they never opened their lips before in a law-court, and they will tell you they are rich, although they have not a farthing in their pockets. Now these, O king, are the affections of a madman. For the mere pleasure of drinking disturbs their judgment, and I have known many of them who were so firmly convinced that they were well off, that they were unable to sleep, but leapt up in their slumbers, and this is the meaning of the saying that 'good fortune itself is a reason for being anxious.'

CAP. XXXVI φάρμακα ὕπνου μεμηχανημένα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὧν πιόντες τε καὶ ἀλειψάμενοι καθεύδουσιν ἐκτείναντες αὑτοὺς ὥσπερ ἀποθανόντες, ὅθεν μετά τινος λήθης ἀνίστανται καὶ ἄλλοσέ ποι μᾶλλόν εἰσιν ἢ οὗπερ εἶναι δοκοῦσιν. ὅτι μὲν δὴ τὰ πινόμενα, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ ἐπαντλουμένα τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι οὐ γνήσιον οὐδὲ οἰκεῖον ἐπεσάγεται τὸν ὕπνον, ἀλλ' ἢ βαθὺν καὶ ἡμιθνῆτα ἢ βραχὺν καὶ διασπώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐντρεχόντων, κἂν χρηστὰ ᾖ, ξυνθήσῃ τάχα, εἰ μὴ τὸ δύσερι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἐριστικὸν σπουδάζεις. οἱ δὲ ἐμοὶ ξυμπόται τὰ μὲν ὄντα ὁρῶσιν ὡς ὄντα, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ὄντα οὔτ' ἀναγράφουσιν αὑτοῖς οὔθ' ὑποτυποῦνται, κοῦφοί τε οὔπω ἔδοξαν, οὐδὲ μεστοὶ βλακείας οὐδὲ εὐηθείας ἢ ἱλαρώτεροι τοῦ προσήκοντος, ἀλλ' ἐφεστηκότες εἰσὶ καὶ λογισμοῦ πλέῳ, παραπλήσιοι δείλης τε καὶ ὁπότε ἀγορὰ πλήθει, οὐ γὰρ νυστάζουσιν οὗτοι, κἂν πόρρω τῶν νυκτῶν σπουδάζωσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἐξωθεῖ αὐτοὺς ὁ ὕπνος ὥσπερ δεσπότης βρίσας ἐς τὸν αὐχένα δεδουλωμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου, ἀλλ' ἐλεύθεροί τε καὶ ὀρθοὶ φαίνονται, καταδαρθέντες δὲ καθαρᾷ τῇ ψυχῇ δέχονται τὸν ὕπνον οὔτε ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπραγιῶν ἀνακουφιζόμενοι αὐτοῦ οὔτε ὑπὸ κακοπραγίας τινὸς ἐκθρώσκοντες. ξύμμετρος γὰρ πρὸς ἄμφω ταῦτα ψυχὴ νήφουσα καὶ οὐδετέρου τῶν παθῶν ἥττων, ὅθεν καθεύδει ἥδιστα καὶ ἀλυπότατα μὴ ἐξισταμένη τοῦ ὕπνου.

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Men have also devised sleeping draughts, by drinking or anointing themselves with which, people at once stretch themselves out and go to sleep as if they were dead; but when they wake up from such sleep it is with a sort of forgetfulness, and they imagine that they are anywhere rather than where they are. Now these draughts are not exactly drunk, but I would rather say that they drench the soul and body; for they do not induce any sound or proper sleep, but the deep coma of a man half dead, or the light and distracted sleep of men haunted by phantoms, even though they be wholesome ones; and you will, I think, agree with me in this, unless you are disposed to quibble rather than argue seriously. But those who drink water, as I do, see things as they really are, and they do not record in fancy things that are not; and they were never found to be giddy, nor full of drowsiness, or of silliness, nor unduly elated; but they are wide awake and thoroughly rational, and always the same, whether late in the evening or early in the morning when the market is crowded; for these men never nod, even though they pursue their studies far into the night. For sleep does not drive them forth, pressing down like a slave-holder upon their necks, that are bowed down by the wine; but you find them free and erect, and they go to bed with a clear, pure soul and welcome sleep, and are neither buoyed up by the bubbles of their own private luck, nor scared out of their wits by any adversity. For the soul meets both alternatives with equal calm, if it be sober and not overcome by either feeling; and that is why it can sleep a delightful sleep untouched by the sorrows which startle others from their couches.

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CAP. XXXVII Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ μαντικὸν τὸ ἐκ τῶν ὀνειράτων, ὃ θειότατον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων δοκεῖ, ῥᾷον διορᾷ μὴ ξυντεθολωμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου, ἀλλ' ἀκήρατος δεχομένη αὐτὸ καὶ περιαθροῦσα· οἱ γοῦν ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν ὄψεων, οὓς ὀνειροπόλους οἱ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσιν, οὐκ ἂν ὑποκρίνοιντο ὄψιν οὐδεμίαν μὴ πρότερον ἐρόμενοι τὸν καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ εἶδεν. ἂν μὲν γὰρ ἑῷος ᾖ καὶ τοῦ περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ὕπνου, ξυμβάλλονται αὐτὴν ὡς ὑγιῶς μαντευομένης τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐπειδὰν ἀπορρύψηται τὸν οἶνον, εἰ δ' ἀμφὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον ἢ μέσας νύκτας, ὅτε βεβύθισταί τε καὶ ξυντεθόλωται ἔτι ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου, παραιτοῦνται τὴν ὑπόκρισιν σοφοὶ ὄντες. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς δοκεῖ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ χρησμῶδες ἐν ταῖς νηφούσαις ψυχαῖς τίθενται, σαφῶς δηλώσω· ἐγένετο, ὦ βασιλεῦ, παρ' Ἕλλησιν Ἀμφιάρεως ἀνὴρ μάντις." "οἶδα," εἶπε, "λέγεις γάρ που τὸν τοῦ Οἰκλέους, ὃν ἐκ Θηβῶν ἐπανιόντα ἐπεσπάσατο ἡ γῆ ζῶντα." "οὗτος, ὦ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "μαντευόμενος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ νῦν ὀνείρατα ἐπάγει τοῖς χρωμένοις, καὶ λαβόντες οἱ ἱερεῖς τὸν χρησόμενον σίτου τε εἴργουσι μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ οἴνου τρεῖς, ἵνα διαλαμπούσῃ τῇ ψυχῇ τῶν λογίων σπάσῃ· εἰ δὲ ὁ οἶνος

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Dreams due to drink are valueless for purposes of divination

AND more than this, as a faculty of divination by means of dreams, which is the divinest and most godlike of human faculties, the soul detects the truth all the more easily when it is not muddied by wine, but accepts the message unstained and scans it carefully. Anyhow, the explainers of dreams and visions, those whom the poets call interpreters of dreams, will never undertake to explain any vision to anyone without having first asked the time when it was seen. For if it was at dawn and in the sleep of morning-tide, they calculate its meaning on the assumption that the soul is then in a condition to divine soundly and healthily, because by then it has cleansed itself of the stains of wine. But if the vision was seen in the first sleep or at midnight, when the soul is still immersed in the lees of wine and muddied thereby, they decline to make any suggestions, and they are wise. And that the gods also are of this opinion, and that they commit the faculty of oracular response to souls which are sober, I will clearly show. There was, O king, a seer among the Greeks called Amphiaraus." "I know," said the other; "for you allude, I imagine, to the son of Oecles, who was swallowed up alive by the earth on his way back from Thebes." "This man, O king," said Apollonius, "still divines in Attica, inducing dreams in those who consult him, and the priests take a man who wishes to consult him, and they prevent his eating for one day, and from drinking wine for three, in order that he may imbibe the oracles with his soul in a condition of utter transparence. But if wine were

CAP. XXXVII ἀγαθὸν ἦν τοῦ ὕπνου φάρμακον, ἐκέλευσεν ἂν ὁ σοφὸς Ἀμφιάρεως τοὺς θεωροὺς τὸν ἐναντίον ἐσκευασμένους τρόπον καὶ οἴνου μεστούς, ὥσπερ ἀμφορέας, ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον αὐτῷ φέρεσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μαντεῖα λέγοιμ' ἂν εὐδόκιμα παρ' Ἕλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις, ἐν οἷς ὁ ἱερεὺς ὕδατος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ οἴνου σπάσας ἀποφθέγγεται τὰ ἐκ τοῦ τρίποδος. θεοφόρητον δὴ κἀμὲ ἡγοῦ καὶ πάντας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοὺς τὸ ὕδωρ πίνοντας· νυμφόληπτοι γὰρ ἡμεῖς καὶ βάκχοι τοῦ νήφειν." "ποιήσῃ οὖν," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, κἀμὲ θιασώτην;" "εἴπερ μὴ φορτικός," εἶπε, "τοῖς ὑπηκόοις δόξεις· φιλοσοφία γὰρ περὶ βασιλεῖ ἀνδρὶ ξύμμετρος μὲν καὶ ὑπανειμένη θαυμαστὴν ἐργάζεται κρᾶσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν σοὶ διαφαίνεται, ἡ δ' ἀκριβὴς καὶ ὑπερτείνουσα φορτική τε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ ταπεινοτέρα τῆς ὑμετέρας σκηνῆς φαίνεται καὶ τύφου δὲ αὐτό τι ἂν ἔχειν ἡγοῖντο βάσκανοι."

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CAP. XXXVIII Ταῦτα διαλεχθέντες, καὶ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἤδη ἐτύγχανεν, ἐς τὸ ἔξω προῆλθον. καὶ ξυνεὶς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὡς χρηματίζειν δέοι τὸν βασιλέα πρεσβείαις τε καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, "σὺ μέν," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ πρᾶττε, ἐμὲ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἄνες τῷ Ἡλίῳ, δεῖ γάρ με τὴν εἰθισμένην εὐχὴν εὔξασθαι." "καὶ ἀκούοι γε εὐχομένου," ἔφη, "χαριεῖται γὰρ πᾶσιν, ὁπόσοι τῇ σοφίᾳ τῇ

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a good drug of sleep, then the wise Amphiaraus would have bidden his votaries to adopt the opposite regimen, and would have had them carried into his shrine as full of wine as leathern flagons. And I could mention many oracles, held in repute by Greeks and barbarians alike, where the priest utters his responses from the tripod after imbibing water and not wine. So you may consider me also as a fit vehicle of the god, O king, along with all who drink water. For we are rapt by the nymphs and are bacchantic revellers in sobriety." "Well, then," said the king, "you must make me too, O Apollonius, a member of your religious brotherhood." "I would do so," said the other, "provided only you will not be esteemed vulgar and held cheap by your subjects. For in the case of a king a philosophy that is at once moderate and indulgent makes a good temper, as is seen in your own case; but an excess of rigour and severity would seem vulgar, O king, and beneath your august station; and, what is more, it might be construed by the envious as due to pride."

XXXVIII

CHAP. XXXVIII

Apollonius' cult of the Sun

When they had thus conversed, for by this time it was daylight, they went out into the open. And Apollonius, understanding that the king had to give audience to embassies and such-like, said: "You then, O king, must attend to the business of state, but let me go and devote this hour to the Sun, for I must needs offer up to him my accustomed prayer." "And I pray he may hear your prayer," said the king, "for he will bestow his grace on all who find pleasure

CAP. XXXVIII σῇ χαίρουσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ περιμενῶ σε ἐπανιόντα, καὶ γὰρ δικάσαι τινὰς χρὴ δίκας, αἷς παρατυχὼν τὰ μέγιστά με ὀνήσεις."

XXXIX

CAP. XXXIX Ἐπανελθὼν οὖν προκεχωρηκυίας ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας ἠρώτα περὶ ὧν ἐδίκασεν, ὁ δέ, "τήμερον," ἔφη, "οὐκ ἐδίκασα, τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ οὐ ξυνεχώρει μοι." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἐφ' ἱεροῖς οὖν," ἔφη, "ποιεῖσθε καὶ ταύτας, ὥσπερ τὰς ἐξόδους τε καὶ τὰς στρατείας;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπε, "καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα κίνδυνος, εἰ ὁ δικάζων ἀπενεχθείη τοῦ εὐθέος." εὖ λέγειν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἔδοξε, καὶ ἤρετο αὐτὸν πάλιν, τίς εἴη, ἣν δικάσοι δίκην, "ὁρῶ γάρ," εἶπεν, "ἐφεστηκότα σε καὶ ἀποροῦντα, ὅπη ψηφίσαιο." "ὁμολογῶ," ἔφη, "ἀπορεῖν, ὅθεν ξύμβουλον ποιοῦμαί σε· ἀπέδοτο μὲν γάρ τις ἑτέρῳ γῆν, ἐν ᾗ θησαυρὸς ἀπέκειτό τις οὔπω δῆλος, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἡ γῆ ῥαγεῖσα χρυσοῦ τινα ἀνέδειξε θήκην, ἥν φησι μὲν ἑαυτῷ προσήκειν μᾶλλον ὁ τὴν γῆν ἀποδόμενος, καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν ἀποδόσθαι τὴν γῆν, εἰ προὔμαθεν, ὅτι βίον ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἔχοι, ὁ πριάμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἀξιοῖ πεπᾶσθαι, ἃ ἐν τῇ λοιπὸν ἑαυτοῦ γῇ εὗρε· καὶ δίκαιος μὲν ὁ ἀμφοῖν λόγος, εὐήθης δ' ἂν ἐγὼ φαινοίμην, εἰ κελεύσαιμι ἄμφω νείμασθαι τὸ χρυσίον, τουτὶ

in your wisdom; but I will wait for you until you return, for I have to decide some cases in which your presence will very greatly help me." CHAP. XXXVIII

XXXIX

CHAP. XXXIX

The king consults him about a lawsuit

Apollonius then returned, when the day was already far advanced, and asked him about the cases which he had been judging; but he answered: "To-day I have not judged any, for the omens did not allow me." Apollonius then replied and said: "It is the case then that you consult the omens in such cases as these, just as you do when you are setting out on a journey or a campaign." "Yes, by Zeus," he said, "for there is a risk in this case, too, of one who is a judge straying from the right line." Apollonius felt that what he said was true, and asked him again what the suit was which he had to decide; "For I see," he said, "that you have given your attention to it and are perplexed what verdict to give." "I admit," said the king, "that I am perplexed; and that is why I want your advice; for one man has sold to another land, in which there lay a treasure as yet undiscovered, and some time afterwards the land, being broken up, revealed a certain chest, which the person who sold the land says belongs to him rather than to the other, for that he would never have sold the land, if he had known beforehand that he had a fortune thereon; but the purchaser claims that he acquired everything that he found in land, which thenceforth was his. And both their contentions are just; and I shall seem ridiculous if I order them

CAP. XXXIX γὰρ ἂν καὶ γραῦς διαιτῴη." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὡς μὲν οὐ φιλοσόφω," ἔφη, "τὼ ἄνδρε, δηλοῖ τὸ περὶ χρυσίου διαφέρεσθαι σφᾶς, ἄριστα δ' ἄν μοι δικάσαι δόξεις ὧδε ἐνθυμηθείς, ὡς οἱ θεοὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιοῦνται τῶν ξὺν ἀρετῇ φιλοσοφούντων, δεύτερον δὲ τῶν ἀναμαρτήτων τε καὶ μηδὲν πώποτε ἀδικεῖν δοξάντων. διδόασι δὲ τοῖς μὲν φιλοσοφοῦσι διαγιγνώσκειν εὖ τὰ θεῖά τε καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, τοῖς δ' ἄλλως χρηστοῖς βίον ἀποχρῶντα, ὡς μὴ χήτει ποτὲ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἄδικοι γένωνται· δοκεῖ δή μοι, βασιλεῦ, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τρυτάνης ἀντικρῖναι τούτους καὶ τὸν ἀμφοῖν ἀναθεωρῆσαι βίον, οὐ γὰρ ἄν μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ θεοὶ τὸν μὲν ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τὴν γῆν, εἰ μὴ φαῦλος ἦν, τῷ δ' αὖ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῇ γῇ δοῦναι, εἰ μὴ βελτίων ἦν τοῦ ἀποδομένου." ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν δικασόμενοι ἄμφω, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀποδόμενος ὑβριστής τε ἠλέγχετο καὶ θυσίας ἐκλελοιπώς, ἃς ἔδει τοῖς ἐν τῇ γῇ θεοῖς θύειν, ὁ δὲ ἐπιεικής τε ἐφαίνετο καὶ ὁσιώτατα θεραπεύων τοὺς θεούς. ἐκράτησεν οὖν ἡ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου γνώμη καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ χρηστὸς ὡς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ταῦτα ἔχων.

to share the gold between them, for any old woman could settle the matter in that way." Apollonius thereupon replied as follows: "The fact that they are quarrelling about gold shows that these two men are no philosophers; and you will, in my opinion, give the best verdict if you bear this in mind, that the gods attach the first importance and have most care for those who live a life of philosophy together with moral excellence, and only pay secondary attention to those who have committed no faults and were never yet found unjust. Now they entrust to philosophers the task of rightly discerning things divine and human as they should be discerned, but to those who merely are of good character they give enough to live upon, so that they may never be rendered unjust by actual lack of the necessaries of life. It seems then to me, O king, right to weigh these men in the balance, as it were, and to examine their respective lives; for I cannot believe that the gods would deprive the one even of his land, unless he had been a bad man, or that they would, on the other hand, bestow on the other even what was under the land, unless he had been better than the man who sold it." The two claimants came back the next day, and the seller was convicted of being a ruffian who had neglected the sacrifices, which it was his bounden duty to sacrifice to the gods on that land [1]; but the other was found to be a decent man and a most devout worshipper of the gods. Accordingly, the opinion of Apollonius prevailed, and the better of the two men quitted the court as one on whom the gods had bestowed this boon. CHAP. XXXIX

[1] Or render: the gods of the underworld.

XL

CAP. XL

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῆς δίκης ὧδε ἔσχε, προσελθὼν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ Ἰνδῷ, "τήμερον," εἶπεν, "ἡ τρίτη τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐν αἷς ἐποιοῦ με, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ξένον, τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ἕω χρὴ ἐξελαύνειν ἑπόμενον τῷ νόμῳ." "ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ νόμος," εἶπεν, "ἤδη διαλέγεταί σοι, καὶ γὰρ τῇ αὔριον μένειν ἔξεστιν, ἐπειδὴ μετὰ μεσημβρίαν ἀφίκου." "χαίρω," ἔφη, "τῷ ξενίῳ, καὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖς καὶ σοφίζεσθαι τὸν νόμον δι' ἐμέ." "εἰ γὰρ καὶ λῦσαι αὐτὸν ἠδυνάμην," εἶπε, "τό γε ὑπὲρ σοῦ. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό μοι εἰπέ, Ἀπολλώνιε, αἱ κάμηλοι, ἐφ' ὧν ὀχεῖσθαί σέ φασιν, οὐκ ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἄγουσιν ὑμᾶς;" "ἐκεῖθεν," ἔφη, "δόντος γε αὐτὰς Οὐαρδάνου." "ἔτ' οὖν ὑμᾶς ἀπάγειν δυνήσονται, τοσαῦτα ἤδη στάδια ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἥκουσαι;" ἐσιώπησε μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὁ δὲ Δάμις, "οὔπω συνίησιν," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς ἀποδημίας ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐν οἷς λοιπόν ἐσμεν, ἀλλ' ὡς πανταχοῦ σέ τε καὶ Οὐαρδάνην ἕξων παιδιὰν ἡγεῖται τὸ ἐς Ἰνδοὺς παρελθεῖν. τό τοι τῶν καμήλων οὐ διομολογεῖται πρὸς σέ, ὃν ἔχει τρόπον· διάκεινται γὰρ οὕτω κακῶς, ὡς αὐταὶ μᾶλλον ὑφ' ἡμῶν φέρεσθαι, καὶ δεῖ ἑτέρων. ἂν γὰρ ὀκλάσωσιν ἐν ἐρήμῳ που τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, ἡμεῖς μέν," ἔφη, "καθεδούμεθα τοὺς γῦπάς τε καὶ τοὺς λύκους ἀποσοβοῦντες τῶν καμήλων, ἡμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀποσοβήσει, προσαπολούμεθα

XL

CHAP. XL

The king gives the travellers fresh camels

When the law-suit had been thus disposed of, Apollonius approached the Indian, and said: "This is the third day, O king, that you have made me your guest; and at dawn to-morrow I must quit your land in accordance with the law." "But," said the other, "the law does not yet speak to you thus, for you can remain on the morrow, since you came after midday." "I am delighted," said Apollonius, "with your hospitality, and indeed you seem to me to be straining the law for my sake." "Yes indeed, and I would I could break it," said the king, "in your behalf; but tell me this, Apollonius, did not the camels bring you from Babylon which they say you were riding?" "They did," he said, "and Vardan gave them us." "Will they then be able to carry you on, after they have come already so many stades from Babylon?" Apollonius made no answer, but Damis said: "O king, our friend here does not understand anything about our journey, nor about the races among which we shall find ourselves in future; but he regards our passage into India as mere child's play, under the impression that he will everywhere have you and Vardan to help him. I assure you, the true condition of the camels has not been acknowledged to you; for they are in such an evil state that we could carry them rather than they us, and we must have others. For if they collapse anywhere in the wilderness of India, we," he continued, "shall have to sit down and drive off the vultures and wolves from the camels, and as no one will drive them off from

CAP. XL γάρ." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς, "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "τοῦτο ἰάσομαι, ὑμῖν τε γὰρ ἑτέρας δώσω—τεττάρων, οἶμαι, δεῖσθε—καὶ ὁ σατράπης δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ πέμψει ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἑτέρας τέτταρας. ἔστι δέ μοι ἀγέλη καμήλων ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰνδῷ, λευκαὶ πᾶσαι." "ἡγεμόνα δέ," εἶπεν ὁ Δάμις, "οὐκ ἄν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, δοίης;" "καὶ κάμηλόν γε," ἔφη, "τῷ ἡγεμόνι δώσω καὶ ἐφόδια, ἐπιστελῶ δὲ καὶ Ἰάρχᾳ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν σοφῶν, ἵν' Ἀπολλώνιον μὲν ὡς μηδὲν κακίω ἑαυτοῦ δέξηται, ὑμᾶς δὲ ὡς φιλοσόφους τε καὶ ὀπαδοὺς ἀνδρὸς θείου." καὶ χρυσίον δὲ ἐδίδου ὁ Ἰνδὸς καὶ ψήφους καὶ ὀθόνας καὶ μυρία τοιαῦτα· ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος χρυσίον μὲν ἔφη ἱκανὸν ἑαυτῷ εἶναι δόντος γε Οὐαρδάνου τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἀφανῶς αὐτό, τὰς δὲ ὀθόνας λαμβάνειν, ἐπειδὴ ἐοίκασι τρίβωνι τῶν ἀρχαίων τε καὶ πάνυ Ἀττικῶν. μίαν δέ τινα τῶν ψήφων ἀνελόμενος, "ὦ βελτίστη," εἶπεν, "ὡς ἐς καιρόν σε καὶ οὐκ ἀθεεὶ εὕρηκα," ἰσχύν, οἶμαί, τινα ἐν αὐτῇ καθεωρακὼς ἀπόρρητόν τε καὶ θείαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Δάμιν χρυσίον μὲν οὐδ' αὐτοὶ προσίεντο, τῶν ψήφων δὲ ἱκανῶς ἐδράττοντο, ὡς θεοῖς ἀναθήσοντες, ὅτε ἐπανέλθοιεν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἤθη.

XLI

CAP. XLI Καταμείνασι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν, οὐ γὰρ μεθίετο σφῶν ὁ Ἰνδός, δίδωσι τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἰάρχαν ἐπιστολὴν γεγραμμένην ὧδε·

CHAP. XL

us, we shall perish too." The king answered accordingly and said: "I will remedy this, for I will give you other camels, and you need four I think, and the satrap ruling the Indus will send back four others to Babylon. But I have a herd of camels on the Indus, all of them white." "And," said Damis, "will you not also give us a guide, O king?" "Yes, of course," he answered, "and I will give a camel to the guide and provisions, and I will write a letter to Iarchas, the oldest of the sages, praying him to welcome Apollonius as not inferior to himself, and to welcome you also as philosophers and followers of a divine man." And forthwith the Indian gave them gold and precious stones and linen and a thousand other such things. And Apollonius said that he had enough gold already, because Vardan had given it to the guide on the sly; but that he would accept the linen robes, because they were like the cloaks worn by the ancient and genuine inhabitants of Attica. And he took up one of the stones and said: "O rare stone, how opportunely have I found you, and how providentially!" detecting in it, I imagine, some secret and divine virtue. Neither would the companions of Damis accept for themselves the gold; nevertheless they took good handfuls of the gems, in order to dedicate them to the gods, whenever they should regain their own country.

And a letter to Iarchas

His gift of gems

XLI

CHAP. XLI

So they remained the next day as well, for the Indian would not let them go, and he gave them a letter for Iarchas, written in the following terms:—

CAP. XLI "Βασιλεὺς Φραώτης Ἰάρχᾳ διδασκάλῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν χαίρειν.

Ἀπολλώνιος ἀνὴρ σοφώτατος σοφωτέρους ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ ἡγεῖται καὶ μαθησόμενος ἥκει τὰ ὑμέτερα. πέμπετε οὖν αὐτὸν εἰδότα ὁπόσα ἴστε· ὡς ἀπολεῖται οὐδὲν τῶν μαθημάτων ὑμῖν, καὶ γὰρ λέγει ἄριστα ἀνθρώπων καὶ μέμνηται. ἰδέτω δὲ καὶ τὸν θρόνον, ἐφ' οὗ καθίσαντί μοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἔδωκας, Ἰάρχα πάτερ. καὶ οἱ ἑπόμενοι δὲ αὐτῷ ἄξιοι ἐπαίνου, ὅτι τοιοῦδε ἀνδρὸς ἥττηνται εὐτύχει καὶ εὐτυχεῖτε."

XLII

CAP. XLII Ἐξελάσαντες δὲ τῶν Ταξίλων καὶ δύο ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν διελθόντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸ πεδίον, ἐν ᾧ λέγεται πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀγωνίσασθαι Πῶρος, καὶ πύλας ἐν αὐτῷ ἰδεῖν φασι ξυγκλειούσας οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ τροπαίων ἕνεκα ᾠκοδομημένας. ἀνακεῖσθαι γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐφεστηκότα τετραρρύμοις ἅρμασιν, οἷος ἐπὶ τοῖς Δαρείου σατράπαις ἐν Ἰσσοῖς ἔστηκε. διαλείπουσαι δ' οὐ πολὺ ἀλλήλων δύο ἐξῳκοδομῆσθαι λέγονται πύλαι, καὶ φέρειν ἡ μὲν Πῶρον, ἡ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον, ξυμβεβηκότε, οἶμαι, μετὰ τὴν μάχην, ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀσπαζομένῳ ἔοικεν, ὁ δὲ προσκυνοῦντι.

"King Phraotes to Iarchas his master and to his companions, all hail!

CHAP. XLI

Letter of King Phraotes to Iarchas recommending Apollonius

Apollonius, wisest of men, yet accounts you still wiser than himself, and is come to learn your lore. Send him away therefore when he knows all that you know yourselves, assured that nothing of your teachings will perish, for in discourse and memory he excels all men. And let him also see the throne, on which I sat, when you, Father Iarchas, bestowed on me the kingdom. And his followers too deserve commendation for their devotion to such a master. Farewell to yourself and your companions."

XLII

CHAP. XLII

They leave Taxila. The triumphal arch of Alexander

And they rode out of Taxila, and after a journey of two days reached the plain, in which Porus is said to have engaged Alexander: and they say they saw gates therein that enclosed nothing, but had been erected to carry trophies. For there was set up on them a statue of Alexander standing in a four-poled chariot,[1] as he looked when at Issa he confronted the Satraps of Darius. And at a short distance from one another there are said to have been built two gates, carrying the one a statue of Porus, and the other one of Alexander, of both, as I imagine, reconciled to one another after the battle; for the one is in the attitude of one man greeting another, and the other of one doing homage.

[1] *i.e.* with eight horses.

XLIII

CAP. XLIII Ποταμὸν δὲ Ὑδραώτην ὑπερβάντες καὶ πλείω ἔθνη ἀμείψαντες ἐγένοντο πρὸς τῷ Ὑφάσιδι, στάδια δὲ ἀπέχοντες τούτου τριάκοντα βωμοῖς τε ἐνέτυχον, οἷς ἐπεγέγραπτο ΠΑΤΡΙ ΑΜΜΩΝΙ ΚΑΙ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΙ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΜΟΘΡΑΙΞΙ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΝΔΩΙ ΗΛΙΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΛΦΩΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ, φασὶ δὲ καὶ στήλην ἀνακεῖσθαι χαλκῆν, ᾗ ἐπιγεγράφθαι ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ ΕΣΤΗ. τοὺς μὲν δὴ βωμοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἡγώμεθα τὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς τέρμα τιμῶντος, τὴν δὲ στήλην τοὺς μετὰ τὸν Ὕφασιν Ἰνδοὺς ἀναθεῖναι δοκῶ μοι λαμπρυνομένους ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλέξανδρον μὴ προελθεῖν πρόσω.

XLIII

CHAP. XLIII

Altars of Alexander on the river Hyphas

And having crossed the river Hydraotes and passed by several tribes, they reached the Hyphasis, and thirty stades away from this they came on altars bearing this inscription: "To Father Ammon and Heracles his brother, and to Athena Providence and to Zeus of Olympus and to the Cabeiri of Samothrace, and to the Indian Sun and to the Delphian Apollo."

And they say there was also a brass column dedicated, and inscribed as follows:

"Alexander stayed his steps at this point." The altars we may suppose to be due to Alexander who so honoured the limit of his Empire; but I fancy the Indians beyond the Hyphasis erected the column, by way of expressing their pride at Alexander's having got no further.

BOOK III

Γ'

I

CAP. I Περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ὑφάσιδος καὶ ὁπόσος τὴν Ἰνδικὴν διαστείχει καὶ ὅ τι περὶ αὐτὸν θαῦμα, τάδε χρὴ γιγνώσκειν· αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου βλύζουσι μὲν ἐκ πεδίου, ναυσίποροι αὐτόθεν, προϊοῦσαι δὲ καὶ ναυσὶν ἤδη ἄποροί εἰσιν. ἀκρωνυχίαι γὰρ πετρῶν παραλλὰξ ὑπανίσχουσι τοῦ ὕδατος, περὶ ἃς ἀνάγκη τὸ ῥεῦμα ἑλίττεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν τὸν ποταμὸν ἄπλουν. εὖρος δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν Ἴστρον, ποταμῶν δὲ οὗτος δοκεῖ μέγιστος, ὁπόσοι δι' Εὐρώπης ῥέουσι. δένδρα δέ οἱ προσόμοια φύει παρὰ τὰς ὄχθας, καί τι καὶ μύρον ἐκδίδοται τῶν δένδρων, ὃ ποιοῦνται Ἰνδοὶ γαμικὸν χρίσμα, καὶ εἰ μὴ τῷ μύρῳ τούτῳ ῥάνωσι τοὺς νυμφίους οἱ ξυνιόντες ἐς τὸν γάμον, ἀτελὴς δοκεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἐς χάριν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ξυναρμοσθείς. ἀνεῖσθαι δὲ τῇ θεῷ ταύτῃ λέγουσιν αὐτό τε τὸ περὶ τῷ ποταμῷ νέμος καὶ τοὺς ἰχθῦς τοὺς ταώς, οὓς οὗτος μόνος ποταμῶν τρέφει, πεποίηνται δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁμωνύμους τοῦ ὄρνιθος, ἐπεὶ κυάνεοι μὲν αὐτοῖς οἱ λόφοι,

BOOK III

I

IT is now time to notice the river Hyphasis, and to ask what is its size as it traverses India, and what remarkable features it possesses. The springs of this river well forth out of the plain, and close to its source its streams are navigable, but as they advance they soon become impossible for boats, because spits of rock alternating with one another, rise up just above the surface; round these the current winds of necessity, so rendering the river unnavigable. And in breadth it approaches to the river Ister, and this is allowed to be the greatest of all the rivers which flow through Europe. Now the woods along the bank closely resemble those of the river in question, and a balm also is distilled from the trees, out of which the Indians make a nuptial ointment; and unless the people attending the wedding have besprinkled the young couple with this balm, the union is not considered complete nor compatible with Aphrodite bestowing her grace upon it. Now they say that the grove in the neighbourhood of the river is dedicated to this goddess, as also the fishes called peacock fish which are bred in this river alone, and which have been given the same name as the bird, because their fins

CHAP. I

The river Hyphasis

A nuptial ointment

CAP. I στικταὶ δὲ αἱ φολίδες, χρυσᾶ δὲ τὰ οὐραῖα καί, ὁπότε βούλοιντο, ἀνακλώμενα. ἔστι δέ τι θηρίον ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ τούτῳ σκώληκι εἰκασμένον λευκῷ. τοῦτο οἱ τήκοντες ἔλαιον ποιοῦνται, πῦρ δὲ ἄρα τοῦ ἐλαίου τούτου ἐκδίδοται, καὶ στέγει αὐτὸ πλὴν ὑέλου οὐδέν. ἁλίσκεται δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ μόνῳ τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο πρὸς τειχῶν ἅλωσιν. ἐπειδὰν γὰρ θίγῃ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἡ πιμελή, πῦρ ἐκκαλεῖται κρεῖττον σβεστηρίων, ὁπόσα ἀνθρώποις πρὸς τὰ πυρφόρα εὕρηται.

II

CAP. II Καὶ τοὺς ὄνους δὲ τοὺς ἀγρίους ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσι τούτοις ἁλίσκεσθαί φασιν, εἶναι δὲ τοῖς θηρίοις τούτοις ἐπὶ μετώπου κέρας, ᾧ ταυρηδόν τε καὶ οὐκ ἀγεννῶς μάχονται, καὶ ἀποφαίνειν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἔκπωμα τὸ κέρας τοῦτο, οὐ γὰρ οὔτε νοσῆσαι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ὁ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πιών, οὔτε ἂν τρωθεὶς ἀλγῆσαι, πυρός τε διεξελθεῖν ἂν καὶ μηδ' ἂν φαρμάκοις ἁλῶναι ὁπόσα ἐπὶ κακῷ πίνεται, βασιλέων δὲ τὸ ἔκπωμα εἶναι καὶ βασιλεῖ μόνῳ ἀνεῖσθαι τὴν θήραν. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ τὸ μὲν θηρίον ἑωρακέναι φησὶ καὶ ἄγασθαι αὐτὸ τῆς φύσεως, ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ Δάμιδος, εἰ τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ τοῦ ἐκπώματος προσδέχοιτο, "προσδέξομαι," εἶπεν, "ἢν ἀθάνατον μάθω τὸν βασιλέα τῶν δεῦρο Ἰνδῶν ὄντα, τὸν γὰρ ἐμοί τε καὶ τῷ δεῖνι ὀρέγοντα πῶμα

are blue, and their scales spotty, and their tails golden, and because they can fold and spread the latter at will. CHAP. I

There is also a creature in this river which resembles a white worm. By melting this down they make an oil, and from this oil, it appears, there is given off a flame such that nothing but glass can contain it. And this creature may be caught for the king alone who utilises it for the capture of cities; for as soon as the fat in question touches the battlements, a fire is kindled which defies all the ordinary means devised by men against combustibles. The fiery worm

II

AND they say that the wild asses are also to be captured in these marshes, and these creatures have a horn upon the forehead, with which they butt like a bull and make a noble fight of it; the Indians make this horn into a cup, for they declare that no one can ever fall sick on the day on which he has drunk out of it, nor will any one who has done so be the worse for being wounded, and he will be able to pass through fire unscathed, and he is even immune from poisonous draughts which others would drink to their harm. Accordingly, this goblet is reserved for kings, and the king alone may indulge in the chase of this creature. And Apollonius says that he saw this animal, and admired its natural features; but when Damis asked him if he believed the story about the goblet, he answered: "I will believe it, if I find the king of the Indians hereabout to be immortal; for surely a man who can offer me or anyone else a CHAP. II The unicorn ass, and the magic cup made from his horn

CAP. II ἄνοσόν τε καὶ οὕτως ὑγιές, πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς αὐτὸν ἐπεγχεῖν ἑαυτῷ τούτου καὶ ὁσημέραι πίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ κέρατος τούτου μέχρι κραιπάλης; οὐ γὰρ διαβαλεῖ τις, οἶμαι, τὸ τούτῳ μεθύειν."

III

CAP. III Ἐνταῦθα καὶ γυναίῳ φασὶν ἐντετυχηκέναι τὰ μὲν ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐς μαζοὺς μέλανι, τὰ δὲ ἐκ μαζῶν ἐς πόδας λευκῷ πάντα, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ὡς δεῖμα φυγεῖν, τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον ξυνάψαι τε τῷ γυναίῳ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ξυνεῖναι ὅ τι εἴη· ἱεροῦται δὲ ἄρα τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ Ἰνδῇ τοιαύτη, καὶ τίκτεται τῇ θεῷ γυνὴ ποικίλη, καθάπερ ὁ Ἆπις Αἰγυπτίοις.

IV

CAP. IV Ἐντεῦθέν φασιν ὑπερβαλεῖν τοῦ Καυκάσου τὸ κατατεῖνον ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν, εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸ ξυνηρεφὲς ἴδαις ἀρωμάτων. τοὺς μὲν δὴ πρῶνας τοῦ ὄρους τὸ κιννάμωμον φέρειν, προσεοικέναι δὲ αὐτὸ νέοις κλήμασι, βάσανον δὲ τοῦ ἀρώματος τὴν αἶγα εἶναι· κινναμώμου γὰρ εἴ τις αἰγὶ ὀρέξειε, κνυζήσεται πρὸς τὴν χεῖρα, καθάπερ κύων, ἀπιόντι τε ὁμαρτήσει τὴν ῥῖνα ἐς αὐτὸ ἐρείσασα, κἂν ὁ αἰπόλος ἀπάγῃ, θρηνήσει καθάπερ λωτοῦ ἀποσπωμένη. ἐν δὲ τοῖς κρημνοῖς τοῦ

draught potent against disease and so wholesome, will he not be much more likely to imbibe it himself, and take a drink out of this horn every day even at the risk of intoxication? For no one, I conceive, would blame him for exceeding in such cups." CHAP. II

III

CHAP. III

A piebald woman

At this place they say that they also fell in with a woman who was black from her head to her bosom, but was altogether white from her bosom down to her feet; and the rest of the party fled from her believing her to be a monster, but Apollonius clasped the woman by the hand and understood what she was; for in fact such a woman in India is consecrated to Aphrodite, and a woman is born piebald in honour of this goddess, just as is Apis among the Egyptians.

IV

CHAP. IV

The cinnamon of the Caucasus

They say that from this point they crossed the part of the Caucasus which stretches down to the Red Sea; and this range is thickly overgrown with aromatic shrubs. The spurs then of the mountain bear the cinnamon tree, which resembles the young tendrils of the vine, and the goat gives sure indication of this aromatic shrub; for if you hold out a bit of cinnamon to a goat, she will whine and whimper after your hand like a dog, and will follow you when you go away, pressing her nose against it; and if the goat-herd drags her away, she will moan as if she were being torn away from the lotus. But on the steeps of

CAP. IV ὄρους λίβανοί τε ὑψηλοὶ πεφύκασι καὶ πολλὰ εἴδη ἕτερα, καὶ τὰ δένδρα αἱ πεπέριδες, ὧν γεωργοὶ πίθηκοι, καὶ οὐδὲ ᾧ εἴκασται τοῦτο, παρεῖταί σφισιν, ὃν δὲ εἴρηται τρόπον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω· τὸ δένδρον ἡ πέπερις εἴκασται μὲν τῷ παρ᾿ Ἕλλησιν ἄγνῳ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸν κόρυμβον τοῦ καρποῦ, φύεται δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀποτόμοις οὐκ ἐφικτὸς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οὗ λέγεται πιθήκων οἰκεῖν δῆμος ἐν μυχοῖς τοῦ ὄρους καὶ ὅ τι αὐτοῦ κοῖλον, οὓς πολλοῦ ἀξίους οἱ Ἰνδοὶ νομίζοντες, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πέπερι ἀποτρυγῶσι, τοὺς λέοντας ἀπ᾿ αὐτῶν ἐρύκουσι κυσί τε καὶ ὅπλοις. ἐπιτίθεται δὲ πιθήκῳ λέων νοσῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ φαρμάκου, τὴν γὰρ νόσον αὐτῷ τὰ κρέα ἴσχει ταῦτα, γεγηρακὼς δὲ ὑπὲρ σίτου, τῆς γὰρ τῶν ἐλάφων καὶ συῶν θήρας ἔξωροι γεγονότες τοὺς πιθήκους λαφύσσουσιν ἐς τοῦτο χρώμενοι τῇ λοιπῇ ῥώμῃ. οὐ μὴν οἱ ἄνθρωποι περιορῶσιν, ἀλλ᾿ εὐεργέτας ἡγούμενοι τὰ θηρία ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς λέοντας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν αἴχμὴν αἴρονται. τὰ γὰρ πραττόμενα περὶ τὰς πεπέριδας ὧδε ἔχει· προσελθόντες οἱ Ἰνδοὶ τοῖς κάτω δένδρεσι, τὸν καρπὸν ἀποθερίσαντες, ἅλως ποιοῦνται μικρὰς περὶ τὰ δένδρα, καὶ τὸ πέπερι περὶ αὐτὰς ξυμφοροῦσιν οἷον ῥιπτοῦντες, ὡς ἄτιμόν τι καὶ μὴ ἐν σπουδῇ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οἱ δὲ ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀβάτων ἀφεωρακότες ταῦτα, νυκτὸς γενομένης ὑποκρίνονται τὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς βοστρύχους τῶν δένδρων περισπῶντες ῥιπτοῦσι

CHAP. IV

this mountain there grow very lofty frankincense trees, as well as many other species, for example the pepper trees which are cultivated by the apes. Nor did they neglect to record the look and appearance of this tree, and I will repeat exactly their account of it. The pepper tree resembles in general the willow of the Greeks, and particularly in regard to the berry of the fruit; and it grows in steep ravines where it cannot be got at by men, and where a community of apes is said to live in the recesses of the mountain and in any of its glens; and these apes are held in great esteem by the Indians, because they harvest the pepper for them, and they drive the lions off them with dogs and weapons. For the lion, when he is sick, attacks the ape in order to get a remedy, for the flesh of the ape stays the course of his disease; and he attacks it when he is grown old to get a meal, for the lions when they are past hunting stags and wild boars gobble up the apes, and husband for their pursuit whatever strength they have left. The inhabitants of the country, however, are not disposed to allow this, because they regard these animals as their benefactors, and so make war against the lions in behalf of them. For this is the way they go to work in collecting the pepper; the Indians go up to the lower trees and pluck off the fruit, and they make little round shallow pits around the trees, into which they collect the pepper, carelessly tossing it in, as if it had no value and was of no serious use to mankind. Then the monkeys mark their actions from above out of their fastnesses, and when the night comes on they imitate the action of the Indians, and twisting off the twigs of the trees, they bring and throw them into the pits in question; then the

The pepper tree

Its fruit procured for men by the apes

CAP. IV φέροντες ἐς τὰς ἅλως, οἱ Ἰνδοὶ δὲ ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ σωροὺς ἀναιροῦνται τοῦ ἀρώματος οὐδὲ πονήσαντες οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ ῥᾴθυμοί τε καὶ καθεύδοντες

V

CAP. V Ὑπεράραντες δὲ τοῦ ὄρους πεδίον ἰδεῖν φασι λεῖον κατατετμημένον ἐς τάφρους πλήρεις ὕδατος. εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς μὲν ἐπικαρσίους, τὰς δὲ ὀρθάς, διηγμένας ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Γάγγου, τῆς τε χώρας ὅρια οὔσας, τοῖς τε πεδίοις ἐπαγομένας, ὁπότε ἡ γῆ διψῴη. τὴν δὲ γῆν ταύτην ἀρίστην φασὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς εἶναι καὶ μεγίστην τῶν ἐκεῖ λήξεων, πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερῶν ὁδοῦ μῆκος ἐπὶ τὸν Γάγγην, ὀκτωκαίδεκα δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν πιθήκων ὄρος, ᾧ ξυμπαρατείνει. πεδιὰς πᾶσα ἡ χώρα μέλαινά τε καὶ πάντων εὔφορος. ἰδεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ στάχυας ἀνεστῶτας, ὅσον οἱ δόνακες, ἰδεῖν δὲ κυάμους τριπλασίους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τὸ μέγεθος, σήσαμόν τε καὶ κέγχρον ὑπερφυᾶ πάντα. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰ κάρυα φύεσθαί φασιν, ὧν πολλὰ πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἀνακεῖσθαι τοῖς δεῦρο θαύματος ἕνεκα. τὰς δὲ ἀμπέλους φύεσθαι μὲν μικράς, καθάπερ αἱ Λυδῶν τε καὶ Μαιόνων, ποτίμους δὲ εἶναι καὶ ἀνθοσμίας ὁμοῦ τῷ ἀποτρυγᾶν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ δένδρῳ φασὶν ἐντετυχηκέναι προσεοικότι τῇ δάφνῃ, φύεσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ κάλυκα εἰκασμένην τῇ μεγίστῃ ῥόᾳ, καὶ μῆλον ἐγκεῖσθαι τῇ κάλυκι κυάνεον μέν, ὥσπερ τῶν ὑακίνθων αἱ κάλυκες, πάντων δὲ ἥδιστον, ὁπόσα ἐξ ὡρῶν ἥκει.

Indians at daybreak carry away the heaps of the spice which they have thus got without any trouble, and indeed during the repose of slumber. CHAP. IV

V

After crossing the top of the mountain, they say they saw a smooth plain seamed with cuts and ditches full of water, some of which were carried crosswise, whilst others were straight; these are derived from the river Ganges, and serve both for boundaries, and also are distributed over the plain, when the soil is dry. But they say that this soil is the best in India, and constitutes the greatest of the territorial divisions of that country, extending in length towards the Ganges a journey of fifteen days and of eighteen from the sea to the mountain of the apes along which it skirts. The whole plain is a dead level, black and fertile of everything; for you can see on it standing corn as high as reeds, and you can also see beans three times as large as the Egyptian kind, as well as sesame and millet of enormous size. And they say that nuts also grow there, of which many are treasured up in our temples here as objects of curiosity. But the vines which grow there are small, like those of the Lydians and Maeones; their vintage however is not only drinkable, but has a fine bouquet from the first. They also say that they came upon a tree there resembling the laurel, upon which there grew a cup or husk resembling a very large pomegranate; and inside the cup there was a kernel as blue as the cups of the hyacinth, but sweeter to the taste than any of the fruits the seasons bring.

CHAP. V

The irrigated plain of the Ganges

VI

CAP. VI Καταβαίνοντες δὲ τὸ ὄρος δρακόντων θήρᾳ περιτυχεῖν φασι, περὶ ἧς ἀνάγκη λέξαι· καὶ γὰρ σφόδρα εὔηθες ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ λαγὼ καὶ ὅπως ἁλίσκεται καὶ ἁλώσεται, πολλὰ εἰρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐς φροντίδα βαλλομένοις ταῦτα, ἡμᾶς δὲ παρελθεῖν λόγον γενναίας τε καὶ δαιμονίου θήρας μηδὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ παραλειφθέντα, ἐς ὃν ταῦτα ἔγραψα· δρακόντων μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἀπείροις μήκεσι κατέζωσται πᾶσα ἡ Ἰνδικὴ χώρα καὶ μεστὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἕλη, μεστὰ δὲ ὄρη, κενὸς δὲ οὐδεὶς λόφος. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἕλειοι νωθροί τέ εἰσι καὶ τριακοντάπηχυ μῆκος ἔχουσι, καὶ κράνος αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀνέστηκεν, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ ταῖς δρακαίναις ὅμοιοι, μέλανες δὲ ἱκανῶς τὸν νῶτον καὶ ἧττον φολιδωτοὶ τῶν ἄλλων. καὶ σοφώτερον ἧπται τοῦ λόγου περὶ αὐτῶν Ὅμηρος ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ ποιηταί, τὸν γὰρ δράκοντα τὸν ἐν Αὐλίδι τὸν πρὸς τῇ πηγῇ οἰκοῦντα περὶ νῶτα δαφοινὸν εἴρηκεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ποιηταὶ τὸν ὁμοήθη τούτῳ τὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς Νεμέας ἄλσει φασὶ καὶ λοφιὰν ἔχειν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν περὶ τοὺς ἐλείους εὕροιμεν.

VII

CAP. VII Οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τὰς ὑπωρείας τε καὶ τοὺς λόφους ἴενται μὲν ἐς τὰ πεδία ἐπὶ θήρᾳ, πλεονεκτοῦσι δὲ τῶν ἐλείων πάντα, καὶ γὰρ ἐς πλέον τοῦ μήκους ἐλαύνουσι, καὶ ταχύτεροι τῶν ὀξυτάτων ποταμῶν φέρονται, καὶ διαφεύγει αὐτοὺς οὐδέν· τούτοις καὶ

VI

CHAP. VI

The several sorts of dragon in India

Now as they descended the mountain, they say they came in for a dragon hunt, which I must needs describe. For it is utterly absurd for those who are amateurs of hare-hunting to spin yarns about the hare, as to how it is caught or ought to be caught, and yet that we should omit to describe a chase as bold as it is wonderful, and which the sage, of whom I have written this account, was careful to set on record: The whole of India is girt with dragons of enormous size; for not only the marshes are full of them, but the mountains as well, and there is not a single ridge without one. Now the marsh kind are sluggish in their habits and are thirty cubits long, and they have no crest standing up on their heads, but in this respect resemble the she-dragons. Their backs however are very black, with fewer scales on them than the other kinds; and Homer has described them with deeper insight than have most poets, for he says that the dragon that lived hard by the spring in Aulis had a tawny back; but other poets declare that the congener of this one in the grove of Nemea also had a crest, a feature which we could not verify in regard to the marsh dragons.

Iliad II. 308

VII

CHAP. VII

And the dragons along the foothills and the mountain crests make their way into the plains after their quarry, and get the better all round of those in the marshes; for indeed they reach a greater length, and move faster than the swiftest rivers, so

CAP. VII λοφιὰ φύεται, νέοις μὲν ὑπανίσχουσα τὸ μέτριον, τελειουμένοις δὲ συναυξανομένη τε καὶ συνανιοῦσα ἐς πολύ, ὅτε δὴ πυρσοί τε καὶ πριονωτοὶ γίγνονται. οὗτοι καὶ γενειάσκουσι καὶ τὸν αὐχένα ὑψοῦ αἴρουσι, καὶ τὴν φολίδα στίλβουσι δίκην ἀργύρου, αἱ δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν κόραι λίθος ἐστὶ διάπυρος, ἰσχὺν δ' αὐτῶν ἀμήχανον εἶναί φασιν ἐς πολλὰ τῶν ἀποθέτων. γίγνεται δὲ τοῖς θηρῶσιν ὁ πεδινὸς εὕρημα, ἐπειδὰν τῶν ἐλεφάντων τινὰ ἐπισπάσηται, τουτὶ γὰρ ἀπόλλυσιν ἄμφω τὰ θηρία. καὶ κέρδος τοῖς ἑλοῦσι δράκοντας ὀφθαλμοί τε γίγνονται καὶ δορὰ καὶ ὀδόντες. εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὅμοιοι τοῖς τῶν μεγίστων συῶν, λεπτότεροι δὲ καὶ διάστροφοι καὶ τὴν αἰχμὴν ἄτριπτοι, καθάπερ οἱ τῶν μεγάλων ἰχθύων.

VIII

CAP. VIII Οἱ δὲ ὄρειοι δράκοντες τὴν μὲν φολίδα χρυσοῖ φαίνονται, τὸ δὲ μῆκος ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεδινούς, γένεια δὲ αὐτοῖς βοστρυχώδη, χρυσᾶ κἀκεῖνα, καὶ κατωφρύωνται μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ πεδινοί, ὄμμα τε ὑποκάθηται τῇ ὀφρύι δεινὸν καὶ ἀναιδὲς δεδορκός, ὑπόχαλκόν τε ἠχὼ φέρουσιν, ἐπειδὰν τῇ γῇ ὑποκυμαίνωσιν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν λόφων πυρσῶν ὄντων πῦρ αὐτοῖς ᾄττει λαμπαδίου πλέον. οὗτοι καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας αἱροῦσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οὕτως ἁλί-

that nothing escapes them. These actually have a crest, of moderate extent and height when they are young; but as they reach their full size, it grows with them and extends to a considerable height, at which time also they turn red and get serrated backs. This kind also have beards, and lift their necks on high, while their scales glitter like silver; and the pupils of their eyes consist of a fiery stone, and they say that this has an uncanny power for many secret purposes. The plain specimen is a real prize of the hunters whenever it draws into its folds an elephant; for the destruction of both creatures is the result, and those who capture the dragons are rewarded by getting the eyes and skin and teeth. In most respects the teeth resemble the largest swine's, but they are slighter in build and flexible, and are as sharp and indestructible as those of the largest fishes.

CHAP. VII

Their eyes contain mystic gems

VIII

Now the dragons of the mountains have scales of a golden colour, and in length excel those of the plain, and they have bushy beards, which also are of a golden hue; and their eyebrows are more prominent than those of the plain, and their eye is sunk deep under the eyebrow, and emits a terrible and ruthless glance. And they give off a noise like the clashing of brass whenever they are burrowing under the earth, and from their crests, which are all fiery red, there flashes a fire brighter than a torch. They also can catch the elephants, though they are themselves caught by the Indians in the following

CHAP. VIII

Method of catching dragons by means of spells

CAP. VIII σκονται· κοκκοβαφεῖ πέπλῳ χρυσᾶ ἐνείραντες γράμματα τίθενται πρὸ τῆς χειᾶς, ὕπνον ἐγγοητεύσαντες τοῖς γράμμασιν, ὑφ᾽ οὗ νικᾶται τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ δράκων ἀτρέπτους ὄντας, καὶ πολλὰ τῆς ἀπορρήτου σοφίας ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ᾄδουσιν, οἷς ἄγεταί τε καὶ τὸν αὐχένα ὑπερβαλὼν τῆς χειᾶς ἐπικαθεύδει τοῖς γράμμασι· προσπεσόντες οὖν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ κειμένῳ πελέκεις ἐναράττουσι, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντες λῄζονται τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ λίθους. ἀποκεῖσθαι δέ φασιν ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὀρείων δρακόντων κεφαλαῖς λίθους τὸ μὲν εἶδος ἀνθηρὰς καὶ πάντα ἀπαυγαζούσας χρώματα, τὴν δὲ ἰσχὺν ἀρρήτους κατὰ τὸν δακτύλιον, ὃν γενέσθαι φασὶ τῷ Γύγῃ. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν αὐτῷ πελέκει καὶ αὐτῇ τέχνῃ συλλαβὼν ἐς τὴν αὑτοῦ χειὰν φέρων ᾤχετο, μονονοὺ σείων τὸ ὄρος. οὗτοι καὶ τὰ ὄρη τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν οἰκεῖν λέγονται, σύριγμα δὲ δεινόν φασιν ἀκούεσθαι τούτων, καὶ κατιόντας αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τήν θάλατταν πλεῖν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ πελάγους. περὶ δὲ ἐτῶν μήκους τοῦ θηρίου τούτου γνῶναί τε ἄπορον καὶ εἰπεῖν ἄπιστον. τοσαῦτα περὶ δρακόντων οἶδα.

IX

CAP. IX Τὴν δὲ πόλιν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει μεγίστην οὖσαν φασὶ μὲν καλεῖσθαι Πάρακα, δρακόντων δὲ ἀνακεῖσθαι κεφαλὰς ἐν μέσῃ πλείστας, γυμναζομένων τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ Ἰνδῶν τὴν θήραν ταύτην ἐκ νέων.

manner. They embroider golden runes on a scarlet cloak, which they lay in front of the animal's burrow after charming the runes to cause sleep; for this is the only way to overcome the eyes of the dragon, which are otherwise inflexible, and much mysterious lore is sung by them to overcome him. These runes induce the dragon to stretch his neck out of his burrow and fall asleep over them: then the Indians fall upon him as he lies there, and despatch him with blows of their axes, and having cut off the head they despoil it of its gems. And they say that in the heads of the mountain dragons there are stored away stones of flowery colour, which flash out all kinds of hues, and possess a mystical power such as resided in the ring, which they say belonged to Gyges. But often the Indian, in spite of his axe and his cunning, is caught by the dragon, who carries him off into his burrow, and almost shakes the mountains as he disappears. These are also said to inhabit the mountains in the neighbourhood of the Red Sea, and they say that they hear them hissing terribly and that they see them go down to the shore and swim far out into the sea. It was impossible however to ascertain the number of years that this creature lives, nor would my statements be believed. This is all I know about dragons. CHAP. VIII

IX

THEY tell us that the city under the mountain is of great size and is called Paraca, and that in the centre of it are enshrined a great many heads of dragons, for the Indians who inhabit it are trained from their boyhood in this form of sport. And they CHAP. IX The city Paraca

CAP. IX λέγονται δὲ καὶ ζῴων ξυνιέναι φθεγγομένων τε καὶ βουλευομένων, σιτούμενοι δράκοντος οἱ μὲν καρδίαν, οἱ δὲ ἧπαρ. προϊόντες δὲ αὐλοῦ μὲν ἀκοῦσαι δόξαι νομέως δή τινος ἀγέλην τάττοντος, ἐλάφους δὲ ἄρα βουκολεῖσθαι λευκάς, ἀμέλγουσι δὲ Ἰνδοὶ ταύτας εὐτραφὲς ἡγούμενοι τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῶν γάλα.

X

CAP. X Ἐντεῦθεν ἡμερῶν τεττάρων ὁδὸν πορευόμενοι δι' εὐδαίμονος καὶ ἐνεργοῦ τῆς χώρας προσελθεῖν φασι τῇ τῶν σοφῶν τύρσει. τὸν δὲ ἡγεμόνα κελεύσαντα συνοκλάσαι τὴν κάμηλον ἀποπηδῆσαι αὐτῆς περιδεᾶ καὶ ἱδρῶτος πλέων. τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον ξυνεῖναι μὲν οὗ ἥκοι, γελάσαντα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ δέει, "δοκεῖ μοι," φάναι, "οὗτος, εἰ καὶ κατέπλευσεν ἐς λιμένα μακρόν τι ἀναμετρήσας πέλαγος, ἀχθεσθῆναι ἂν τῇ γῇ καὶ δεῖσαι τὸ ἐν ὅρμῳ εἶναι." καὶ ἅμα εἰπὼν ταῦτα προσέταξε τῇ καμήλῳ συνιζῆσαι, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐθὰς λοιπὸν ἦν τῶν τοιούτων, περίφοβον δὲ ἄρα ἐποίει τὸν ἡγεμόνα τὸ πλησίον τῶν σοφῶν ἥκειν, Ἰνδοὶ γὰρ δεδίασι τούτους μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν σφῶν αὐτῶν βασιλέα, ὅτι καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτός, ὑφ' ᾧ ἐστιν ἡ χώρα, περὶ πάντων, ἃ λεκτέα τε αὐτῷ καὶ πρακτέα, ἐρωτᾷ τούσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐς θεοῦ πέμποντες, οἱ δὲ σημαίνουσι μέν, ὅ τι λῷον αὐτῷ πράττειν, ὅ τι δὲ μὴ λῷον, ἀπαγορεύουσί τε καὶ ἀποσημαίνουσι.

are also said to acquire an understanding of the language and ideas of animals by feeding either on the heart or the liver of the dragon. CHAP IX

And as they advanced they thought they heard the pipe of some shepherd marshalling his flock, but it turned out to be a man looking after a herd of white hinds, for the Indians use these for milking, and find their milk very nutritious.

X

CHAP. X

Castle of the sages. Terror of the guide

From this point their road led for four days across a rich and well cultivated country, till they approached the castle of the sages, when their guide bade his camel crouch down, and leapt off it in such an agony of fear that he was bathed in perspiration. Apollonius however quite understood where he was come to, and smiling at the panic of the Indian, said: "It seems to me that this fellow, were he a mariner who had reached harbour after a long sea voyage, would worry at being on land and tremble at being in dock." And as he said this he ordered his camel to kneel down, for indeed he was by now well accustomed to do so. And it seems that what scared the guide so much was that he was now close to the sages; for the Indians fear these people more than they do their own king, because the very king to whom the land is subject consults them about everything that he has to say or do, just as people who send to an oracle of a god; and the sages indicate to him what it is expedient for him to do, and what is inexpedient, and dissuade and warn him off with signs.

XI

CAP. XI

Καταλύσειν δὲ μέλλοντες ἐν τῇ κώμῃ τῇ πλησίον—ἀπέχει δὲ τοῦ ὄχθου τῶν σοφῶν οὔπω στάδιον—ἰδεῖν φασι νεανίαν δρόμῳ ἥκοντα, μελάντατον Ἰνδῶν πάντων, ὑποστίλβειν δὲ αὐτω μηνοειδῶς τὸ μεσόφρυον. τουτὶ δὲ ἀκούω χρόνοις ὕστερον καὶ περὶ Μένωνα τὸν Ἡρώδου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ τρόφιμον, ἀπ᾽ Αἰθιόπων δὲ ἦν, ἐν μειρακίῳ δόξαι, προϊόντος δὲ ἐς ἄνδρας ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν αὐγὴν ταύτην καὶ συναφανισθῆναι τῇ ὥρᾳ, τὸν δὲ Ἰνδὸν χρυσῆν μὲν φέρειν φασὶν ἄγκυραν, ἣν νομίζουσιν Ἰνδοὶ κηρύκειον ἐπὶ τῷ πάντα ἴσχειν.

XII

CAP. XII

Προσδραμόντα δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ φωνῇ Ἑλλάδι προσειπεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὔπω θαυμαστὸν δόξαι διὰ τὸ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ πάντας ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων φθέγγεσθαι, τὸ δὲ "ὁ δεῖνα χαῖρε" τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παρασχεῖν ἔκπληξιν, τῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ θάρσος ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀφικτο, βλέψας γὰρ ἐς τὸν Δάμιν, "παρὰ ἄνδρας," ἔφη, "σοφοὺς ἀτεχνῶς ἥκομεν, ἐοίκασι γὰρ προγιγνώσκειν." καὶ ἅμα ἤρετο τὸν Ἰνδόν, ὅ τι χρὴ πράττειν, ποθῶν ἤδη τὴν ξυνουσίαν, ὁ δὲ Ἰνδός,

XI

CHAP. XI

The messenger of the sages described

AND they were about to halt in the neighbouring village, which is hardly distant a single stade from the eminence occupied by the sages, when they saw a youth run up to them, the blackest Indian they ever saw; and between his eyebrows was a crescent-shaped spot which shone slightly. But I learn that at a later time the same feature was remarked in the case of Menon the nursling of Herod the Sophist, who was an Ethiop; it showed while he was a youth, but as he grew up to man's estate its splendour waned and finally disappeared with his youth. But the Indian also wore, they say, a golden anchor, which is affected by Indians as a herald's badge, because it holds all things fast.

XII

CHAP. XII

THEN he ran up to Apollonius and addressed him in the Greek tongue; and so far this did not seem so remarkable, because all the inhabitants of the village spoke the Greek tongue. But when he addressed him by name and said "Hail so and so," the rest of the party were filled with astonishment, though our sage only felt the more confidence in his mission: for he looked to Damis and said: "We have reached men who are unfeignedly wise, for they seem to have the gift of foreknowledge." And he at once asked the Indian what he must do, because he was already eager for an interview: and the Indian replied:

CAP. XII “τούτους μέν,” ἔφη, “καταλύειν χρὴ ἐνταῦθα, σὲ δὲ ἥκειν ὡς ἔχεις, κελεύουσι γὰρ αὐτοί.”

XIII

CAP. XIII Τὸ μὲν δὴ αὐτοὶ Πυθαγόρειον ἤδη τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐφάνη, καὶ ἠκολούθει χαίρων.

Τὸν δὲ ὄχθον, ἐφ' οὗ οἱ σοφοὶ ἀνῳκισμένοι εἰσίν, ὕψος μὲν εἶναι κατὰ τὴν Ἀθηναίων φασὶν ἀκρόπολιν, ἀνίστασθαι δὲ ἐκ πεδίου ἄνω, εὐφυᾶ δὲ ὁμοίως πέτραν ὀχυροῦν αὐτὸν κύκλῳ περιήκουσαν, ἧς πολλαχοῦ δίχηλα ὁρᾶσθαι ἴχνη καὶ γενειάδων τύπους καὶ προσώπων καί που καὶ νῶτα ἰδεῖν ἀπωλισθηκόσιν ὅμοια, τὸν γὰρ Διόνυσον, ὅτε ξὺν Ἡρακλεῖ ἀπεπειρᾶτο τοῦ χωρίου, προσβαλεῖν μὲν αὐτῷ φασι κελεῦσαι τοὺς Πᾶνας, ὡς πρὸς τὸν σεισμὸν ἱκανούς, ἐμβροντηθέντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν σοφῶν πεσεῖν ἄλλον ἄλλως, καὶ τὰς πέτρας οἷον ἐντυπωθῆναι τὰ τῆς διαμαρτίας σχήματα. περὶ δὲ τῷ ὄχθῳ νεφέλην ἰδεῖν φασιν, ἐν ᾗ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς οἰκεῖν φανερούς τε καὶ ἀφανεῖς καὶ ὅ τι βούλονται. πύλας δὲ εἰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλας εἶναι τῷ ὄχθῳ, οὐκ εἰδέναι. τὸ γὰρ περὶ αὐτὸν νέφος οὔτε ἀκλείστῳ ξυγχωρεῖν οὔτ' αὖ ξυγκεκλεισμένῳ φαίνεσθαι.

"Your party must halt here, but you must come on just as you are, for the Masters themselves issue this command." CHAP. XII

XIII

THE word *Masters* at once had a Pythagorean ring for the ears of Apollonius and he gladly followed the messenger. CHAP. XIII

Now the hill the summit of which is inhabited by the sages is, according to the account of our travellers, of about the same height as the Acropolis of Athens; and it rises straight up from the plain, though its natural position equally secures it from attack, for the rock surrounds it on all sides. On many parts of this rock you see traces of cloven feet and outlines of beards and of faces, and here and there impressions of backs as of persons who had slipt and rolled down. For they say that Dionysus, when he was trying to storm the place together with Hercules, ordered the Pans to attack it, thinking that they would be strong enough to stand the shock; but they were thunderstruck by the sages and fell one, one way, and another, another; and the rocks as it were took the print of the various postures in which they fell and failed. And they say that they saw a cloud floating round the eminence on which the Indians live and render themselves visible or invisible at will. Whether there were any other gates to the eminence they say they did not know; for the cloud around it did not anywhere allow them to be seen, whether there was an opening in the rampart, or whether on the other hand it was a close-shut fortress. Situation of the castle

XIV

CAP. XIV Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναβῆναι μὲν κατὰ τὸ νότιον μάλιστα τοῦ ὄχθου τῷ Ἰνδῷ ἑπόμενος, ἰδεῖν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν φρέαρ ὀργυιῶν τεττάρων, οὗ τὴν αὐγὴν ἐπὶ τὸ στόμιον ἀναπέμπεσθαι κυανωτάτην οὖσαν, καὶ ὁπότε ἡ μεσημβρία τοῦ ἡλίου σταίη περὶ αὐτό, ἀνιμᾶσθαι τὴν αὐγὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκτῖνος καὶ χωρεῖν ἄνω παρεχομένην εἶδος θερμῆς ἴριδος. μαθεῖν δὲ ὕστερον περὶ τοῦ φρέατος, ὡς σανδαρακίνη μὲν εἴη ἡ ὑπ' αὐτῷ γῆ, ἀπόρρητον δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἡγοῖντο, καὶ οὔτε πίνοι τις αὐτὸ οὔτε ἀνασπῴη, ὅρκιον δὲ νομίζοιτο τῇ πέριξ Ἰνδικῇ πάσῃ. πλησίον δὲ τούτου κρατῆρα εἶναι πυρός, οὗ φλόγα ἀναπέμπεσθαι μολυβδώδη, καπνὸν δὲ οὐδένα ἀπ' αὐτῆς ᾄττειν, οὐδὲ ὀσμὴν οὐδεμίαν, οὐδὲ ὑπερχυθῆναί ποτε ὁ κρατὴρ οὗτος, ἀλλ' ἀναδίδοσθαι τοσοῦτος, ὡς μὴ ὑπερβλύσαι τοῦ βόθρου. ἐνταῦθα Ἰνδοὶ καθαίρονται τῶν ἀκουσίων, ὅθεν οἱ σοφοὶ τὸ μὲν φρέαρ ἐλέγχου καλοῦσι, τὸ δὲ πῦρ ξυγγνώμης. καὶ διττὼ ἑωρακέναι φασὶ πίθω λίθου μέλανος ὄμβρων τε καὶ ἀνέμων ὄντε. ὁ μὲν δὴ τῶν ὄμβρων, εἰ αὐχμῷ ἡ Ἰνδικὴ πιέζοιτο, ἀνοιχθεὶς νεφέλας ἀναπέμπει καὶ ὑγραίνει τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν, εἰ δὲ ὄμβροι πλεονεκτοῖεν, ἴσχει αὐτοὺς ξυγκλειόμενος, ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀνέμων πίθος ταὐτόν, οἶμαι, τῷ τοῦ Αἰόλου ἀσκῷ πράττει, παρανοιγνύντες γὰρ τὸν πίθον ἕνα τῶν ἀνέμων ἀνιᾶσιν ἐμπνεῖν ὥρᾳ,

XIV

CHAP. XIV

The well of testing

Apollonius says that he himself ascended mostly on the south side of the ridge, following the Indian, and that the first thing he saw was a well four fathoms deep, above the mouth of which there rose a sheen of deep blue light; and at midday when the sun was stationary about it, the sheen of light was always drawn up on high by the rays, and in its ascent assumed the look of a glowing rainbow. But he learnt afterwards that the soil underneath the well was composed of realgar, but that they regarded the water as holy and mysterious, and no one either drank it or drew it up, but it was regarded by the whole land of India all around as binding in oaths. And near this there was a crater, he says, of fire, which sent up a lead-coloured flame, though it emitted no smoke or any smell, nor did this crater ever overflow, but emitted just matter enough not to bubble over the edges of the pit. It is here that the Indians purify themselves of involuntary sins, wherefore the sages call the well, the well of testing, and the fire, the fire of pardon. And they say that they saw there two jars of black stone, of the rains and of the winds respectively. The jar of the rains, they say, is opened in case the land of India is suffering from drought, and sends up clouds to moisten the whole country; but if the rains should be in excess they are stopped by the jar being shut up. But the jar of the winds plays, I imagine, the same rôle as the bag of Aeolus: for when they open this jar ever so little, they let out one of the winds, which creates a seasonable breeze by which the

The jars of wind and rain

CAP. XIV κἀντεῦθεν ἡ γῆ ἔρρωται. θεῶν δὲ ἀγάλμασιν ἐντυχεῖν φασιν, εἰ μὲν Ἰνδοῖς ἢ Αἰγυπτίοις, θαῦμα οὐδέν, τὰ δέ γε ἀρχαιότατα τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι, τό τε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δηλίου καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου τοῦ Λιμναίου καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμυκλαίου, καὶ ὁπόσα ὧδε ἀρχαῖα, ταῦτα ἱδρύεσθαί τε τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τούτους καὶ νομίζειν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἤθεσι. φασὶ δ' οἰκεῖν τὰ μέσα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, καὶ τὸν ὄχθον ὀμφαλὸν ποιοῦνται τοῦ λόφου τούτου, πῦρ τε ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ὀργιάζουσιν, ὅ φασιν ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτίνων αὐτοὶ ἕλκειν· τούτῳ καὶ τὸν ὕμνον ἡμέραν ἅπασαν ἐς μεσημβρίαν ᾄδουσιν.

XV

CAP. XV Ὁποῖοι μὲν δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ ὅπως οἰκοῦντες τὸν ὄχθον, αὐτὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ δίεισιν· ἐν μιᾷ γὰρ τῶν πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους ὁμιλιῶν, "εἶδον," φησίν, "Ἰνδοὺς Βραχμᾶνας οἰκοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀτειχίστως τετειχισμένους, καὶ οὐδὲν κεκτημένους ἢ τὰ πάντων." ταυτὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος μὲν σοφώτερον ἔγραψεν, ὁ δέ γε Δάμις φησὶ χαμευνίᾳ μὲν αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι, τὴν γῆν δὲ ὑποστρωννύναι πόας, ἃς ἂν αὐτοὶ αἱρῶνται, καὶ μετεωροποροῦντας δὴ ἰδεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐς πήχεις δύο, οὐ θαυματοποιίας ἕνεκα, τὸ γὰρ φιλότιμον τοῦτο παραιτεῖσθαι

CHAP. XIV

Greek statues of the Gods worshipped by the sages

country is refreshed. And they say that they came upon statues of Gods, and they were not nearly so much astonished at finding Indian or Egyptian Gods as they were by finding the most ancient of the Greek Gods, a statue of Athene Polias and of Apollo of Delos and of Dionysus of Limnae and another of him of Amyclae, and others of similar age. These were set up by these Indians and worshipped with Greek rites. And they say that they are inhabiting the heart of India, and they regard the mound as the navel of this hill, and on it they worship fire with mysterious rites, deriving the fire, according to their own account, from the rays of the sun; and to the Sun they sing a hymn every day at midday.

XV

CHAP. XV

Levitation of the Sages

Apollonius himself describes the character of these sages and of their settlement upon the hill; for in one of his addresses to the Egyptians he says, "I saw Indian Brahmans living upon the earth and yet not on it, and fortified without fortifications, and possessing nothing, yet having the riches of all men." He may indeed be thought to have here written with too much subtlety; but we have anyhow the account of Damis to the effect that they made a practice of sleeping on the ground, and that they strewed the ground with such grass as they might themselves prefer; and, what is more, he says that he saw them levitating themselves two cubits high from the ground, not for the sake of miraculous display, for they disdain any such ambition; but they

CAP. XV τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλ' ὁπόσα τῷ Ἡλίῳ ξυναποβαίνοντες τῆς γῆς δρῶσιν, ὡς πρόσφορα τῷ θεῷ πράττοντας. τό τοι πῦρ, ὃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκτῖνος ἐπισπῶνται, καίτοι σωματοειδὲς ὄν, οὔτε ἐπὶ βωμοῦ καίειν αὐτοὺς οὔτε ἐν ἰπνοῖς φυλάττειν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὰς αὐγάς, αἳ ἐξ ἡλίου τε ἀνακλῶνται καὶ ὕδατος, οὕτω μετέωρόν τε ὁρᾶσθαι αὐτὸ καὶ σαλεῦον ἐν τῷ αἰθέρι. τὸν μὲν οὖν δὴ Ἥλιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὡρῶν, ἃς ἐπιτροπεύει αὐτός, ἵν' ἐς καιρὸν τῇ γῇ ἴωσι καὶ ἡ Ἰνδικὴ εὖ πράττῃ, νύκτωρ δὲ λιπαροῦσι τὴν ἀκτῖνα μὴ ἄχθεσθαι τῇ νυκτί, μένειν δέ, ὡς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἤχθη. τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τὸ "ἐν τῇ γῇ τε εἶναι τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ γῇ." τὸ δὲ "ἀτειχίστως τετειχισμένους" δηλοῖ τὸν ἀέρα, ὑφ' ᾧ ζῶσιν, ὑπαίθριοι γὰρ δοκοῦντες αὐλίζεσθαι σκιάν τε ὑπεραίρουσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὕοντος οὐ ψεκάζονται, καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ ἡλίῳ εἰσίν, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοὶ βούλωνται. τὸ δὲ "μηδὲν κεκτημένους τὰ πάντων ἔχειν" ὧδε ὁ Δάμις ἐξηγεῖται· πηγαί, ὁπόσαι τοῖς βάκχοις παρὰ τῆς γῆς ἀναθρώσκουσιν, ἐπειδὰν ὁ Διόνυσος αὐτούς τε καὶ τὴν γῆν σείσῃ, φοιτῶσι καὶ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς τούτοις ἑστιωμένοις τε καὶ ἑστιῶσιν· εἰκότως οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοὺς μηδὲν μὲν ἐκ παρασκευῆς, αὐτοσχεδίως δέ, ἃ βούλονται, πορίζομένους, ἔχειν, φησίν, ἃ μὴ ἔχουσιν. κομᾶν δὲ

regard any rites they perform, in thus quitting earth and walking with the Sun, as acts of homage acceptable to the God. Moreover, they neither burn upon an altar nor keep in stoves the fire which they extract from the sun's rays, although it is a material fire; but like the rays of sunlight when they are refracted in water, so this fire is seen raised aloft in the air and dancing in the ether. And further they pray to the Sun who governs the seasons by his might, that the latter may succeed duly in the land, so that India may prosper; but of a night they intreat the ray of light not to take the night amiss, but to stay with them just as they have brought it down. Such then was the meaning of the phrase of Apollonius, that "the Brahmans are upon earth and yet not upon earth." And his phrase "fortified without fortifications or walls," refers to the air or vapour under which they bivouac, for though they seem to live in the open air, yet they raise up a shadow and veil themselves in it, so that they are not made wet when it rains and they enjoy the sunlight whenever they choose. And the phrase "without possessing anything they had the riches of all men," is thus explained by Damis: All the springs which the Bacchanals see leaping up from the ground under their feet, whenever Dionysus stirs them and earth in a common convulsion, spring up in plenty for these Indians also when they are entertaining or being entertained. Apollonius therefore was right in saying that people provided as they are with all they want offhand and without having prepared anything, possess what they do not possess. And on principle they grow their hair long, as the

Their extract of sunlight

Their water-springs,

and costume

CAP. XV ἐπιτηδεύουσιν, ὥσπερ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάλαι καὶ Θούριοι Ταραντῖνοί τε καὶ Μήλιοι καὶ ὁπόσοις τὰ Λακωνικὰ ἦν ἐν λόγῳ, μίτραν τε ἀναδοῦνται λευκήν, καὶ γυμνὸν αὐτοῖς βάδισμα καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐσχηματίζοντο παραπλησίως ταῖς ἐξωμίσιν. ἡ δὲ ὕλη τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἔριον αὐτοφυὲς ἡ γῆ φύει, λευκὸν μὲν ὥσπερ τὸ Παμφύλων, μαλακώτερον δὲ τίκτει, ἡ δὲ πιμελὴ οἷα ἔλαιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λείβεται. τοῦτο ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα ποιοῦνται καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος παρὰ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τούτους ἀνασπῴη αὐτό, οὐ μεθίεται ἡ γῆ τοῦ ἐρίου. τὴν δὲ ἰσχὺν τοῦ δακτυλίου καὶ τῆς ῥάβδου, ἃ φορεῖν αὐτοὺς ἄμφω, δύνασθαι μὲν πάντα, δύω δὲ ἀρρήτω τετιμῆσθαι.

XVI

CAP. XVI Προσιόντα δὲ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σοφοὶ προσήγοντο, ἀσπαζόμενοι ταῖς χερσίν, ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας ἐκάθητο μὲν ἐπὶ δίφρου ὑψηλοῦ—χαλκοῦ δὲ μέλανος ἦν καὶ πεποίκιλτο χρυσοῖς ἀγάλμασιν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δίφροι χαλκοῖ μέν, ἄσημοι δὲ ἦσαν, ὑψηλοὶ δὲ ἧττον, ὑπεκάθηντο γὰρ τῷ Ἰάρχᾳ—τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον ἰδὼν φωνῇ τε ἠσπάσατο Ἑλλάδι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ γράμματα ἀπῄτει. θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τὴν πρόγνωσιν καὶ γράμμα γε ἓν ἔφη λείπειν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, δέλτα εἰπών, παρῆλθε γὰρ αὐτὸν γράφοντα· καὶ ἐφάνη

CHAP. XV

Lacedaemonians did of old and the people of Thurium and Tarentum, as well as the Melians and all who set store by the fashions of Sparta; and they bind a white turban on their heads, and their feet are naked for walking, and they cut their garments to resemble the *exomis*.[1] But the material of which they make their raiment is a wool that springs wild from the ground, white like that of the Pamphylians, though it is of softer growth, and a grease like olive oil distils from off it. This is what they make their sacred vesture of, and if anyone else except these Indians tries to pluck it up, the earth refuses to surrender its wool. And they all carry both a ring and a staff of which the peculiar virtues can effect all things, and the one and the other, so we learn, are prized as secrets.

XVI

CHAP. XVI

Apollonius' first audience

When Apollonius approached, the rest of the sages welcomed him and shook hands; but Iarchas had sat down on a high stool—and this was of black copper and chased with golden figures, while the seats of the others were of copper, but plain and not so high, for they sat lower down than Iarchas—and when he saw Apollonius, Iarchas greeted him in the Greek tongue and asked for the Indian's letter. And as Apollonius showed astonishment at his gift of prescience, he took pains to add that a single letter was missing in the epistle, namely a *delta*, which had escaped the writer; and this was found

[1] An overmantle leaving one arm and shoulder bare. Buddhist monks still wear a similar garment. The so-called wool was asbestos.

CAP. XVI τοῦτο ὧδε ἔχον. ἀναγνοὺς δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολήν, "πῶς," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, περὶ ἡμῶν φρονεῖτε;" "πῶς," εἶπεν, "ἢ ὡς δηλοῖ τὸ ὑμῶν ἕνεκα ἥκειν με ὁδόν, ἣν μήπω τις τῶν ὅθεν περ ἐγὼ ἀνθρώπων;" "τί δὲ ἡμᾶς πλέον οἴει σαυτοῦ γιγνώσκειν;" "ἐγὼ μέν," εἶπε, "σοφώτερά τε ἡγοῦμαι τὰ ὑμέτερα καὶ πολλῷ θειότερα. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν πλέον ὧν οἶδα παρ' ὑμῖν εὕροιμι, μεμαθηκὼς ἂν εἴην καὶ τὸ μηκέτ' ἔχειν ὅ τι μάθοιμι." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἰνδός, "οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι," ἔφη, "τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους ἐρωτῶσι, ποταποί τε ἥκουσι καὶ ἐφ' ὅ τι, ἡμῖν δὲ σοφίας ἐπίδειξιν πρώτην ἔχει τὸ μὴ ἀγνοῆσαι τὸν ἥκοντα. ἔλεγχε δὲ πρῶτον τοῦτο." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα πατρόθεν τε διῄει τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ μητρόθεν, καὶ τὰ ἐν Αἰγαῖς πάντα, καὶ ὡς προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ ὁ Δάμις, καί, εἰ δή τι ἐσπούδασαν ὁδοιποροῦντες ἢ σπουδάζοντος ἑτέρου εἶδον, πάντα ταῦθ' ὥσπερ κοινωνήσας αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀποδημίας ὁ Ἰνδὸς ἀπνευστί τε καὶ σαφῶς εἶρεν. ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ ὁπόθεν εἰδείη, ἐπερομένου, "καὶ σὺ μέτοχος," ἔφη, "τῆς σοφίας ταύτης ἥκεις, ἀλλ' οὔπω πάσης." "διδάξῃ οὖν με," ἔφη, "τὴν σοφίαν πᾶσαν;" "καὶ ἀφθόνως γέ," εἶπε, "τουτὶ γὰρ σοφώτερον τοῦ βασκαίνειν τε καὶ κρύπτειν τὰ σπουδῆς ἄξια, καὶ ἄλλως, Ἀπολλώνιε, μεστόν σε

to be the case. Then having read the epistle, he said: "What do you think of us, O Apollonius?" "Why," replied the latter, "how can you ask, when it is sufficiently shown by the fact that I have taken a journey to see you which was never till now accomplished by any of the inhabitants of my country." "And what do you think we know more than yourself?" "I," replied the other, "consider that your lore is profounder and much more divine than our own; and if I add nothing to my present stock of knowledge while I am with you, I shall at least have learned that I have nothing more to learn." Thereupon the Indian replied and said: "Other people ask those who arrive among them, who they are that come, and why, but the first display we make of our wisdom consists in showing that we are not ignorant who it is that comes. And you may test this point to begin with." And to suit his word he forthwith recounted the whole story of Apollonius' family both on his father's and his mother's side, and he related all his life in Aegae, and how Damis had joined him, and any conversations that they had had on the road, and anything they had found out through the conversation of others with them. All this, just as if he had shared their voyage with them, the Indian recounted straight off, quite clearly and without pausing for breath. And when Apollonius was astounded and asked him how he came to know it all, he replied: "And you too are come to share in this wisdom, but you are not yet an adept." "Will you teach me, then," said the other, "all this wisdom?" "Aye, and gladly, for that is a wiser course than grudging and hiding matters of interest; and moreover, O Apollonius, I

CHAP XVI

Prescience of the Brahmans

CAP. XVI ὁρῶ τῆς μνημοσύνης, ἣν ἡμεῖς μάλιστα θεῶν ἀγαπῶμεν." "ἦ γὰρ καθεώρακας," εἶπεν, "ὅπως πέφυκα;" "ἡμεῖς," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, πάντα ὁρῶμεν τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς εἴδη, ξυμβόλοις αὐτὰ μυρίοις ἐξιχνεύοντες. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μεσημβρία πλησίον καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τοῖς θεοῖς χρὴ παρασκευάσαι, νῦν μὲν ταῦτ' ἐκπονῶμεν, μετὰ ταῦτα δέ, ὁπόσα βούλει, διαλεγώμεθα, παρατύγχανε δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς δρωμένοις." "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ἀδικοίην ἂν τὸν Καύκασον καὶ τὸν Ἰνδόν, οὓς ὑπερβὰς δι' ὑμᾶς ἥκω, εἰ μὴ πάντων ἐμφοροίμην ὧν δρῷητε." "Ἐμφοροῦ," ἔφη, "καὶ ἴωμεν."

XVII

CAP. XVII Ἐλθόντες οὖν ἐπὶ πηγήν τινα ὕδατος, ἥν φησιν ὁ Δάμις ἰδὼν ὕστερον ἐοικέναι τῇ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς Δίρκῃ, πρῶτα μὲν ἐγυμνώθησαν, εἶτα ἐχρίσαντο τὰς κεφαλὰς ἠλεκτρώδει φαρμάκῳ, τὸ δὲ οὕτω τι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἔθαλπεν, ὡς ἀτμίζειν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸν ἱδρῶτα χωρεῖν ἀστακτί, καθάπερ τῶν πυρὶ λουομένων, εἶτα ἔρριψαν ἑαυτοὺς ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ λουσάμενοι ὧδε πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐβάδιζον, ἐστεφανωμένοι καὶ μεστοὶ τοῦ ὕμνου. περιστάντες δὲ ἐν χοροῦ σχήματι καὶ κορυφαῖον ποιησάμενοι τὸν Ἰάρχαν ὀρθαῖς ταῖς ῥάβδοις τὴν γῆν ἔπληξαν, ἡ δὲ κυρτωθεῖσα δίκην κύματος

perceive that you are well endowed with memory, a goddess whom we love more than any other of the divine beings." "Why," said the other, "have you really discerned by your penetration my exact disposition?" "We," said the other, "O Apollonius, can see all spiritual traits, for we trace and detect them by a thousand signs. But as it is nearly midday, and we must get ready our offerings for the Gods, let us now employ ourselves with that, and afterwards let us converse as much as you like; but you must take part in all our religious rites." "By Zeus," said Apollonius, "I should be wronging the Caucasus and the Indus, both of which I have crossed in order to reach you, if I did not feast myself on your rites to the full." "Do so," said the other, "and let us depart."

CHAP. XVI

XVII

CHAP. XVII

The Sages bathe

Accordingly they betook themselves to a spring of water, which Damis, who saw it subsequently, says resembles that of Dirce in Boeotia; and first they stripped, and then they anointed their heads with an amber-like drug, which imparted such a warmth to these Indians, that their bodies steamed and the sweat ran off them as profusely as if they were washing themselves by a fire; next they threw themselves into the water and, having so taken their bath, they betook themselves to the temple with wreaths upon their heads and full of sacred song. And they stood round in the form of a chorus, and having chosen Iarchas as conductor they struck the earth, uplifting their rods, and the earth arched itself

Their worship and levitation

CAP. XVII ἀνέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ἐς δίπηχυ τοῦ ἀέρος. οἱ δὲ ᾖδον ᾠδήν, ὁποῖος ὁ παιὰν ὁ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους, ὃν Ἀθήνησι τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ᾄδουσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν κατῆραν, καλέσας ὁ Ἰάρχας τὸ μειράκιον τὸ τὴν ἄγκυραν φέρον, "ἐπιμελήθητι," ἔφη, "τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου ἑταίρων." ὁ δὲ πολλῷ θᾶττον ἢ οι ταχεῖς τῶν ὀρνίθων πορευθείς τε καὶ ἐπανελθών, "ἐπιμεμέλημαι" ἔφη. θεραπεύσαντες οὖν τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνεπαύοντο ἐν τοῖς θάκοις, ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας πρὸς τὸ μειράκιον, "ἔκφερε," εἶπε, "τῷ σοφῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τὸν Φραώτου θρόνον, ἵν' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ διαλέγοιτο."

XVIII

CAP. XVIII Ὡς δὲ ἐκάθισεν, "ἐρώτα," ἔφη, "ὅ τι βούλει, παρ' ἄνδρας γὰρ ἥκεις πάντα εἰδότας." ἤρετο οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἴσασιν, οἰόμενος αὐτόν, ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες, χαλεπὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ ἑαυτὸν γνῶναι, ὁ δὲ ἐπιστρέψας παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου δόξαν, "ἡμεῖς," ἔφη, "πάντα γιγνώσκομεν, ἐπειδὴ πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς γιγνώσκομεν, οὐ γὰρ ἂν προσέλθοι τις ἡμῶν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ ταύτῃ μὴ πρῶτον εἰδὼς ἑαυτόν." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἀναμνησθεὶς ὧν τοῦ Φραώτου ἤκουσε, καὶ ὅπως ὁ φιλοσοφήσειν μέλλων ἑαυτὸν βασανίσας ἐπιχειρεῖ, τούτῳ ξυνεχώρησε τῷ λόγῳ, τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπέπειστο. πάλιν οὖν ἤρετο, τίνας αὐτοὺς

like a billow of the sea and sent them up two cubits high into the air. But they sang a song resembling the paean of Sophocles which they sing at Athens in honour of Asclepius. But when they had alighted upon the ground, Iarchas called the stripling who carried the anchor and said: "Do you look after the companions of Apollonius." And he went off swifter than the quickest of the birds, and coming back again said: "I have looked after them." Having fulfilled then the most of their religious rites, they sat down to rest upon their seats, but Iarchas said to the stripling: "Bring out the throne of Phraotes for the wise Apollonius that he may sit upon it to converse with us." CHAP. XVII

XVIII

CHAP. XVIII

The Sages discuss self knowledge

AND when he had taken his seat, he said: "Ask whatever you like, for you find yourself among people who know everything." Apollonius then asked him whether they knew themselves also, thinking that he, like the Greeks, would regard self-knowledge as a difficult matter. But the other, contrary to Apollonius' expectations, corrected him and said: "We know everything, just because we begin by knowing ourselves; for no one of us would be admitted to this philosophy unless he first knew himself." And Apollonius remembered what he had heard Phraotes say, and how he who would become a philosopher must examine himself before he undertakes the task; and he therefore acquiesced in this answer, for he was convinced of its truth in his own case also. He accordingly asked a fresh question,

CAP. XVIII ἡγοῖντο, ὁ δέ, "θεούς," εἶπεν, ἐπερομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ, διὰ τί, "ὅτι," ἔφη, "ἀγαθοί ἐσμεν ἄνθρωποι." τοῦτο τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τοσαύτης ἔδοξεν εὐπαιδευσίας εἶναι μεστόν, ὡς εἰπεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς Δομετιανὸν ὕστερον ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λόγοις.

XIX

CAP. XIX Ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τὴν ἐρώτησιν, "περὶ ψυχῆς δέ," εἶπε, "πῶς φρονεῖτε;" "ὥς γε," εἶπε, "Πυθαγόρας μὲν ὑμῖν, ἡμεῖς δὲ Αἰγυπτίοις παρεδώκαμεν." "εἴποις ἂν οὖν," ἔφη, "καθάπερ ὁ Πυθαγόρας Εὔφορβον ἑαυτὸν ἀπέφηνεν, ὅτι καὶ σύ, πρὶν ἐς τοῦθ' ἥκειν τὸ σῶμα, Τρώων τις ἢ Ἀχαιῶν ἦσθα ἢ ὁ δεῖνα;" ὁ δὲ Ἰνδός, "Τροία μὲν ἀπώλετο," εἶπεν, "ὑπὸ τῶν πλευσάντων Ἀχαιῶν τότε, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἀπολωλέκασιν οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῇ λόγοι· μόνους γὰρ ἄνδρας ἡγούμενοι τοὺς ἐς Τροίαν στρατεύσαντας, ἀμελεῖτε πλειόνων τε καὶ θειοτέρων ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἥ τε ὑμετέρα γῆ καὶ ἡ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ ἡ Ἰνδῶν ἤνεγκεν. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἤρου με περὶ τοῦ προτέρου σώματος, εἰπέ μοι, τίνα θαυμασιώτερον ἡγῇ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν τε καὶ ὑπὲρ Τροίας ἐλθόντων;" "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "Ἀχιλλέα τὸν Πηλέως τε καὶ Θέτιδος, οὗτος γὰρ δὴ κάλλιστός τε εἶναι τῷ Ὁμήρῳ ὕμνηται καὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς μέγας,

namely, who they considered themselves to be; and the other answered "We consider ourselves to be Gods." Apollonius asked afresh: "Why?" "Because," said the other, "we are good men." This reply struck Apollonius as so instinct with trained good sense, that he subsequently mentioned it to Domitian in his defence of himself. CHAP. XVIII

XIX

CHAP. XIX

The transmigration of souls

He therefore resumed his questions and said: "And what view do you take of the soul?" "That," replied the other, "which Pythagoras imparted to you, and which we imparted to the Egyptians." "Would you then say," said Apollonius, "that, as Pythagoras declared himself to be Euphorbus, so you yourself, before you entered your present body, were one of the Trojans or Achaeans or someone else?" And the Indian replied: "Those Achaean sailors were the ruin of Troy, and your talking so much about it is the ruin of you Greeks. For you imagine that the campaigners against Troy were the only heroes that ever were, and you forget other heroes both more numerous and more divine, whom your own country and that of the Egyptians and that of the Indians have produced. Since then you have asked me about my earlier incarnation, tell me, whom you regard as the most remarkable of the assailants or defenders of Troy." "I," replied Apollonius, "regard Achilles, the son of Peleus and Thetis, as such, for he and no other is celebrated by Homer as excelling all the Achaeans in personal

CAP. XIX ἔργα τε αὐτοῦ μεγάλα ᾄδει. καὶ μεγάλων ἀξιοῖ τοὺς Αἴαντάς τε καὶ Νιρέας, οἳ μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον καλοί τε αὐτῷ καὶ γενναῖοι ᾄδονται." "πρὸς τοῦτον," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ τὸν πρόγονον θεώρει τὸν ἐμόν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ πρόγονον σῶμα, τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ Πυθαγόρας Εὔφορβον ἡγεῖτο.

XX

CAP. XX "Ἦν τοίνυν," ἔφη, "χρόνος, ὅτ᾽ Αἰθίοπες μὲν ᾤκουν ἐνταῦθα, γένος Ἰνδικόν, Αἰθιοπία δ᾽ οὔπω ἦν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ Μερόην τε καὶ Καταδούπους ὥριστο Αἴγυπτος, αὐτὴ καὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Νείλου παρεχομένη καὶ ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς ξυναπολήγουσα. ὃν μὲν δὴ χρόνον ᾤκουν ἐνταῦθα οἱ Αἰθίοπες ὑποκείμενοι βασιλεῖ Γάγγῃ, ἥ τε γῆ αὐτοὺς ἱκανῶς ἔφερβε καὶ οἱ θεοὶ σφῶν ἐπεμελοῦντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπέκτειναν τὸν βασιλέα τοῦτον, οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰνδοῖς καθαροὶ ἔδοξαν, οὔτε ἡ γῆ ξυνεχώρει αὐτοῖς ἵστασθαι, τήν τε γὰρ σποράν, ἣν ἐς αὐτὴν ἐποιοῦντο, πρὶν ἐς κάλυκα ἥκειν, ἔφθειρε, τούς τε τῶν γυναικῶν τόκους ἀτελεῖς ἐποίει, καὶ τὰς ἀγέλας πονήρως ἔβοσκε, πόλιν τε ὅποι βάλοιντο, ὑπεδίδου ἡ γῆ καὶ ὑπεχώρει κάτω. καὶ γάρ τι καὶ φάσμα τοῦ Γάγγου προϊόντας αὐτοὺς ἤλαυνεν ἐνταραττόμενον τῷ ὁμίλῳ, ὃ οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκε, πρίν γε δὴ τοὺς αὐθέντας καὶ τοὺς τὸ αἷμα χερσὶ πράξαντας τῇ

beauty and size, and he sings of mighty deeds of his. And he also rates very highly such men as Ajax and Nireus, who were only second to him in beauty and courage, and are celebrated as such in his poems." "With him," said the other, "O Apollonius, I would have you compare my own ancestor, or rather my ancestral body, for that was the light in which Pythagoras regarded Euphorbus. CHAP. XIX

XX

CHAP. XX

Tale of the expulsion of the Ethiopians from India

"THERE was then," he said, "a time when the Ethiopians, an Indian race, dwelt in this country, and when Ethiopia as yet was not: but Egypt stretched its border beyond Meroe and the cataracts, and on the one side included in itself the fountains of the Nile, and on the other was only bounded by the mouths of the river. Well, at that time of which I speak, the Ethiopians lived here, and were subject to King Ganges, and the land was sufficient for their sustenance, and the gods watched over them; but when they slew this king, neither did the rest of the Indians regard them as pure, nor did the land permit them to remain upon it; for it spoiled the seed which they sowed in it before it came into ear, and it inflicted miscarriages on their women, and it gave a miserable feed to their flocks; and wherever they tried to found a city, it would give way and sink down under their feet. Nay more, the ghost of Ganges drove them forward on their path, a haunting terror to their multitude, and it did not quit them until they atoned to earth by sacrificing

CAP. XX γῇ καθιέρευσαν. ἦν δὲ ἄρα ὁ Γάγγης οὗτος δεκάπηχυς μὲν τὸ μῆκος, τὴν δὲ ὥραν οἷος οὔπω τις ἀνθρώπων, ποταμοῦ δὲ Γάγγου παῖς· τὸν δὲ πατέρα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐπικλύζοντα αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἔτρεψε, καὶ διήλλαξεν αὐτὸν τῇ γῇ, ὅθεν ἡ γῆ ζῶντι μὲν ἄφθονα ἔφερεν, ἀποθανόντι δὲ ἐτιμώρει. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα Ὅμηρος ἄγει μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἑλένης ἐς Τροίαν, φησὶ δὲ αὐτὸν δώδεκα μὲν πόλεις ἐκ θαλάττης ᾑρηκέναι, πεζῇ δὲ ἕνδεκα, γυναῖκά τε ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀφαιρεθέντα ἐς μῆνιν ἀπενεχθῆναι, ὅτε δὴ ἀτεράμονα καὶ ὠμὸν δόξαι, σκεψώμεθα τὸν Ἰνδὸν πρὸς ταῦτα· πόλεων μὲν τοίνυν ἑξήκοντα οἰκιστὴς ἐγένετο, αἵπερ εἰσὶ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν τῇδε—τὸ δὲ πορθεῖν πόλεις ὅστις εὐκλεέστερον ἡγεῖται τοῦ ἀνοικίζειν πόλιν οὐκ ἔστι—Σκύθας δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Καύκασόν ποτε στρατεύσαντας ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν γῆν ἀπεώσατο. τὸ δὲ ἐλευθεροῦντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γῆν ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν φαίνεσθαι πολλῷ βέλτιον τοῦ δουλείαν ἐπάγειν πόλει, καὶ ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ γυναικός, ἣν εἰκὸς μηδὲ ἄκουσαν ἡρπάσθαι. ξυμμαχίας δὲ αὐτῷ γενομένης πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς χώρας, ἧς νῦν Φραώτης ἄρχει, κἀκείνου παρανομώτατά τε καὶ ἀσελγέστατα γυναῖκα ἀφελομένου αὐτόν, οὐ παρέλυσε τοὺς ὅρκους, οὕτω βεβαίως ὀμωμοκέναι φήσας, ὡς μηδὲ ὁπότε ἠδικεῖτο λυπεῖν αὐτόν.

CHAP. XX

King Ganges

the murderers who had shed the king's blood with their hands. Now this Ganges it seems, was ten cubits high, and in personal beauty excelled any man the world had yet seen, and he was the son of the river Ganges; and when his own father inundated India, he himself turned the flood into the Red Sea, and effected a reconciliation between his father and the land, with the result that the latter brought forth fruits in abundance for him when living, and also avenged him after death. And since Homer brings Achilles to Troy in Helen's behalf, and relates how he took twelve cities by sea and eleven on land, and how he was carried away by wrath because he had been robbed of a woman by the king, on which occasion, in my opinion, he shewed himself merciless and cruel, let us contrast the Indian in similar circumstances. He on the contrary set himself to found sixty cities, which are the most considerable of those hereabouts—and I would like to know who would regard the destruction of cities as a better title to fame than the rebuilding of them—and he also repulsed the Scythians who once invaded this land across the Caucasus. Surely it is better to prove yourself a good man by liberating your country than to bring slavery upon a city, and that too on behalf of a woman who probably was never really carried off against her will. And as he had formed an alliance with the king of the country, over which Phraotes now rules, although that other had violated every law and principle of morality by carrying off his wife, he yet did not break his oath, and so stable, he said, was his pledged word, that, in spite of the injury he had suffered, he would not do anything to harm that other.

XXI

CAP. XXI “Καὶ πλείω διῄειν ἂν τοῦ ἀνδρός, εἰ μὴ ἐς ἔπαινον ὤκνουν ἑαυτοῦ καθίστασθαι, εἰμὶ γάρ σοι ἐκεῖνος, τουτὶ δὲ ἐδήλωσα γεγονὼς ἔτη τέτταρα· ἑπτὰ γάρ ποτε ἀδαμάντινα τοῦ Γάγγου τούτου ξίφη ἐς γῆν πήξαντος, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν δεῖμα ἐμπελάζειν τῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ τῶν θεῶν θύειν μὲν κελευόντων ἥκοντας, οὗ πέπηγε ταῦτα, τὸ δὲ χωρίον οὐκ ἐξηγουμένων, ἐν ᾧ ἐπεπήγει, παῖς ἐγὼ κομιδῇ τυγχάνων ἤγαγον τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς ἐπὶ τάφρον καὶ ὀρύττειν προσέταξα, ἐκεῖ φήσας κατατεθεῖσθαι αὐτά.

XXII

CAP. XXII “Καὶ μήπω θαυμάσῃς τοὐμόν, εἰ ἐξ Ἰνδοῦ ἐς Ἰνδὸν διεδόθην· οὗτος γάρ,” δείξας τι μειράκιον εἴκοσί που γεγονὸς ἔτη, “πέφυκε μὲν πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ὑπὲρ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ἔρρωται δέ, ὡς ὁρᾷς, καὶ κατεσκεύασται γενναίως τὸ σῶμα, καρτερεῖ δὲ πῦρ καὶ τομὴν πᾶσαν, καὶ τοιόσδε ὢν ἀπεχθάνεται τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ.” “τί οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Ἰάρχα, τὸ μειρακίου πάθος; δεινὸν γὰρ λέγεις, εἰ ξυντεταγμένος οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως μὴ ἀσπάζεται τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, μηδὲ ἐρᾷ τοῦ μανθάνειν, καὶ ταῦτα ὑμῖν ξυνών.” “οὐ ξύνεστιν,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ οἱ λέοντες, ἄκων

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CHAP. XXI

Ganges reincarnated in Phraotes

"And I could enumerate many more merits of this great man, if I did not shrink from pronouncing a panegyric upon myself; for I may tell you I am the person in question, as I clearly proved when I was four years old. For this Ganges on one occasion fixed seven swords made of adamant in the earth, to prevent any monster approaching our country; now the gods ordered us to offer a sacrifice if we came where he had implanted these weapons, though without indicating the spot where he had fixed them. I was a mere child, and yet I led the interpreters of their will to a trench, and told them to dig there, for it was there I said that they had been laid.

XXII

CHAP. XXII

A reincarnation of Palamedes

"And you must not be surprised at my transformation from one Indian to another; for here is one," and he pointed to a stripling of about twenty years of age, "who in natural aptitude for philosophy excels everyone, and he enjoys good health as you see, and is furnished with an excellent constitution; moreover he can endure fire and all sorts of cutting and wounding, yet in spite of all these advantages he detests philosophy." "What then," said Apollonius, "O Iarchas, is the matter with the youth? For it is a terrible thing you tell me, if one so well adapted by nature to the pursuit refuses to embrace philosophy, and has no love for learning, and that although he lives with you." "He does not live

CAP. XXII εἴληπται, καὶ καθεῖρκται μέν, ὑποβλέπει δὲ ἡμῶν τιθασευόντων αὐτὸν καὶ καταψώντων. γέγονε μὲν οὖν τὸ μειράκιον τοῦτο Παλαμήδης ὁ ἐν Τροίᾳ, κέχρηται δὲ ἐναντιωτάτοις Ὀδυσσεῖ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ, τῷ μὲν ξυνθέντι ἐπ' αὐτὸν τέχνας, ὑφ' ὧν κατελιθώθη, τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ ἔπους αὐτὸν ἀξιώσαντι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μήθ' ἡ σοφία αὐτόν τι, ἣν εἶχεν, ὤνησε, μήτε Ὁμήρου ἐπαινέτου ἔτυχεν, ὑφ' οὗ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν μὴ πάνυ σπουδαίων ἐς ὄνομα ἤχθησαν, Ὀδυσσέως τε ἥττητο ἀδικῶν οὐδέν, διαβέβληται πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν καὶ ὀλοφύρεται τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πάθος. ἔστι δὲ οὗτος Παλαμήδης, ὃς καὶ γράφει μὴ μαθὼν γράμματα."

XXIII

CAP. XXIII Τοιαῦτα διαλεγομένων προσελθὼν τῷ Ἰάρχᾳ ἄγγελος, "ὁ βασιλεύς," ἔφη, "περὶ δείλην πρώτην ἀφίξεται, ξυνεσόμενος ὑμῖν περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων." ὁ δέ, "ἡκέτω," εἶπε, "καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ βελτίων ἀπέλθοι γνοὺς ἄνδρα Ἕλληνα." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα πάλιν τοῦ προτέρου λόγου εἴχετο. ἤρετο οὖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, "σὺ δ' ἂν εἴποις," ἔφη, "τὸ πρῶτον σῶμα καὶ ὅστις πρὸ τοῦ νῦν ἦσθα;" ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, "ἐπειδὴ ἄδοξον ἦν μοι ἐκεῖνο, ὀλίγα αὐτοῦ μέμνημαι." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἰάρχας,

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with us," replied the other, "but he has been caught like a lion against his will and confined here, but he looks askance at us when we try to domesticate him and caress him. The truth is this stripling was once Palamedes of Troy, and he found his bitterest enemies in Odysseus and Homer; for the one laid an ambush against him of people by whom he was stoned to death, while the other denied him any place in his Epic; and because neither the wisdom with which he was endowed was of any use to him, nor did he meet with any praise from Homer, to whom nevertheless many people of no great importance owe their renown, and because he was outwitted by Odysseus in spite of his innocence, he has conceived an aversion to philosophy, and deplores his ill-luck. And he is Palamedes, for indeed he can write without having learned his letters."

XXIII

CHAP. XXIII

Apollonius relates his former life

While they were thus conversing, a messenger approached Iarchas and said: "The King will come early in the afternoon to consult you about his own business." And Iarchas replied: "Let him come, for he too will go away all the better for making the acquaintance of a man of Hellas." And after saying this, he went on with his former discourse. He accordingly asked Apollonius the question: "Will you tell us," he said, "about your earlier incarnation, and who you were before the present life?" And he replied: "Since it was an ignoble episode, I do not remember much about it." Iarchas therefore took him up and said: "Then you

CAP. XXIII “εἶτα ἄδοξον,” ἔφη, “ἡγῇ τὸ γενέσθαι κυβερνήτης Αἰγυπτίας νεώς; τουτὶ γάρ σε ὁρῶ γεγονότα.” “ἀληθῆ μέν,” εἶπεν, “λέγεις, ὦ Ἰάρχα, τουτὶ γὰρ ἀτεχνῶς ἐγενόμην, ἡγοῦμαι δ' αὐτὸ οὐκ ἄδοξον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταβεβλημένον, καὶ τοσούτου μὲν ἄξιον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅσου περ τὸ ἄρχειν καὶ τὸ στρατοῦ ἡγεῖσθαι, κακῶς δὲ ἀκοῦον ὑπὸ τῶν καθαπτομένων τῆς θαλάττης. τὸ γοῦν γενναιότατον τῶν ἐμοὶ πραχθέντων οὐδὲ ἐπαίνου τις ἠξίωσε τότε.” “τί δὲ δὴ γενναῖον εἰργάσθαι φήσεις ἢ τὸ περιβεβληκέναι Μαλέαν τε καὶ Σούνιον χαλινώσας ἐκφερομένην τὴν ναῦν, καὶ τὸ κατὰ πρύμναν τε καὶ πρῷραν τῶν ἀνέμων, ὁπόθεν ἐκδοθήσονται, σαφῶς διεγνωκέναι, ἑρμάτων τε ὑπερᾶραι τὸ σκάφος ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ κοίλῃ, οὗπερ πολλὰ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων ἀναπέπηγεν;”

XXIV

CAP. XXIV Ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος “ἐπεί με,” εἶπεν, “ἐς κυβερνητικὸν ἐμβιβάζεις λόγον, ἄκουε, ὃ δοκῶ μοι τότε ὑγιῶς πρᾶξαι· τὴν θάλαττάν ποτε τῶν Φοινίκων λῃσταὶ ὑπεκάθηντο, καὶ ἐφοίτων περὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀναμανθάνοντες τίς τί ἄγοι. κατιδόντες οὖν ἐμπορίαν λαμπρὰν τῆς νεώς, οἱ τῶν λῃστῶν πρόξενοι διελέγοντό μοι ἀπολαβόντες με, πόσον τι μεθέξοιμι τοῦ ναύλου, ἐγὼ δὲ χιλίων ἔφην, ἐπειδὴ τέτταρες

think it ignoble to have been the pilot of an Egyptian vessel, for I perceive that this is what you were?" "What you say," said Apollonius, "is true, Iarchas; for that is really what I was; but I consider this profession not only inglorious but also detestable, and though of as much value to humanity as that of a prince or the leader of an army, nevertheless it bears an evil repute by reason of those who follow the sea; at any rate the most noble of the deeds which I performed no one at the time saw fit to praise." "Well, and what would you claim for yourself in the way of noble achievement? Is it your having doubled the capes of Malea and Sunium, by checking your ship when it was drifting out of its course, and your having discerned so accurately the quarters from which the winds would blow both fore and aft, or your getting your boat past the reefs in the hollows of Euboea, where any number of spits stick up in the sea?" CHAP. XXIII

XXIV

But Apollonius replied: "Since you tempt me to talk about pilotage, I would have you hear what I consider to have been my soundest exploit at that time. Pirates at one time infested the Phoenician Sea, and were hanging about the cities to pick up information about the cargoes which different people had. The agents of the pirates spied out accordingly a rich cargo which I had on board my ship, and having taken me aside in conversation, asked me what was my share in the freight; and I told them that it was a thousand drachmas, for there were four people in CHAP. XXIV

The tale of the Phoenician pirates

CAP. XXIV ἐκυβέρνων τὴν ναῦν. 'οἰκία δέ,' ἔφασαν 'ἔστι σοι;' 'καλύβη πονηρά,' ἔφην, 'περὶ τὴν νῆσον τὴν Φάρον, οὗ πάλαι ποτὲ ὁ Πρωτεὺς ᾤκει.' 'βούλοιο ἂν οὖν,' ἤροντό με, 'γενέσθαι σοι γῆν μὲν ἀντὶ θαλάττης, οἰκίαν δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς καλύβης, τὸ δὲ ναῦλον δεκάκις τοῦτο, κακῶν τε ἐξελθεῖν μυρίων, ἃ ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνοιδούσης ἐγχρίπτει τοῖς κυβερνῶσιν;' βούλεσθαι μὲν εἶπον, οὐ μὴν ἁρπαγῶν γε ἐμαυτὸν ἀξιοῦν, ὁπότε σοφώτερος ἐμαυτοῦ γέγονα καὶ στεφάνων ἠξίωμαι παρὰ τῆς τέχνης. προϊόντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ βαλάντιά μοι δραχμῶν μυρίων δώσειν φασκόντων, εἰ γενοίμην αὐτοῖς, ὃ ἐβούλοντο, λέγειν ἤδη παρεκελευσάμην ὡς μηδὲν ἐλλείψων τοῦ πᾶς ἀνὴρ γενέσθαι σφίσι· λέγουσι δὴ μελεδωνοὶ μὲν εἶναι λῃστῶν, δεῖσθαι δέ μου μὴ ἀφελέσθαι αὐτοὺς τὸ τὴν ναῦν ἑλεῖν, μηδὲ ἐς ἄστυ ἐκπλεῦσαι, ὁπότε ἐκεῖθεν ἄραιμι, ἀλλ' ὑφορμίσασθαι τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ, τὰς ναῦς γὰρ τὰς λῃστρικὰς ἐν περιβολῇ ἑστάναι, καὶ ὀμνύναι μοι ἐβούλοντο μήτ' αὐτόν με ἀποκτενεῖν, καὶ ἀνήσειν δὲ τὸν θάνατον οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ παραιτῶμαι. ἐγὼ δὲ νουθετεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐμαυτῷ ἡγούμην, δείσας μὴ ἀπογνόντες ἐμβάλωσι μετεώρῳ τῇ νηὶ καὶ ἀπολώμεθά που τοῦ πελάγους, ὡς δὲ ὑπουργῆσαι ὑπεσχόμην, ἃ ἐβούλοντο, ὀμνύναι ἔφην αὐτοὺς δεῖν ἦ μὴν ἀληθεύσειν

CHAP. XXIV

command of the ship. 'And,' said they, 'have you a house?' 'A wretched hut,' I replied, 'on the Island of Pharos, where once upon a time Proteus used to live.' 'Would you like then,' they went on, 'to acquire a landed estate instead of the sea, and a decent house instead of your hut, and ten times as much for the cargo as you are going to get now? And to get rid of a thousand misfortunes which beset pilots owing to the roughness of the sea?' I replied that I would gladly do so, but that I did not aspire to become a pirate just at a time when I had made myself more expert than I ever had been, and had won crowns for my skill in my profession. However they persevered and promised to give me a purse of ten thousand drachmas, if I would be their man and do what they wanted. Accordingly I egged them on to talk by promising not to fail them, but to assist them in every way. Then they admitted that they were agents of the pirates, and besought me not to deprive them of a chance of capturing the ship, and instead of sailing away to the city whenever I weighed anchor thence, they arranged that I should cast anchor under the promontory, under the lee of which the pirate ships were riding; and they were willing to swear that they would not only not kill myself, but would spare the life of any for whom I interceded. I for my part did not consider it safe to reprehend them, for I was afraid that if they were driven to despair, they would attack my ship on the high seas and then we should all be lost somewhere at sea; accordingly I promised to assist their enterprise, but I insisted upon their taking oath to keep their promise truly. They accordingly made oath, for our interview took place in a temple, and then I

CAP. XXIV ταῦτα. ὀμοσάντων τοίνυν, καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἱερῷ διελέγοντο, 'χωρεῖτε,' ἔφην, 'ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν λῃστῶν πλοῖα, ἡμεῖς γὰρ νύκτωρ ἀφήσομεν.' καὶ πιθανώτερος ἐδόκουν ἔτι περὶ τοῦ νομίσματος διαλεγόμενος, ὡς δόκιμον ἀπαριθμηθείη μοι καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἢ τὴν ναῦν ἕλωσιν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐχώρουν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἧκα ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ὑπεράρας τοῦ ἀκρωτηρίου." "ταῦτ' οὖν," εἶπεν ὁ Ἰάρχας, "Ἀπολλώνιε, δικαιοσύνης ἡγῇ ἔργα;" "καὶ πρός γε," ἔφη, "φιλανθρωπίας, τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀποδόσθαι ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων, μηδ' ἀπεμπολῆσαι τὰ τῶν ἐμπόρων, χρημάτων τε κρείττω γενέσθαι ναύτην ὄντα, πολλὰς ἀρετὰς οἶμαι ξυνειληφέναι."

XXV

CAP. XXV Γελάσας οὖν ὁ Ἰνδός, "ἔοικας," ἔφη, "τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν δικαιοσύνην ἡγεῖσθαι, τουτὶ δὲ οἶμαι καὶ πάντας Ἕλληνας· ὡς γὰρ ἐγώ ποτε Αἰγυπτίων δεῦρο ἀφικομένων ἤκουσα, φοιτῶσι μὲν ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἡγεμόνες γυμνὸν ἠρμένοι τὸν πέλεκυν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὔπω γιγνώσκοντες, εἰ φαύλων ἄρξουσιν, ὑμεῖς δέ, εἰ μὴ πωλοῖεν τὰς δίκας οὗτοι, φατὲ αὐτοὺς δικαίους εἶναι. τουτὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀνδραπόδων καπήλους ἀκούω ἐκεῖ πράττειν, εἰ γὰρ ἀφίκοιντο κατάγοντες ὑμῖν ἀνδράποδα Καρικὰ καὶ τὸ ἦθος αὐτῶν ἐφερμηνεύοιεν ὑμῖν, ἔπαινον ποιοῦνται τῶν ἀνδραπόδων τὸ μὴ κλέπτειν αὐτά.

said: 'You betake yourselves to the ships of the pirates at once, for we will sail away by night.' And they found me all the more plausible from the way I bargained about the money, for I stipulated that it must all be paid me in current cash, though not before they had captured the ship. They therefore went off, but I put straight out to sea after doubling the promontory." "This then," said Iarchas, "O Apollonius, you consider the behaviour of a just man?" "Why yes," said Apollonius, "and of a humane one too! for I consider it was a rare combination of the virtues for one who was a mere sailor to refuse to sacrifice men's lives, or to betray the interests of merchants, so rising superior to all bribes of money."

CHAP. XXIV

Discussion of justice

XXV

CHAP. XXV

Criticisms of Greek morality

THEREUPON the Indian smiled and said: "You seem to think that mere abstention from injustice constitutes justice, and I am of opinion that all the Greeks do the same. For as I once learned from the Egyptians that come hither, governors from Rome are in the habit of visiting your country, brandishing their axes naked over your heads, before they know whether they have cowards to rule or not; but you acknowledge them to be just if they merely do not sell justice. And I have heard that the slave merchants yonder do exactly the same; for when they come to you with convoys of Carian slaves and are anxious to recommend their characters to you, they make it a great merit of the slaves that they do not steal. In the same way do you recommend on

CAP. XXV τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄρχοντας, οἷς ὑποκεῖσθαί φατε, τοιούτων ἀξιοῦτε, καὶ λαμπρύνοντες αὐτοὺς ἐπαίνοις, οἷς περ τὰ ἀνδράποδα, ζηλωτοὺς πέμπετε, ὡς οἴεσθε, οἱ δέ γε σοφώτατοι ποιηταὶ ὑμῶν οὐδ' εἰ βούλεσθε δίκαιοί τε καὶ χρηστοὶ εἶναι, ξυγχωροῦσιν ὑμῖν γενέσθαι. τὸν γὰρ Μίνω τὸν ὠμότητι ὑπερβαλόμενον πάντας, καὶ δουλωσάμενον ταῖς ναυσὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τε καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ δικαιοσύνης σκήπτρῳ τιμῶντες, ἐν Ἅιδου καθίζουσι διαιτᾶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, τὸν δ' αὖ Τάνταλον, ἐπειδὴ χρηστός τε ἦν καὶ τοῖς φίλοις τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀθανασίας μετεδίδου, ποτοῦ τε εἴργουσι καὶ σίτου, εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ λίθους αὐτῷ ἐπικρεμάσαντες δεινὰ ἐφυβρίζουσι θείῳ τε καὶ ἀγαθῷ ἀνδρί, οὓς ἐβουλόμην ἂν μᾶλλον λίμνῃ αὐτῷ περιβλύσαι νέκταρος, ἐπειδὴ φιλανθρώπως αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀφθόνως προὔπινε." καὶ ἅμα λέγων ταῦτα ἐπεδείκνυ ἄγαλμα ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, ᾧ ἐπεγέγραπτο ΤΑΝΤΑΛΟΣ. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα τετράπηχυ ἦν, ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἐῴκει πεντηκοντούτῃ, καὶ τρόπον Ἀργολικὸν ἔσταλτο, παρήλλαττε δὲ τὴν χλαμύδα, ὥσπερ οἱ Θετταλοί, φιάλην τε προὔπινεν ἀποχρῶσαν ἑνὶ διψῶντι, ἐν ᾗ στάλαγμα ἐκάχλαζεν ἀκηράτου πώματος οὐχ ὑπερβλύζον τῆς φιάλης. ὅ τι μὲν οὖν ἡγοῦνται αὐτὸ καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πίνουσι, δηλώσω αὐτίκα. πλὴν ἀλλὰ ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ τὸν Τάνταλον μὴ τῇ γλώττῃ ἐφέντα, κοινωνή-

such grounds the rulers whose sway you acknowledge, and after decorating them with such praises as you lavish upon slaves, you send them away, objects, as you imagine, of universal admiration. Nay more, your cleverest poets will not give you leave to be just and good, even if you want to. For here was Minos, a man who exceeded all men in cruelty, and who enslaved with his navies the inhabitants of continent and islands alike, and yet they honour him by placing in his hand a sceptre of justice and give him a throne in Hades to be umpire of spirits; while at the same time they deny food and drink to Tantalus, merely because he was a good man and inclined to share with his friends the immortality bestowed on him by the Gods. And some of them hang stones over him, and rain insults of a terrible kind upon this divine and good man; and I would much rather that they had represented him as swimming in a lake of nectar, for he pledged men in that drink humanely and ungrudgingly." And as he spoke he pointed out a statue which stood upon his left hand, on which was inscribed the name "Tantalus." Now this statue was four cubits high, and represented a man of fifty years who was clad in the fashion of Argolis, though he parted his cloak in the way the Thessalians do, and he held a cup sufficient at least for one thirsty man and drank your health therefrom, and in the goblet there was a liquor, an unmixed draught which frothed and foamed, though without bubbling over the edge of the cup. Now I will presently explain what they consider this cup to be, and for what reason they drink from it. In any case, however, we must suppose that Tantalus was assailed by the poets because he gave rein to his tongue, and because he

CHAP. XXV

Minos

Mytho. Tantalus

CAP. XXV σαντα δὲ ἀνθρώποις τοῦ νέκταρος ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐλαύνεσθαι, θεοῖς δὲ μὴ διαβεβλῆσθαι αὐτόν, οὐ γὰρ ἄν, εἰ θεοῖς ἀπήχθετο, κριθῆναί ποτε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἀγαθόν, θεοφιλεστάτων ὄντων καὶ μηδὲν ἔξω τοῦ θείου πραττόντων.

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CAP. XXVI Διατρίβοντας δὲ αὐτοὺς περὶ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον θόρυβος ἐκ τῆς κώμης προσέβαλεν, ἀφῖκτο δὲ ἄρα ὁ βασιλεὺς μηδικώτερον κατεσκευασμένος καὶ ὄγκου μεστός. ἀχθεσθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἰάρχας, "εἰ δὲ Φραώτης," ἔφη, "καταλύων ἐτύγχανεν, εἶδες ἂν ὥσπερ ἐν μυστηρίῳ σιωπῆς μεστὰ πάντα." ἐκ τούτου μὲν δὴ ξυνῆκεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὡς βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ὀλίγῳ μέρει, φιλοσοφίᾳ δὲ πάσῃ τοῦ Φραώτου λείποιτο, ῥᾳθύμους δὲ ἰδὼν τοὺς σοφοὺς καὶ μηδὲν παρασκευάζοντας, ὧν δεῖ τῷ βασιλεῖ μετὰ μεσημβρίαν ἥκοντι, "ποῖ," ἔφη, "ὁ βασιλεὺς διαιτήσεται;" "ἐνταῦθα," ἔφασαν, "ὧν γὰρ ἕνεκα ἥκει, νύκτωρ διαλεγόμεθα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ βελτίων ὁ καιρὸς πρὸς βουλάς." "καὶ τραπεζα," ἔφη, "παρακείσεται ἥκοντι;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπον, "παχεῖά τε καὶ πάντα ἔχουσα, ὁπόσα ἐνταῦθα." "παχέως οὖν," ἔφη, "διαιτᾶσθε;" "ἡμεῖς μέν," ἔφασαν, "λεπτῶς, πλείονα γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐξὸν σιτίζεσθαι μικροῖς χαίρομεν, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πολλῶν

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shared the nectar with mankind; but we must not suppose that he was really the victim of the gods' dislike, for, had he been hateful to them, he would never have been judged by the Indians to be a good man, for they are most religious people and never transgress any divine command. CHAP. XXV

XXVI

While they were still discussing this topic, a hubbub down below in the village struck their ears, for it seems the king had arrived equipped in the height of Median fashion and full of pomp. Iarchas then, not too well pleased, remarked: "If it were Phraotes who was halting here, you would find a dead silence prevailing everywhere as if you were attending a mystery." From this remark Apollonius realised that the king in question was not only inferior to Phraotes in a few details, but in the whole of philosophy; and as he saw that the sages did not bestir themselves to make any preparations or provide for the king's wants, though he was come at midday, he said: "Where is the king going to stay?" "Here," they replied, "for we shall discuss by night the objects for which he is come, since that is the best time for taking counsel." "And will a table be laid for him when he comes," said Apollonius. "Why, of course," they answered, "a rich table too, furnished with everything which this place provides." "Then," said he, "you live richly?" "We," they answered, "live in a slender manner, for although we might eat as much as we like, we are contented with little; but the king requires a great

CHAP. XXVI

Visit of the pompous king

CAP. XXVI δεῖ, βούλεται γάρ. σιτήσεται δὲ ἔμψυχον μὲν οὐδέν, οὐ γὰρ θέμις ἐνταῦθα, τραγήματα δὲ καὶ ῥίζας καὶ ὡραῖα, ὁπόσα νῦν ἡ Ἰνδικὴ ἔχει, ὁπόσα τε αἱ ἐς νέωτα ὧραι δώσουσιν."

XXVII

CAP. XXVII "Ἀλλ' ἰδού," ἔφη, "οὗτος." προῄει δὲ ἄρα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀδελφῷ τε καὶ υἱῷ ἅμα, χρυσῷ τε ἀστράπτων καὶ ψήφοις. ὑπανισταμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, κατεῖχεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰάρχας ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ, μηδὲ γὰρ αὐτοῖς πάτριον εἶναι τοῦτο. τούτοις ὁ Δάμις αὐτὸς μὲν οὔ φησι παρατυχεῖν διὰ τὸ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐν τῇ κώμῃ διαιτᾶσθαι, Ἀπολλωνίου δὲ ἀκηκοὼς ἐγγράψαι αὐτὰ ἐς τὸν αὑτοῦ λόγον. φησὶ τοίνυν καθημένοις μὲν αὐτοῖς τὸν βασιλέα προτείνοντα τὴν χεῖρα οἷον εὔχεσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπινεύειν, ὥσπερ ξυντιθεμένους οἷς ᾔτει, τὸν δὲ ὑπερήδεσθαι τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ, καθάπερ ἐς θεοῦ ἥκοντα. τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸν υἱὸν κάλλιστον μειράκιον ὄντα μηδὲν ὁρᾶσθαι βέλτιον ἢ εἰ ἀνδράποδα τουτωνὶ τῶν ἀκολούθων ἦσαν. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξαναστῆναι τὸν Ἰνδὸν καὶ φωνὴν ἱέντα κελεύειν αὐτὸν σίτου ἅπτεσθαι, προσδεξαμένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἀσμένως, τρίποδες μὲν ἐξεπορεύθησαν Πυθικοὶ τέτταρες αὐτόματοι, καθάπερ οἱ Ὁμήρειοι προϊόντες, οἰνοχόοι δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς χαλκοῦ μέλανος, οἷοι παρ' Ἕλλησιν οἱ Γανυμήδεις τε καὶ

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deal, for that is his pleasure. But he will not eat any living creature, for that is wrong to do here, but only dried fruits and roots and the seasonable produce of the Indian land at this time of year, and whatever else the new year's seasons will provide." CHAP. XXVI

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"BUT see," said he, "here he is." And just then the king advanced together with his brother and his son, ablaze with gold and jewels. And Apollonius was about to rise and retire, when Iarchas checked him from leaving his throne, and explained to him that it was not their custom for him to do so. Damis himself says that he was not present on this occasion, because on that day he was staying in the village, but he heard from Apollonius what happened and wrote it in his book. He says then that when they had sat down, the king extended his hand as if in prayer to the sages, and they nodded their assent as if they were conceding his request; and he was transported with joy at the promise, just as if he had come to the oracle of a God. But the brother of the king and his son, who was a very pretty boy, were not more considered than if they had been the slaves of the others, that were mere retainers. After that the Indian rose from his place, and in a formal speech bade the king take food, and he accepted the invitation and that most cordially. Thereupon four tripods stepped forth like those of the Pythian temple, but of their own accord, like those which advanced in Homer's poem, and upon them were cupbearers of black brass resembling the figures of CHAP. XXVII

The Sages entertain the king

Iliad 18. 375

CAP. XXVII οἱ Πέλοπες. ἡ γῆ δὲ ὑπεστόρνυ πόας μαλακωτέρας ἢ αἱ εὐναί. τραγήματα δὲ καὶ ἄρτοι καὶ λάχανα καὶ τρωκτὰ ὡραῖα, πάντα ἐν κόσμῳ ἐφοίτα διακείμενα ἥδιον ἢ εἰ ὀψοποιοὶ αὐτὰ παρεσκεύαζον, τῶν δὲ τριπόδων οἱ μὲν δύο οἴνου ἐπέρρεον, τοῖν δυοῖν δὲ ὁ μὲν ὕδατος θερμοῦ κρήνην παρεῖχεν, ὁ δὲ αὖ ψυχροῦ. αἱ δ' ἐξ Ἰνδῶν φοιτῶσαι λίθοι παρ' Ἕλλησι μὲν ἐς ὅρμους τε καὶ δακτυλίους ἐμβιβάζονται διὰ σμικρότητα, παρὰ δὲ Ἰνδοῖς οἰνοχόαι τε ψυκτῆρές τε γίγνονται διὰ μέγεθος καὶ κρατῆρες ἥλικοι ἐμπλῆσαι τέτταρας ὥρᾳ ἔτους διψῶντας. τοὺς δὲ οἰνοχόους τοὺς χαλκοῦς ἀρύεσθαι μέν φησι ξυμμέτρως τοῦ τε οἴνου καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, περιελαύνειν δὲ τὰς κύλικας, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πότοις. κατακεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐν ξυσσιτίῳ μέν, οὐ μὴν πρόκριτόν γε τὸν βασιλέα, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ παρ' Ἕλλησί τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις πολλοῦ ἄξιον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔτυχέ γε, οὗ ἕκαστος ὥρμησεν.

XXVIII

CAP. XXVIII Ἐπεὶ δὲ προῄει ὁ πότος, "προπίνω σοι," ὁ Ἰάρχας εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἄνδρα Ἕλληνα," τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ὑποκεκλιμένον αὐτῷ δείξας καὶ τῇ χειρὶ προσημαίνων, ὅτι γενναῖός τε εἴη καὶ θεῖος. ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς, "ἤκουσα" ἔφη, "προσήκειν Φραώτῃ

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Ganymede and of Pelops among the Greeks. And the earth strewed beneath them grass softer than any mattress. And dried fruits and bread and vegetables and the dessert of the season all came in, served in order, and set before them more agreeably than if cooks and waiters had provided it; now two of the tripods flowed with wine, but the other two supplied, the one of them a jet of warm water and the other of cold. Now the precious stones imported from India are employed in Greece for necklaces and rings because they are so small, but among the Indians they are turned into decanters and wine coolers, because they are so large, and into goblets of such size that from a single one of them four persons can slake their thirst at midsummer. But the cup-bearers of bronze drew a mixture, he says, of wine and water made in due proportions; and they pushed cups round, just as they do in drinking bouts. The sages, however, reclined as we do in a common banquet, not that any special honour was paid to the king, although great importance would be attached to him among Greeks and Romans, but each took the first place that he chanced to reach.

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CHAP. XXVIII

The king's low opinion of philosophy

AND when the wine had circulated, Iarchas said: "I pledge you to drink the health, O king, of a Hellene," and he pointed to Apollonius, who was reclining just below him, and he made a gesture with his hand to indicate that he was a noble man and divine. But the king said: "I have heard that

CAP. XXVIII τοῦτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ καταλύοντας." "ὀρθῶς," ἔφη, "καὶ ἀληθῶς ἤκουσας, ἐκεῖνος γὰρ κἀνταῦθα ξενίζει αὐτόν." "τί," ἔφη, "ἐπιτηδεύοντα;" "τί δ' ἄλλο γε," εἶπεν, "ἢ ἅπερ ἐκεῖνος;" "οὐδέν," ἔφη, "ξένον εἴρηκας ἀσπαζόμενον ἐπιτήδευσιν, ἣ μηδὲ ἐκείνῳ ξυνεχώρησε γενναίῳ γενέσθαι." ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἰάρχας, "σωφρονέστερον," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, περὶ φιλοσοφίας τε καὶ Φραώτου γίγνωσκε, τὸν μὲν γὰρ χρόνον, ὃν μειράκιον ἦσθα, ξυνεχώρει σοι ἡ νεότης τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς ἄνδρας ἐξαλλάττεις ἤδη, φειδώμεθα τῶν ἀνοήτων τε καὶ εὐκόλων." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἑρμηνεύοντος τοῦ Ἰάρχα, "σοὶ δὲ τί," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ μὴ φιλοσοφῆσαι δέδωκεν;" "ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀρετὴν πᾶσαν καὶ τὸ εἶναί με τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ Ἡλίῳ." ὁ δὲ ἐπιστομίζων αὐτοῦ τὸν τῦφον "εἰ ἐφιλοσόφεις," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἂν ταῦτα ᾤου." "σὺ δέ, ἐπειδὴ φιλοσοφεῖς, ὦ βέλτιστε," ἔφη, "τί περὶ σαυτοῦ οἴει;" "τό γε ἀνήρ," ἔφη, "ἀγαθὸς δοκεῖν, εἰ φιλοσοφοίην." ἀνατείνας οὖν τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν, "νὴ τὸν Ἥλιον," ἔφη, "Φραώτου μεστὸς ἥκεις." ὁ δὲ ἕρμαιόν γε ἐποιήσατο τὸν λόγον καὶ ὑπολαβών, "οὐ μάτην ἀποδεδήμηταί μοι," εἶπεν "εἰ Φραώτου μεστὸς γέγονα· εἰ δὲ κἀκείνῳ νῦν

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he and the persons who are halting in the village belong to Phraotes." CHAP. XXVIII

"Quite right," he answered, "and true is what you heard: for it is Phraotes who entertains him here also." "What," asked the king, "is his mode of life and pursuit?" "Why, what else," replied Iarchas, "except that of that king himself?" "It is no great compliment you have paid him," answered the king, "by saying that he has embraced a mode of life which has denied even to Phraotes the chance of being a noble man." Thereupon Iarchas remarked: "You must judge more reasonably, O king, both about philosophy and about Phraotes: for as long as you were a stripling, your youth excused in you such extravagances. But now that you have already reached man's estate, let us avoid foolish and facile utterances." But Apollonius, who found an interpreter in Iarchas, said: "And what have you gained, O king, by refusing to be a philosopher?" "What have I gained? Why, the whole of virtue and the identification of myself with the Sun." Then the other, by way of checking his pride and muzzling him, said: "If you were a philosopher, you would not entertain such fancies." "And you," replied the king, "since you are a philosopher, what is your fancy about yourself, my fine fellow?" "That I may pass," replied Apollonius, "for being a good man, if only I can be a philosopher." Thereupon the king stretched out his hand to heaven and exclaimed: "By the Sun, you come here full of Phraotes." But the other hailed this remark as a godsend, and catching him up said: "I have not taken this long journey in vain, if I am become full of Phraotes. But if you should meet him presently,

CAP. XXVIII ἐντύχοις, πάνυ φήσεις αὐτὸν ἐμοῦ μεστὸν εἶναι, καὶ γράφειν δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς σὲ ἐβούλετο, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἔφασκεν ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν εἶναί σε, παρῃτησάμην τὸν ὄχλον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἐκείνῳ τις ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἐπέστειλεν."

XXIX

CAP. XXIX Ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη παροινία τοῦ βασιλέως ἐνταῦθα ἔληξεν· ἀκούσας γὰρ ἐπαινεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Φραώτου, τῆς τε ὑποψίας ἐπελάθετο καὶ ὑφεὶς τοῦ τόνου, "χαῖρε," ἔφη, "ἀγαθὲ ξένε." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "καὶ σύ, βασιλεῦ," εἶπεν, "ἔοικας γὰρ νῦν ἥκοντι." "τίς σε," ἔφη, "πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἤγαγεν;" "οὗτοι," εἶπεν, "οἱ θεοί τε καὶ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες." "περὶ ἐμοῦ δέ," ἔφη, "ὦ ξένε, τίς λόγος ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν;" "ὅσος γε," εἶπε, "καὶ περὶ Ἑλλήνων ἐνταῦθα." "οὐδέν," ἔφη, "τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἔγωγε λόγου ἀξιῶ." "ἀπαγγελῶ ταῦτα," εἶπε, "καὶ στεφανώσουσί σε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ."

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CAP. XXX Καὶ προσκληθεὶς τῷ Ἰάρχᾳ, "τοῦτον μέν," ἔφη, "μεθύειν ἔα, σὺ δέ μοι εἰπὲ τοῦ χάριν τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν τούτους, ἀδελφόν, ὥς φατέ, καὶ υἱὸν ὄντας οὐκ ἀξιοῦτε κοινῆς τραπέζης, οὐδὲ ἄλλης τιμῆς, οὐδεμιᾶς;" "ὅτι," ἔφη, "βασιλεύσειν ποτὲ ἡγοῦνται,

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you will certainly say that he is full of me; and he wished to write to you in my behalf, but since he declared that you were a good man, I begged him not to take the trouble of writing, seeing that in his case no one sent a letter commending me." CHAP. XXVIII

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CHAP. XXIX

And of Hellas

This put a stop to the incipient folly of the king; for having heard that he himself was praised by Phraotes, he not only dropped his suspicions, but lowering his tone he said: "Welcome, goodly stranger." But Apollonius answered: "And my welcome to you also, O king, for you appear to have only just arrived." "And who," asked the other, "attracted you to us?" "These gentlemen here, who are both Gods and wise men." "And about myself, O stranger," said the king, "what is said among Hellenes?" "Why, as much," said Apollonius, "as is said about the Hellenes here." "As for myself, I find nothing in the Hellenes," said the other, "that is worth speaking of." "I will tell them that," said Apollonius, "and they will crown you at Olympia."

XXX

CHAP. XXX

The number of the Sages in no way symbolical

And stooping towards Iarchas he said: "Let him go on like a drunkard, but do you tell me why do you not invite to the same table as yourself nor hold worthy of other recognition those who accompany this man, though they are his brother and son, as you tell me?" "Because," said Iarchas, "they reckon to be kings

CAP. XXX δεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑπερορωμένους παιδεύεσθαι τὸ μὴ ὑπερορᾶν." ὀκτωκαίδεκα δὲ ὁρῶν τοὺς σοφοὺς πάλιν τὸν Ἰάρχαν ἤρετο, τί βούλοιτο αὐτοῖς τὸ εἶναι τοσούτους; "οὔτε γὰρ τῶν τετραγώνων ὁ ἀριθμός, οὔτε τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων τε καὶ τιμωμένων, καθάπερ ὁ τῶν δέκα καὶ ὁ τῶν δώδεκα καὶ ὁ ἑκκαίδεκα καὶ ὁπόσοι τοιοίδε." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἰνδός, "οὔτε ἡμεῖς," ἔφη, "ἀριθμῷ δουλεύομεν οὔτε ἀριθμὸς ἡμῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπὸ σοφίας τε καὶ ἀρετῆς προτιμώμεθα, καὶ ὁτὲ μὲν πλείους τῶν νῦν ὄντων ἐσμέν, ὁτὲ δὲ ἐλάττους. τόν τοι πάππον τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ ἀκούω καταλεχθῆναι μὲν ἐς ἑβδομήκοντα σοφοὺς ἄνδρας, νεώτατον αὐτὸν ὄντα, προελθόντα δὲ ἐς τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη καταλειφθῆναι μόνον ἐνταῦθα, τῷ μήτ᾽ ἐκείνων τινὰ λείπεσθαι ἔτι, μήτε εἶναί ποι τότε τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἢ φιλόσοφον ἢ γενναίαν φύσιν. Αἰγυπτίων τοίνυν ἐν τοῖς εὐδαιμονεστάτοις γραψάντων αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ μόνος ἐτῶν τεττάρων ἐξηγήσατο τούτου τοῦ θρόνου, παρῄνει παύσασθαι ὀνειδίζοντας Ἰνδοῖς σοφῶν ὀλιγανδρίαν. ἡμεῖς δέ, ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ τὰ Ἠλείων πάτρια Αἰγυπτίων ἀκούοντες καὶ τοὺς Ἑλλανοδίκας, οἳ προΐστανται τῶν Ὀλυμπίων, δέκα ὄντας, οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι κείμενον, κλήρῳ γὰρ ξυγχωροῦσι τὴν αἵρεσιν, ὃς προνοεῖ οὐδέν, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ τῶν φαυλοτέρων τις αἱρεθείη ὑπὸ τοῦ κλήρου. εἰ δέ γε ἀριστίνδην ἢ καὶ κατὰ ψῆφον ᾑροῦντο τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὐκ ἂν ἡμάρτανον; παρα-

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one day themselves, and by being made themselves to suffer disdain they must be taught not to disdain others." And remarking that the sages were eighteen in number, he again asked Iarchas, what was the meaning of their being just so many and no more. "For," he said, "the number eighteen is not a square number, nor is it one of the numbers held in esteem and honour, as are the numbers ten and twelve and sixteen and so forth." Thereupon the Indian took him up and said: "Neither are we beholden to number nor number to us, but we owe our superior honour to wisdom and virtue; and sometimes we are more in number than we now are, and sometimes fewer. And indeed I have heard that when my grandfather was enrolled among these wise men, the youngest of them all, they were seventy in number, but when he reached his 130th year, he was left here all alone, because not one of them survived him at that time, nor was there to be found anywhere in India a nature that was either philosophic or noble. The Egyptians accordingly wrote and congratulated him warmly on being left alone for four years in his tenure of this throne, but he begged them to cease reproaching the Indians for the paucity of their sages. Now we, O Apollonius, have heard from the Egyptians of the custom of the Eleans, and that the Hellanodicæ, who preside over the Olympic games, are ten in number; but we do not approve of the rule imposed in the case of these men; for they leave the choice of them to the lot, and the lot has no discernment, for a worse man might be as easily chosen by lot as a better one. On the other hand, would they not make a mistake, if they had made merit the qualification

Limitation in number not congruous with choice by merit

CAP. XXX πλησίως· ὁ γὰρ τῶν δέκα ἀριθμὸς ἀπαραίτητος ὢν ἢ πλειόνων ὄντων ἀνδρῶν δικαίων ἀφῃρεῖτο ἂν ἐνίους τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τιμᾶσθαι, ἢ οὐκ ὄντων δικαίων δέκα οὐδεὶς δόξει· ὅθεν πολλῷ σοφώτερον ἐφρόνουν ἂν Ἠλεῖοι ἀριθμῷ μὲν ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι ὄντες, δικαιότητι δὲ οἱ αὐτοί.'

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CAP. XXXI Ταῦτα σπουδάζοντας αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκκρούειν ἐπειρᾶτο, διείργων αὐτοὺς παντὸς λόγου καὶ ἀεί τι ἔμπληκτον καὶ ἀμαθὲς λέγων. πάλιν οὖν ἤρετο ὑπὲρ τοῦ σπουδάζοιεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "διαλεγόμεθα μὲν ὑπὲρ μεγάλων καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησιν εὐδοκιμωτάτων, σὺ δ' ἂν μικρὰ ταῦτα ἡγοῖο, φῂς γὰρ διαβεβλῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ Ἑλλήνων." "διαβέβλημαι μὲν ἀληθῶς," εἶπεν, "ἀκοῦσαι δ' ὅμως βούλομαι, δοκεῖτε γάρ μοι λέγειν ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων, τῶν Ξέρξου δούλων." ὁ δέ, "ὑπὲρ ἄλλων μέν," ἔφη, "διαλεγόμεθα, ἐπεὶ δ' ἀτόπως τε καὶ ψευδῶς Ἀθηναίων ἐπεμνήσθης, ἐκεῖνός μοι εἰπέ· εἰσί σοι, βασιλεῦ, δοῦλοι;" "δισμύριοι," ἔφη, "καὶ οὐδὲ ἐώνημαί γε αὐτῶν οὐδένα, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν οἰκογενεῖς πάντες." πάλιν οὖν ἤρετο ἑρμηνεύοντος τοῦ Ἰάρχα, πότερ' αὐτὸς ἀποδιδράσκοι τοὺς αὑτοῦ δούλους ἢ οἱ δοῦλοι ἐκεῖνον, ὁ δὲ

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and chosen them by vote? Yes, a parallel one, for if you are on no account to exceed the number ten, there may be more than ten just men, and you will deprive some of the rank which their merits entitle them to, while if on the other hand there are not so many as ten, then restriction of the number is as good as none. Wherefore the Eleans would be much wiser-minded, if they allowed the number to fluctuate, merely insisting on justice as a qualification for all alike."

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CHAP. XXXI

Apollonius vindicates Greeks from the slur put upon them by the king

WHILE they were thus conversing, the king kept trying to interrupt them, constantly breaking off their every sentence by his silly and ignorant remarks. He accordingly again asked them what they were conversing about, and Apollonius replied: "We are discussing matters important and held in great repute among the Hellenes; though you would think of them but slightly, for you say that you detest everything Hellenic." "I do certainly detest them," he said, "but nevertheless I want to hear; for I imagine you are talking about those Athenians, the slaves of Xerxes." But Apollonius replied: "Nay, we are discussing other things; but since you have alluded to the Athenians in a manner both absurd and false, answer me this question: Have you, O king, any slaves?" "Twenty thousand," said the other, "and not a single one of them did I buy myself, but they were all born in my household." Thereupon Apollonius, using Iarchas as his interpreter, asked him afresh whether he was in the habit of running away from his slaves or his slaves from

CAP. XXXI ὑβρίζων αὐτόν, "τὸ μὲν ἐρώτημα," ἔφη, "ἀνδραποδῶδες, ὅμως δ' οὖν ἀποκρίνομαι τὸν ἀποδιδράσκοντα δοῦλόν τε εἶναι καὶ ἄλλως κακόν, δεσπότην δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἀποδρᾶναι τοῦτον, ὃν ἔξεστιν αὐτῷ στρεβλοῦν τε καὶ ξαίνειν." "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, δοῦλος εἶναι Ἀθηναίων Ξέρξης ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀποπέφανται καὶ ὡς κακὸς δοῦλος ἀποδρᾶναι αὐτούς, ἡττηθεὶς γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τῇ περὶ τὰ στενά, καὶ δείσας περὶ ταῖς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ σχεδίαις ἐν μιᾷ νηὶ ἔφυγε." "καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐνέπρησεν," ἔφη, "τὰς Ἀθήνας ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσίν." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "τούτου μέν," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοῦ τολμήματος ἔδωκε δίκας, ὡς οὔπω τις ἕτερος· οὓς γὰρ ἀπολωλεκέναι ᾤετο, τούτους ἀποδρὰς ᾤχετο. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὰ Ξέρξου θεωρῶν ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ διανοίᾳ, καθ' ἣν ἐστράτευσεν, ἡγοίμην ἂν αὐτὸν ἀξίως δοξασθῆναι ἐνίοις, ὅτι Ζεὺς εἴη, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ φυγῇ κακοδαιμονέστατον ἀνθρώπων ὑπείληφα· εἰ γὰρ ἐν χερσὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπέθανε, τίς μὲν ἂν λόγων λαμπροτέρων ἠξιώθη; τῷ δ' ἂν μείζω τάφον ἐπεσημήναντο Ἕλληνες; ἀγωνία δ' ἐνόπλιος καὶ ἀγωνία μουσικὴ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐτέθη; εἰ γὰρ Μελικέρται καὶ Παλαίμονες καὶ Πέλοψ ὁ ἐπηλύτης Λυδός, οἱ μὲν ἔτι πρὸς μαζῷ ἀποθανόντες, ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν τε καὶ τὴν Ἀργολίδα καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ δουλωσάμενος, ἐς θείαν μνήμην ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων

him. And the king by way of insult answered him: "Your very question is worthy of a slave, nevertheless I will answer it: a man who runs away is not only a slave but a bad one to boot, and his master would never run away from him, when he can if he likes both torture and card him." "In that case," said Apollonius, "O king, Xerxes has been proved out of your mouth to have been a slave of the Athenians, and like a bad slave to have run away from them; for when he was defeated by them in the naval action in the Straits, he was so anxious about his bridge of boats over the Hellespont that he fled in a single ship." "Yes, but he anyhow burned Athens with his own hands," said the king. And Apollonius answered: "And for that act of audacity, O king, he was punished as never yet was any other man. For he had to run away from those whom he imagined he had destroyed; and when I contemplate the ambitions with which Xerxes set out on his campaign, I can conceive that some were justified in exalting him and saying that he was Zeus; but when I contemplate his flight, I arrive at the conviction that he was the most illstarred of men. For if he had fallen at the hands of the Hellenes, no one would have earned a brighter fame than he. For to whom would the Hellenes have raised and dedicated a loftier tomb? What jousts of armed men, what contests of musicians would not have been instituted in honour of him? For if men like Melicertes and Palaemon and Pelops the Lydian immigrant, the two former of whom died in childhood at the breast, while Pelops enslaved Arcadia and Argolis and the land within the Isthmus,—if these were commemorated by the Greeks as Gods, what would not

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CAP. XXXI ἤρθησαν, τι οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ Ξέρξῃ ἐγένετο ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρῶν ἀσπαζομένων τε ἀρετὰς φύσει καὶ ἔπαινον αὐτῶν ἡγουμένων τὸ ἐπαινεῖν οὓς νικῶσιν;"

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CAP. XXXII Ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου λέγοντος ἐς δάκρυα ἀπήχθη ὁ βασιλεύς, καί, "ὦ φίλτατε," εἶπεν, "οἵους ἄνδρας ἑρμηνεύεις μοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶναι." "πόθεν οὖν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, χαλεπῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶχες;" "διαβάλλουσιν," εἶπεν, "ὦ ξένε, τὸ Ἑλλήνων γένος οἱ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου φοιτῶντες ἐνταῦθα, σφᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἱερούς τε καὶ σοφοὺς ἀποφαίνοντες καὶ νομοθέτας θυσιῶν τε καὶ τελετῶν, ὁπόσας νομίζουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐκείνους δὲ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς εἶναι φάσκοντες, ἀλλ᾽ ὑβριστάς τε καὶ ξύγκλυδας καὶ ἀναρχίαν πᾶσαν καὶ μυθολόγους καὶ τερατολόγους, καὶ πένητας μέν, ἐνδεικνυμένους δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ ὡς σεμνόν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὲρ ξυγγνώμης τοῦ κλέπτειν, σοῦ δὲ ἀκούων ταῦτα καὶ ὅπως φιλότιμοί τε καὶ χρηστοί εἰσι, σπένδομαί τε λοιπὸν τοῖς Ἕλλησι, καὶ δίδωμι αὐτοῖς ἐπαινεῖσθαί τε ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ καὶ εὔχεσθαί με ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων ὅ τι δύναμαι καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἀπιστεῖσθαι." ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας, "κἀγώ," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγίγνωσκον, ὅτι σοι τὰ ὦτα διέφθορεν ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τούτων, διῄειν δὲ ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων οὐδέν, ἔστ᾽ ἂν ξυμβούλου[1] τοιούτου τύχῃς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ βελτίων γέγονας ὑπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς

[1] So Olearius: Kaiser ξυμβόλου.

have been done for Xerxes by men who are by nature enthusiastic admirers of the virtues, and who consider that they praise themselves in praising those whom they have defeated?"

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CHAP. XXXII

The king recants, and blames Egyptian slanderers

These words of Apollonius caused the king to burst into tears, and he said: "Dearest friend, in what an heroic light do you represent these Hellenes to me." "Why then, O king, were you so hard upon them?" "The visitors who come hither from Egypt, O guest," replied the king, "malign the race of Hellenes, and while declaring that they themselves are holy men and wise, and the true law-givers who fixed all the sacrifices and rites of initiation which are in vogue among the Greeks, they deny to the latter any and every sort of good quality, declaring them to be ruffians, and a mixed herd addicted to every sort of anarchy, and lovers of legend and miracle mongers, and though indeed poor, yet making their poverty not a title of dignity, but a mere excuse for stealing. But now that I have heard this from you and understand how fond of honour and how worthy the Hellenes are, I am reconciled for the future to them and I engage both that they shall have my praise and that I will pray all I can for them, and will never set trust in another Egyptian." But Iarchas remarked: "I too, O king, was aware that your mind had been poisoned by these Egyptians; but I would not take the part of the Hellenes until you met some such counsellor as this. But since you have been put right by a wise man, let us

CAP. XXXII σοφοῦ, νῦν μὲν ἡμῖν ἡ Ταντάλου φιλοτησία πινέσθω καὶ καθεύδωμεν δι' ἃ χρὴ νύκτωρ σπουδάσαι, λόγων δὲ Ἑλληνικῶν, πλεῖστοι δ' οὗτοι τῶν κατ' ἀνθρώπους, ἐμπλήσω σε λοιπὸν ἐγὼ χαίροντα, ὁπότε ἀφίκοιο." καὶ ἅμα ἐξῆρχε τοῖς ξυμπόταις πρῶτος ἐς τὴν φιάλην κύπτων, ἡ δὲ ἐπότιζεν ἱκανῶς πάντας, τὸ γὰρ νᾶμα ἀφθόνως ἐπεδίδου, καθάπερ δὴ τοῖς πηγαίοις ἀναδιδομένοις, ἔπιέ τε καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὑπὲρ γὰρ φιλότητος Ἰνδοῖς τὸ ποτὸν τοῦτο εὕρηται. ποιοῦνται δὲ αὐτοῦ οἰνοχόον Τάνταλον, ἐπειδὴ φιλικώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἔδοξεν.

XXXIII

CAP. XXXIII Πιόντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐδέξατο ἡ γῆ εὐναῖς, ἃς αὐτὴ ὑπεστόρνυ. ἐπεὶ δὲ νὺξ μέση ἐγένετο, πρῶτον μὲν ἀναστάντες τὴν ἀκτῖνα μετέωροι ὕμνησαν, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ, εἶτα τῷ βασιλεῖ ξυνεγένοντο, ὁπόσα ἐδεῖτο. παρατυχεῖν μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον οἷς ἐσπούδασεν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὔ φησιν ὁ Δάμις, οἴεσθαι δ' αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπορρήτων τὴν ξυνουσίαν πεποιῆσθαι. θύσας οὖν ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ προσῆλθε τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ καὶ ἐκάλει ἐπὶ ξένια ἐς τὰ βασίλεια, ζηλωτὸν ἀποπέμψειν φάσκων ἐς Ἕλληνας, ὁ δὲ ἐπῄνει μὲν ταῦτα, οὐ μὴν ἐπιδώσειν γε ἑαυτὸν ἔφασκεν ἀνδρὶ μηδὲν ὁμοίῳ, καὶ ἄλλως

now proceed to quaff the good cheer provided by Tantalus, and let us sleep over the serious issues which we have to discuss to-night. But at another time I will fill you full with Hellenic arguments, and no other race is so rich in them, and you will delight in them whenever you come hither." And forthwith he set an example to his fellow-guests by stooping the first of them all to the goblet, which indeed furnished an ample draught for all; for the stream refilled itself plenteously, as if with spring waters welling up from the ground; and Apollonius also drank, for this cup is instituted by the Indians as a cup of friendship; and they feign that Tantalus is the wine-bearer who supplies it, because he is considered to have been the most friendly of men. CHAP. XXXII

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Apollonius refuses the king's offer of hospitality

AND when they had drunk, the earth received them on the couches which she had spread for them; but when it was midnight they rose up and first they sang a hymn to the ray of light, suspended aloft in the air as they had been at midday; and then they attended the king, as much as he desired. Damis, however, says that Apollonius was not present at the king's conversation with them, because he thought that the interview had to do with secrets of state. Having then at daybreak offered his sacrifice, the king approached Apollonius and offered him the hospitality of his palace, declaring that he would send him back to Greece an object of envy to all. But he commended him for his kindness, nevertheless he excused himself from

CAP. XXXIII πλείω χρόνον ἀποδημῶν τοῦ εἰκότος αἰσχύνεσθαι τοὺς οἴκοι φίλους ὑπερορᾶσθαι δοκοῦντας. ἀντιβολεῖν δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως φάσκοντος, καὶ ἀνελευθέρως ἤδη προσκειμένου, "βασιλεύς," ἔφη, "ταπεινότερον αὑτοῦ περὶ ὧν αἰτεῖ διαλεγόμενος ἐπιβουλεύει." προσελθὼν οὖν ὁ Ἰάρχας, "ἀδικεῖς," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸν ἱερὸν οἶκον, ἀπάγων ἐνθένδε ἄνδρα ἄκοντα, καὶ ἄλλως τῶν προγιγνωσκόντων οὗτος ὢν οἶδε τὴν ξυνουσίαν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς σὲ μὴ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἐσομένην, ἴσως δὲ οὐδ' αὐτῷ σοι χρηστόν τι ἕξουσαν."

XXXIV

CAP. XXXIV Ὁ μὲν δὴ κατῄει ἐς τὴν κώμην, ὁ γὰρ θεσμὸς τῶν σοφῶν οὐ ξυνεχώρει τῷ βασιλεῖ ξυνεῖναί σφισιν ὑπὲρ μίαν ἡμέραν, ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον, "καὶ Δάμιν," εἶπε, "τῶν δεῦρο ἀπορρήτων ἀξιοῦμεν καὶ ἡκέτω, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐπιμελοῦ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ." Ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο, ξυνιζήσαντες, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ξυνεχώρουν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐρωτᾶν, ἤρετό τε ἐκ τίνων ξυγκεῖσθαι τὸν κόσμον ἡγοῖντο, οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν, "ἐκ στοιχείων." "μῶν," ἔφη, "τεττάρων;" "οὐ τεττάρων," ἔφη ὁ Ἰάρχας, "ἀλλὰ πέντε." "καὶ τί ἄν," ἔφη, "πέμπτον γένοιτο παρὰ τὸ ὕδωρ τε καὶ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸ

inflicting himself upon one with whom he was on no sort of equality; moreover, he said that he had been longer abroad than he liked, and that he scrupled to give his friends at home cause to think they were being neglected. The king thereupon said that he entreated him, and assumed such an undignified attitude in urging his request, that Apollonius said: "A king who insists upon his request in such terms at the expense of his dignity, is laying a trap." Thereupon Iarchas intervened and said: "You wrong, O king, this sacred abode by trying to drag away from it a man against his will; and moreover, being one of those who can read the future, he is aware that his staying with you would not conduce to his own good, and would probably not be in any way profitable to yourself."

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The Sages teach that the cosmos is alive

The king accordingly went down into the village, for the law of the sages did not allow a king to be with them more than one day; but Iarchas said to the messenger: "We admit Damis also hither to our mysteries; so let him come, but do you look after the rest of them in the village." And when Damis arrived, they sat down together, as they were wont to do, and they allowed Apollonius to ask questions; and he asked them of what they thought the cosmos was composed; but they answered: "Of elements." "Are there then not four?" he asked. "Not four," said Iarchas, "but five." "And how can there be a fifth," said Apollonius, "alongside of water and air

CAP. XXXIV πῦρ;" "ὁ αἰθήρ," εἶπεν, "ὃν ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ γένεσιν θεῶν εἶναι, τὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ἀέρος ἕλκοντα θνητὰ πάντα, τὰ δὲ τοῦ αἰθέρος ἀθάνατά τε καὶ θεῖα." πάλιν ἤρετο, τί τῶν στοιχείων πρῶτον γένοιτο, ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας, "ὁμοῦ," ἔφη, "πάντα, τὸ γὰρ ζῷον κατὰ μέρος οὐ τίκτεται." "ζῷον," ἔφη, "ἡγῶμαι τὸν κόσμον;" "ἤν γε," ἔφη, "ὑγιῶς γιγνώσκῃς, αὐτὸς γὰρ ζῳογονεῖ πάντα." "θῆλυν," εἶπεν, "αὐτὸν καλῶμεν ἢ τῆς ἄρσενός τε καὶ ἀντικειμένης φύσεως;" "ἀμφοῖν," ἔφη, "αὐτὸς γὰρ αὑτῷ ξυγγιγνόμενος τὰ μητρός τε καὶ πατρὸς ἐς τὴν ζῳογονίαν πράττει, ἔρωτά τε ἑαυτοῦ ἴσχει θερμότερον ἢ ἕτερόν τι ἑτέρου, ὃς ἁρμόττει αὐτὸν καὶ ξυνίστησιν· ἀπεικὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἑαυτῷ ξυμφύεσθαι. καὶ ὥσπερ χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν ἔργον πεποίηται ἡ τοῦ ζῴου κίνησις καὶ ὁ ἐν αὐτῷ νοῦς, ὑφ' οὗ ὁρμᾷ, οὕτως ἡγώμεθα καὶ τὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου διὰ τὸν ἐκείνου νοῦν ἐπιτήδεια παρέχειν αὑτὰ τοῖς τικτομένοις τε καὶ κυουμένοις πᾶσι. καὶ γὰρ τὰ πάθη τὰ ἐξ αὐχμῶν φοιτῶντα κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνου φοιτᾷ νοῦν, ἐπειδὰν ἐκπεσοῦσα ἡ δίκη τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀτίμως πράττῃ, ποιμαίνεταί τε χειρὶ οὐ μιᾷ τόδε τὸ ζῷον, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς τε καὶ ἀρρήτοις, αἷς χρῆται, ἀχαλίνωτον μὲν διὰ μέγεθος, εὐήνιον δὲ κινεῖται καὶ εὐάγωγον.

and earth and fire?" "There is the ether," replied the other, "which we must regard as the stuff of which gods are made; for just as all mortal creatures inhale the air, so do immortal and divine natures inhale the ether." Apollonius again asked which of the elements first came into being, and Iarchas answered: "All are simultaneous, for a living creature is not born bit by bit." "Am I," said Apollonius, "to regard the universe as a living creature?" "Yes," said the other, "if you have a sound knowledge of it, for it engenders all living things." "Shall I then," said Apollonius, "call the universe female, or of both the male and the opposite gender?" "Of both genders," said the other, "for by commerce with itself it fulfils the rôle both of mother and father in bringing forth living creatures; and it is possessed by a love for itself more intense than any separate being has for its fellow, a passion which knits it together into harmony. And it is not illogical to suppose that it cleaves unto itself; for as the movement of an animal dictates the function of its hands and feet, in co-operation with a soul in it by which it is set in motion, so we must regard the parts of the universe also as adapting themselves through its inherent soul to all creatures which are brought forth or conceived. For example, the sufferings so often caused by drought are visited on us in accordance with the soul of the universe, whenever justice has fallen into disrepute and is disowned by men; and this animal shepherds itself not with a single hand only, but with many mysterious ones, which it has at its disposal; and though from its immense size it is controlled by no other, yet it moves obediently to the rein and is easily guided. CHAP. XXXIV

XXXV

CAP. XXXV

"Καὶ παράδειγμα μὲν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι ἀρκέσει τῷ λόγῳ μεγίστῳ τε ὄντι καὶ πρόσω ἐννοίας, ὑποκείσθω δὲ ναῦς, οἵαν Αἰγύπτιοι ξυντιθέντες ἐς τὴν θάλατταν τὴν ἡμεδαπὴν ἀφιᾶσιν, ἀγωγίμων Ἰνδικῶν ἀντιδιδόντες Αἰγύπτια· θεσμοῦ γὰρ παλαιοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ὄντος, ὃν βασιλεὺς Ἐρύθρας ἐνόμισεν, ὅτε τῆς θαλάττης ἐκείνης ἦρχε, μακρῷ μὲν πλοίῳ μὴ ἐσπλεῖν ἐς αὐτὴν Αἰγυπτίους, στρογγύλῃ δ' αὖ μιᾷ νηὶ χρῆσθαι, σοφίζονται πλοῖον Αἰγύπτιοι πρὸς πολλὰ τῶν παρ' ἑτέροις, καὶ παραπλευρώσαντες αὐτὸ ἁρμονίαις, ὁπόσαι ναῦν ξυνιστᾶσι, τοίχοις τε ὑπεράραντες καὶ ἱστῷ καὶ πηξάμενοι πλείους οἰκίας, οἵας ἐπὶ τῶν σελμάτων, πολλοὶ μὲν κυβερνῆται τῆς νεὼς ταύτης ὑπὸ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τε καὶ σοφωτάτῳ πλέουσι, πολλοὶ δὲ κατὰ πρῷραν ἄρχοντες ἄριστοί τε καὶ δεξιοὶ ναῦται καὶ πρὸς ἱστία πηδῶντες, ἔστι δέ τι τῆς νεὼς ταύτης καὶ ὁπλιτεῦον, πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς κολπίτας βαρβάρους, οἳ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ἔσπλου κεῖνται, παρατάττεσθαι δεῖ τὴν ναῦν, ὅτε λῄζοιντο αὐτὴν ἐπιπλέοντες. τοῦτο ἡγώμεθα καὶ περὶ τόνδε τὸν κόσμον εἶναι, θεωροῦντες αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸ τῆς ναυτιλίας σχῆμα, τὴν μὲν γὰρ δὴ πρώτην καὶ τελεωτάτην ἕδραν ἀποδοτέον θεῷ γενέτορι τοῦδε τοῦ ζῴου,

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CHAP. XXXV

Comparison of the world to a ship

"And the subject is so vast and so far transcends our mental powers, that I do not know any example adequate to illustrate it; but we will take that of a ship, such as the Egyptians construct for our seas and launch for the exchange of Egyptian goods against Indian wares. For there is an ancient law in regard to the Red Sea, which the king Erythras laid down, when he held sway over that sea, to the effect that the Egyptians should not enter it with a vessel of war, and indeed should employ only a single merchant ship. This regulation obliged the Egyptians to contrive a ship equivalent to several at once of those which other races have; and they ribbed the sides of this ship with all bolts such as hold a ship together, and they raised its bulwarks and its mast to a great height, and they constructed several compartments, such as are built upon the timber balks which run athwart a ship, and they set several pilots in this boat and subordinated them to the oldest and wisest of their number, to conduct the voyage; and there were several officers on the prow and excellent and handy sailors to man the sails; and in the crew of this ship there was a detachment of armed men, for it is necessary to equip the ship and protect it against the savages of the Gulf that live on the right hand as you enter it, in case they should ever attack and plunder it on the high seas. Let us apply this imagery to the universe, and regard it in the light of a naval construction; for then you must apportion the first and supreme position to God the begetter of this animal, and subordinate posts to the gods

CAP. XXXV τὴν δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ θεοῖς, οἳ τὰ μέρη αὐτοῦ κυβερνῶσι, καὶ τῶν γε ποιητῶν ἀποδεχώμεθα, ἐπειδὰν πολλοὺς μὲν φάσκωσιν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ θεοὺς εἶναι, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐν θαλάττῃ, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐν πηγαῖς τε καὶ νάμασι, πολλοὺς δὲ περὶ γῆν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν τινας. τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν τόπον, εἴπερ ἐστίν, ἐπειδὴ φρικώδη αὐτὸν καὶ φθαρτικὸν ᾄδουσιν, ἀποτάττωμεν τοῦ κόσμου."

XXXVI

CAP. XXXVI Ταῦτα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ διελθόντος, ἐκπεσεῖν ὁ Δάμις ἑαυτοῦ φησιν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως, καὶ ἀναβοῆσαι μέγα, μὴ γὰρ ἄν ποτε νομίσαι ἄνδρα Ἰνδὸν ἐς τοῦτο ἐλάσαι γλώττης Ἑλλάδος, μηδ' ἄν, εἴπερ τὴν γλῶτταν ἠπίστατο, τοσῇδε εὐροίᾳ καὶ ὥρᾳ διελθεῖν ταῦτα. ἐπαινεῖ δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ βλέμμα καὶ μειδίαμα καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀθεεὶ δοκεῖν ἐκφέρειν τὰς δόξας. τόν τοι Ἀπολλώνιον εὐσχημόνως τε καὶ ἀψοφητὶ τοῖς λόγοις χρώμενον ὅμως ἐπιδοῦναι μετὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν τοῦτον, καὶ ὅπου καθήμενος διαλέγοιτο, θαμὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἔπραττε, προσεοικέναι τῷ Ἰάρχᾳ.

XXXVII

CAP. XXXVII Ἐπαινεσάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς τῇ φωνῇ τὰ εἰρημένα, πάλιν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἤρετο, πότερα τὴν θάλατταν μείζω ἡγοῖντο ἢ τὴν γῆν, ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας,

who govern its parts; and we may well assent to the statements of the poets, when they say that there are many gods in heaven and many in the sea, and many in the fountains and streams, and many round about the earth, and that there are some even under the earth. But we shall do well to separate from the universe the region under the earth, if there is one, because the poets represent it as an abode of terror and corruption." CHAP. XXXV

XXXVI

CHAP. XXXVI

Damis applauds Iarchas

As the Indian concluded this discourse, Damis says that he was transported with admiration and applauded loudly; for he could never have thought that a native of India could show such mastery of the Greek tongue, nor even that, supposing he understood that language, he could have used it with so much ease and elegance. And he praises the look and smile of Iarchas, and the inspired air with which he expressed his ideas, admitting that Apollonius, although he had a delivery as graceful as it was free from bombast, nevertheless gained a great deal by contact with this Indian, and he says that whenever he sat down to discuss a theme, as he very often did, he resembled Iarchas.

XXXVII

CHAP. XXXVII

Relation of sea to earth

As the rest of the company praised no less the contents of Iarchas' speech than the tone in which he spoke, Apollonius resumed by asking him, which they considered the bigger, the sea or the land; and

CAP. XXXVII "εἰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν," ἔφη, "ἡ γῆ ἐξετάζοιτο, μείζων ἔσται, τὴν γὰρ θάλατταν αὕτη ἔχει, εἰ δὲ πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν ὑγρὰν οὐσίαν θεωροῖτο, ἥττω τὴν γῆν ἀποφαινοίμεθα ἄν, καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνην τὸ ὕδωρ φέρει."

XXXVIII

CAP. XXXVIII Μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν λόγων τούτων ἐφίσταται τοῖς σοφοῖς ὁ ἄγγελος Ἰνδοὺς ἄγων σωτηρίας δεομένους. καὶ παρῆγε γύναιον ἱκετεῦον ὑπὲρ παιδός, ὃν ἔφασκε μὲν ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονέναι, δαιμονᾶν δὲ δύο ἔτη, τὸ δὲ ἦθος τοῦ δαίμονος εἴρωνα εἶναι καὶ ψεύστην. ἐρομένου δέ τινος τῶν σοφῶν, ὁπόθεν λέγοι ταῦτα, "τοῦ παιδὸς τούτου," ἔφη, "τὴν ὄψιν εὐπρεπεστέρου ὄντος ὁ δαίμων ἐρᾷ, καὶ οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ αὐτῷ νοῦν ἔχειν, οὐδὲ ἐς διδασκάλου βαδίσαι ἐᾷ ἢ τοξότου, οὐδὲ οἴκοι εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ ἔρημα τῶν χωρίων ἐκτρέπει, καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν φωνὴν ὁ παῖς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ βαρὺ φθέγγεται καὶ κοῖλον, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄνδρες, βλέπει δὲ ἑτέροις ὀφθαλμοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ. κἀγὼ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις κλάω τε καὶ ἐμαυτὴν δρύπτω καὶ νουθετῶ τὸν υἱόν, ὁπόσα εἰκός, ὁ δὲ οὐκ οἶδέ με. διανοουμένης δέ μου τὴν ἐνταῦθα ὁδόν, τουτὶ δὲ πέρυσι διενοήθην, ἐξηγόρευσεν ὁ δαίμων ἑαυτὸν ὑποκριτῇ χρώμενος τῷ παιδί, καὶ δῆτα ἔλεγεν εἶναι μὲν εἴδωλον ἀνδρός, ὃς πολέμῳ ποτὲ ἀπέθανεν, ἀποθανεῖν δὲ ἐρῶν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικός, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ

Iarchas replied: "If the land be compared with the sea, it will be found to be bigger, for it includes the sea in itself; but if it be considered in relation to the entire mass of water, we can show that the earth is the lesser of the two, for it is upheld by the water."

CHAP. XXXVII

XXXVIII

CHAP. XXXVIII

Apollonius heals a demoniac boy

This discussion was interrupted by the appearance among the sages of the messenger bringing in certain Indians who were in want of succour. And he brought forward a poor woman who interceded in behalf of her child, who was, she said, a boy of sixteen years of age, but had been for two years possessed by a devil. Now the character of the devil was that of a mocker and a liar. Here one of the sages asked, why she said this, and she replied: "This child of mine is extremely good-looking, and therefore the devil is amorous of him and will not allow him to retain his reason, nor will he permit him to go to school, or to learn archery, nor even to remain at home, but drives him out into desert places. And the boy does not even retain his own voice, but speaks in a deep hollow tone, as men do; and he looks at you with other eyes rather than with his own. As for myself I weep over all this, and I tear my cheeks, and I rebuke my son so far as I well may; but he does not know me. And I made up my mind to repair hither, indeed I planned to do so a year ago; only the demon discovered himself, using my child as a mask, and what he told me was this, that he was the ghost of a man, who fell long ago in battle, but that at death he was passionately

CAP. XXXVIII γυνὴ περὶ τὴν εὐνὴν ὕβρισε τριταίου κειμένου γαμηθεῖσα ἑτέρῳ, μισῆσαι μὲν ἐκ τούτου τὸ γυναικῶν ἐρᾶν, μεταρρυῆναι δὲ ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον. ὑπισχνεῖτο δέ, εἰ μὴ διαβάλλοιμι αὐτὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, δώσειν τῷ παιδὶ πολλὰ ἐσθλὰ καὶ ἀγαθά. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ἔπαθόν τι πρὸς ταῦτα, ὁ δὲ διάγει με πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν οἶκον ἔχει μόνος, οὐδὲν μέτριον οὐδὲ ἀληθὲς φρονῶν." ἤρετο οὖν ὁ σοφὸς πάλιν, εἰ πλησίον εἴη ὁ παῖς, ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη, πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀφικέσθαι αὐτὸν πρᾶξαι, "ὁ δ' ἀπειλεῖ κρημνοὺς καὶ βάραθρα καὶ ἀποκτενεῖν μοι τὸν υἱόν, εἰ δικαζοίμην αὐτῷ δεῦρο." "θάρσει," ἔφη ὁ σοφός, "οὐ γὰρ ἀποκτενεῖ αὐτὸν ἀναγνοὺς ταῦτα," καί τινα ἐπιστολὴν ἀνασπάσας τοῦ κόλπου ἔδωκε τῇ γυναικί, ἐπέσταλτο δὲ ἄρα ἡ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸ εἴδωλον ξὺν ἀπειλῇ καὶ ἐκπλήξει.

XXXIX

CAP. XXXIX Καὶ μὴν καὶ χωλεύων τις ἀφίκετο, γεγονὼς μὲν ἤδη τριάκοντα ἔτη, λεόντων δὲ θηρατὴς δεινός, ἐμπεπτωκότος δὲ αὐτῷ λέοντος ὠλισθήκει τὸν γλουτὸν καὶ τοῦ σκέλους ἑτέρως εἶχεν. ἀλλ' αἱ χεῖρες αὐτῷ καταψῶσαι τὸν γλουτόν, ἐς ὀρθὸν τοῦ βαδίσματος ὁ νεανίας ἦλθε. καὶ ὀφθαλμὼ δέ τις ἐρρυηκὼς ἀπῆλθε πᾶν ἔχων τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς φῶς, καὶ

attached to his wife. Now he had been dead for only three days when his wife insulted their union by marrying another man, and the consequence was that he had come to detest the love of women, and had transferred himself wholly into this boy. But he promised, if I would only not denounce him to yourselves, to endow the child with many noble blessings. As for myself, I was influenced by these promises; but he has put me off and off for such a long time now, that he has got sole control of my household, yet has no honest or true intentions." Here the sage asked afresh, if the boy was at hand; and she said not, for, although she had done all she could to get him to come with her, the demon had threatened her with steep places and precipices and declared that he would kill her son, "in case," she added, "I haled him hither for trial." "Take courage," said the sage, "for he will not slay him when he has read this." And so saying he drew a letter out of his bosom and gave it to the woman; and the letter, it appears, was addressed to the ghost and contained threats of an alarming kind. CHAP. XXXVIII

XXXIX

THERE also arrived a man who was lame. He was already thirty years old and was a keen hunter of lions; but a lion had sprung upon him and dislocated his hip so that he limped with one leg. However when they massaged with their hands his hip, the youth immediately recovered his upright gait. And another man had had his eyes put out, and he went away having recovered the sight of both of them. CHAP. XXXIX

A lame man healed

Cure of a blind man

CAP. XXXIX ἄλλος τὴν χεῖρα ἀδρανὴς ὤν, ἐγκρατὴς ᾤχετο. γυνὴ δέ τις ἑπτὰ ἤδη γαστέρας δυστοκοῦσα δεομένου ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τἀνδρὸς ὧδε ἰάθη· τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκέλευσεν, ἐπειδὰν τίκτῃ ἡ γυνή, λαγὼν ὑπὸ κόλπῳ ζῶντα ἐσφέρεσθαι οὗ τίκτει, καὶ περιελθόντα αὐτὴν ἀφεῖναι ὁμοῦ τὸν λαγών, συνεκδοθῆναι γὰρ ἂν τῷ ἐμβρύῳ τὴν μήτραν, εἰ μὴ ὁ λαγὼς αὐτίκα ἐξενεχθείη θύραζε.

XL

CAP. XL Πατρὸς δ᾽ αὖ τινος εἰπόντος, ὡς γένοιντο μὲν αὐτῷ παῖδες, ἀποθάνοιεν δὲ ὁμοῦ τῷ ἄρξασθαι οἶνον πίνειν, ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν ὁ Ἰάρχας, "καὶ βελτίους ἀποθανόντες ἐγένοντο, οὐ γὰρ ἂν διέφυγον τὸ μὴ μανῆναι, θερμοτέρων, ὡς φαίνεται, σπερμάτων φύντες. οἴνου μὲν οὖν ἀφεκτέον τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν, ὡς δὲ μηδὲ ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν ποτὲ οἴνου κατασταῖεν, εἴ σοι πάλιν παιδίον γένοιτο, γέγονε δὲ ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν, ὡς ὁρῶ, τὴν γλαῦκα τὴν ὄρνιν χρὴ ἐπιφυλάττειν, οὗ νεοττεύει, καὶ τὰ ᾠὰ σπάσαντα δοῦναι μασᾶσθαι τῷ βρέφει συμμέτρως ἕψοντα, εἰ γὰρ βρώσεταί τι τούτων, πρὶν οἴνου γεύσεται, μῖσος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν οἶνον ἐμφύσεται, καὶ σωφρονέστατα διακείσεται, μόνου ξυγκεκραμένος τοῦ ἐν τῇ φύσει θερμοῦ."

Τούτων οὖν ἐμπιπλάμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκ-

CHAP. XXXIX

Of a paralytic

Yet another man had his hand paralysed, but left their presence in full possession of the limb. And a certain woman had suffered in labour already seven times, but was healed in the following way through the intercession of her husband. He bade the man, whenever his wife should be about to bring forth her next child, to enter her chamber carrying in his bosom a live hare; then he was to walk once round her and at the same moment to release the hare; for that the womb would be extruded together with the fœtus, unless the hare was at once driven out.

Of a woman by means of a live hare

XL

CHAP. XL

Of sons who died through drinking wine

AND again a certain man who was a father said that he had had several sons, but that they had died the moment they began to drink wine. Iarchas took him up and said: "Yes, and it is just as well they did die, for they would inevitably have gone mad, having inherited, as it appears, from their parents too warm a temperament. Your children," he added, "must therefore abstain from wine, but in order that they may be never led even to desire wine, supposing you should have another boy, and I perceive you had one only six days ago, you must carefully watch the hen owl and find where it builds its nest; then you must snatch its eggs and give them to the child to chew after boiling them properly; for if it is fed upon these, before it tastes wine, a distaste for wine will be bred in it, and it will keep sober by your excluding from its temperament any but natural warmth."

With such lore as this then they surfeited

CAP. XL πληττόμενοι, τῆς ἐς πάντα σοφίας παμπόλλους ὁσημέραι λόγους ἠρώτων, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠρωτῶντο.

XLI

CAP. XLI Τῆς μὲν οὖν διαλεκτικῆς ξυνουσίας ἄμφω μετεῖχον, τὰς δὲ ἀπορρήτους σπουδάς, αἷς ἀστρικὴν ἢ μαντείαν κατενόουν καὶ τὴν πρόγνωσιν ἐσπούδαζον, θυσιῶν τε ἥπτοντο καὶ κλήσεων, αἷς θεοὶ χαίρουσι, μόνον φησὶν ὁ Δάμις τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ξυμφιλοσοφεῖν τῷ Ἰάρχᾳ, καὶ ξυγγράψαι μὲν ἐκεῖθεν περὶ μαντείας ἀστέρων βίβλους τέτταρας, ὧν καὶ Μοιραγένης ἐπεμνήσθη, ξυγγράψαι δὲ περὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ὡς ἄν τις ἑκάστῳ θεῷ προσφόρως τε καὶ κεχαρισμένως θύοι. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην μαντικὴν πᾶσαν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἡγοῦμαι φύσιν, καὶ οὐδ᾽ εἰ κέκτηταί τις οἶδα, τὸ δὲ περὶ θυσιῶν ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν ἱεροῖς εὗρον, ἐν πολλαῖς δὲ πόλεσι, πολλοῖς δὲ ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν οἴκοις, καί τοι,[1] ἄν τις ἑρμηνεύοι αὐτό, σεμνῶς ξυντεταγμένον καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἠχὼ τοῦ ἀνδρός. φησὶ δὲ ὁ Δάμις καὶ δακτυλίους ἑπτὰ τὸν Ἰάρχαν

[1] Kayser reads: καὶ τί ἄν, which is unintelligible.

themselves, and they were astonished at the many-sided wisdom of the company, and day after day they asked all sorts of questions, and were themselves asked many in turn.

CHAP. XL

XLI

CHAP. XLI

Apollonius' work on astral divination mentioned by Moiragenes

BOTH Apollonius and Damis then took part in the interviews devoted to abstract discussions; not so with the conversations devoted to occult themes, in which they pondered the nature of astronomy or divination, and considered the question of foreknowledge, and handled the problems of sacrifice and of the invocations in which the gods take pleasure. In these Damis says that Apollonius alone partook of the philosophic discussion together with Iarchas, and that he embodied the results in four books concerning divination by the stars, a work which Moiragenes has mentioned. And Damis says that he composed a work on the way to offer sacrifice to the several gods in a manner suitable and pleasing to them. Not only then do I regard the work on the science of the stars and the whole subject of such divination as transcending human nature, but I do not even know if anyone has these gifts; but I found the treatise on sacrifices in several temples, and in several cities, and in the houses of several learned men; moreover if anyone who should translate[1] it, he would find it to be a grave and dignified composition, and one that rings of the author's personality? And Damis says that

His work on sacrifice

[1] In Bk. IV. ch. 19, we are told that this book was written in the Cappadocian tongue. Hence the need of translation.

CAP. XLI τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ δοῦναι τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐπωνύμους ἀστέρων, οὓς φορεῖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον κατὰ ἕνα πρὸς τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἡμερῶν.

XLII

CAP. XLII Περὶ δὲ προγνώσεως λόγου αὐτοῖς ποτε ὄντος, καὶ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου προσκειμένου τῇ σοφίᾳ ταύτῃ, καὶ τὰς πλείους τῶν διαλέξεων ἐς τοῦτο ξυντείνοντος, ἐπαινῶν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰάρχας, "οἱ μαντικῇ," ἔφη, "χαίροντες, ὦ χρηστὲ Ἀπολλώνιε, θεῖοί τε ὑπ' αὐτῆς γίγνονται καὶ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἀνθρώπων πράττουσι. τὸ γάρ, ἃ χρὴ ἐς θεοῦ ἀφικόμενον εὑρέσθαι, ταῦτα αὖ, ὦ χρηστέ, ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ προιδέσθαι προειπεῖν τε ἑτέροις, ἃ μήπω ἴσασι, πανολβίου τινὸς ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ταὐτὸν ἰσχύοντος τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δελφικῷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τέχνη τοὺς ἐς θεοῦ φοιτῶντας ἐπὶ τῷ χρήσασθαι καθαροὺς κελεύει βαδίζοντας φοιτᾶν, ἢ "ἔξιθι τοῦ νεὼ" πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐρεῖ, δοκεῖ μοι καὶ τὸν προγνωσόμενον ἄνδρα ὑγιῶς ἑαυτοῦ ἔχειν, καὶ μήτε κηλῖδα προσμεμάχθαι τῇ ψυχῇ μηδεμίαν, μήτε οὐλὰς ἁμαρτημάτων ἐντετυπῶσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ, καθαρῶς δὲ αὐτὸν προφητεύειν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῷ στέρνῳ τρίποδος συνιέντα· γεγωνότερον γὰρ οὕτω καὶ ἀληθέστερον τὰ λόγια ἐκδώσει. ὅθεν οὐ χρὴ θαυμάζειν, εἰ καὶ σὺ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ξυνείληφας τοσοῦτον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φέρων αἰθέρα."

Iarchas gave seven rings to Apollonius named after the seven stars, and that Apollonius wore each of these in turn on the day of the week which bore its name. CHAP. XLI

XLII

CHAP. XLII

Iarchas on divination of the future

As to the subject of foreknowledge, they presently had a talk about it, for Apollonius was devoted to this kind of lore, and turned most of their conversations on to it. For this Iarchas praised him and said: "My good friend Apollonius, those who take pleasure in divination, are rendered divine thereby and contribute to the salvation of mankind. For here we have discoveries which we must go to a divine oracle in order to make; yet these, my good friend, we foresee of our unaided selves and foretell to others things which they know not yet. This I regard as the gift of one thoroughly blessed and endowed with the same mysterious power as the Delphic Apollo. Now the ritual insists that those who visit a shrine with a view to obtaining a response, must purify themselves first, otherwise they will be told to "depart from the temple." Consequently I consider that one who would foresee events must be healthy in himself, and must not have his soul stained with any sort of defilement nor his character scarred with the wounds of any sins; so he will pronounce his predictions with purity, because he will understand himself and the sacred tripod in his breast, and with ever louder and clearer tone and truer import will he utter his oracles. Therefore you need not be surprised, if you comprehend the science, seeing that you carry in your soul so much ether."

XLIII

CAP. XLIII Καὶ χαριεντιζόμενος ἅμα πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν, "σὺ δ' οὐδέν," ἔφη, "προγιγνώσκεις, Ἀσσύριε, καὶ ταῦτα ξυνὼν ἀνδρὶ τοιούτῳ;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπε, "τά γε ἐμαυτῷ ἀναγκαῖα· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πρώτῳ ἐνέτυχον τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τούτῳ, καὶ σοφίας μοι ἔδοξε πλέως δεινότητός τε καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ τοῦ καρτερεῖν ὀρθῶς, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ μνημοσύνην ἐν αὐτῷ εἶδον, πολυμαθέστατόν τε καὶ φιλομαθίας ἥττω, δαιμόνιόν τί μοι ἐγένετο, καὶ ξυγγενόμενος αὐτῷ σοφὸς μὲν ᾠήθην δόξειν ἐξ ἰδιώτου τε καὶ ἀσόφου, πεπαιδευμένος δὲ ἐκ βαρβάρου, ἑπόμενος δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ξυσπουδάζων ὄψεσθαι μὲν Ἰνδούς, ὄψεσθαι δὲ ὑμᾶς, Ἕλλησί τε ἐπιμίξειν Ἕλλην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενος. τὰ μὲν δὴ ὑμέτερα περὶ μεγάλων ὄντα Δελφοὺς ἡγεῖσθε καὶ Δωδώνην καὶ ὅ τι βούλεσθε, τἀμὰ δέ, ἐπειδὴ Δάμις μὲν ὁ προγιγνώσκων αὐτά, προγιγνώσκει δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μόνου, γραὸς ἔστω ἀγυρτρίας μαντευομένης ὑπὲρ προβατίων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων."

XLIV

CAP. XLIV Ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν δὴ ἐγέλασαν οἱ σοφοὶ πάντες, καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ γέλωτος ἐπανῆγεν ὁ Ἰάρχας

XLIII

And with these words he turned to Damis and said playfully: "And you, O Assyrian, have you no foreknowledge of anything, especially as you associate with such a man as this?" "Yes, by Zeus," answered Damis, "at any rate of the things that are necessary for myself; for when I first met with Apollonius here, he at once struck me as full of wisdom and cleverness and sobriety and of true endurance; but when I saw that he also had a good memory, and that he was very learned and entirely devoted to love of learning, he became to me something superhuman; and I came to the conclusion that if I stuck to him I should be held a wise man instead of an ignoramus and a dullard, and an educated man instead of a savage; and I saw that, if I followed him and shared his pursuits, I should visit the Indians and visit you, and that I should be turned into a Hellene by him and be able to mix with the Hellenes. Now of course you set your oracles, as they concern important issues, on a level with those of Delphi and Dodona and of any other shrine you like; as for my own premonitions, since Damis is the person who has them, and since his foreknowledge concerns himself alone, we will suppose that they resemble the guesses of an old beggar wife foretelling what will happen to sheep and such like." CHAP. XLIII Damis' premonitions

XLIV

All the sages laughed of course at this sally, and when the laughter had subsided, Iarchas led back the CHAP. XLIV

CAP. XLIV ἐς τὸν περὶ τῆς μαντικῆς λόγον, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὴν ἀγαθὰ ἔλεγε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰργάσθαι, μέγιστον δὲ τὸ τῆς ἰατρικῆς δῶρον· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε τοὺς σοφοὺς Ἀσκληπιάδας ἐς ἐπιστήμην τούτου παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ παῖς Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀσκληπιὸς γενόμενος, καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐκείνου φήμας τε καὶ μαντείας ξυνθεὶς τὰ πρόσφορα ταῖς νόσοις φάρμακα, παισί τε ἑαυτοῦ παρέδωκε, καὶ τοὺς ξυνόντας ἐδιδάξατο, τίνας μὲν δεῖ προσάγειν πόας ὑγροῖς ἕλκεσι, τίνας δὲ αὐχμηροῖς καὶ ξηροῖς, ξυμμετρίας τε ποτίμων φαρμάκων, ὑφ' ὧν ὕδεροι ἀποχετεύονται, καὶ αἷμα ἴσχεται, φθόαι τε παύονται καὶ τὰ οὕτω κοῖλα. καὶ τὰ τῶν ἰοβόλων δὲ ἄκη καὶ τὸ τοῖς ἰοβόλοις αὐτοῖς ἐς πολλὰ τῶν νοσημάτων χρῆσθαι τίς ἀφαιρήσεται τὴν μαντικήν; οὐ γάρ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἄνευ τῆς προγιγνωσκούσης σοφίας θαρσῆσαί ποτε ἄνθρωποι τὰ πάντων ὀλεθριώτατα φαρμάκων ἐγκαταμῖξαι τοῖς σώζουσιν.

XLV

CAP. XLV Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὅδε ὁ λόγος ἀναγέγραπται τῷ Δάμιδι, σπουδασθεὶς ἐκεῖ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς μυθολογουμένων θηρίων τε καὶ πηγῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, μηδ' ἐμοὶ παραλειπέσθω, καὶ γὰρ κέρδος ἂν εἴη μήτε πιστεύειν, μήτε ἀπιστεῖν πᾶσιν. ἤρετο γὰρ δὴ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἔστι τι ζῷον ἐνταῦθα μαρτι-

CHAP. XLIV

Divination and medicine

argument to the subject of divination, and among the many blessings which that art had conferred upon mankind, he declared the gift of healing to be the most important. "For," said he, "the wise sons of Asclepius would have never attained to this branch of science, if Asclepius had not been the son of Apollo; and as such had not in accordance with the latter's responses and oracles concocted and adapted different drugs to different diseases; these he not only handed on to his own sons, but he taught his companions what herbs must be applied to running wounds, and what to parched and dry wounds, and in what doses to administer liquid drugs for drinking, by means of which dropsical patients are drained, and bleeding is checked, and diseases of decay and the cavities due to their ravages are put an end to. And who," he said, "can deprive the art of divination of the credit of discovering simples which heal the bites of venomous creatures, and in particular of using the virus itself as a cure for many diseases? For I do not think that men without the forecasts of a prophetic wisdom would ever have ventured to mingle with medicines that save life these most deadly of poisons."

XLV

CHAP. XLV

On the mythical animals of India

And inasmuch as the following conversation also has been recorded by Damis as having been held upon this occasion with regard to the mythological animals and fountains and men met with in India, I must not leave it out, for there is much to be gained by neither believing nor yet disbelieving everything. Accordingly Apollonius asked the question, whether

CAP. XLV χόρας;" ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας, "καὶ τίνα," ἔφη, "φύσιν τοῦ ζῴου τούτου ἤκουσας; εἰκὸς γὰρ καὶ περὶ εἴδους αὐτοῦ τι λέγεσθαι." "λέγεται," εἶπε, "μεγάλα καὶ ἄπιστα, τετράπουν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι αὐτό, τὴν κεφαλὴν δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ εἰκάσθαι, λέοντι δὲ ὡμοιῶσθαι τὸ μέγεθος, τὴν δὲ οὐρὰν τοῦ θηρίου τούτου πηχυαίας ἐκφέρειν καὶ ἀκανθώδεις τὰς τρίχας, ἃς βάλλειν ὥσπερ τοξεύματα ἐς τοὺς θηρῶντας αὐτό." ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὕδατος, ὅ φασιν ἐκ πηγῆς βλύζειν, καὶ περὶ τῆς ψήφου τῆς ἅπερ ἡ μαγνῆτις ποιούσης, ἀνθρώπων τε ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκούντων καὶ πυγμαίων αὖ καὶ σκιαπόδων, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Ἰάρχας, "περὶ μὲν ζῴων ἢ φυτῶν," εἶπεν, "ἢ πηγῶν, ὧν αὐτὸς ἐνταῦθα ἥκων εἶδες, τί ἄν σοι λέγοιμι; σὸν γὰρ ἤδη νῦν ἐξηγεῖσθαι αὐτὰ ἑτέροις· θηρίον δὲ τοξεῦον ἢ χρυσοῦ πηγὰς ὕδατος οὔπω ἐνταῦθα ἤκουσα.

XLVI

CAP. XLVI "Περὶ μέντοι τῆς ψήφου τῆς ἐπισπωμένης τε καὶ ξυνδούσης ἑαυτῇ λίθους ἑτέρας οὐ χρὴ ἀπιστεῖν· ἔστι γάρ σοι καὶ ἰδεῖν τὴν λίθον, καὶ θαυμάσαι τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ πάντα. γίγνεται μὲν γὰρ ἡ μεγίστη κατὰ ὄνυχα δακτύλου τούτου," δείξας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀντίχειρα, "κυίσκεται δὲ ἐν γῇ κοίλῃ βάθος ὀργυιαὶ τέτταρες, τοσοῦτον δὲ αὐτῇ περίεστι τοῦ πνεύ-

CHAP. XLV

there was there an animal called the man-eater (*martichoras*); and Iarchas replied: "And what have you heard about the make of this animal? For it is probable that there is some account given of its shape." "There are," replied Apollonius, "tall stories current which I cannot believe; for they say that the creature has four feet, and that his head resembles that of a man, but that in size it is comparable to a lion; while the tail of this animal puts out hairs a cubit long and sharp as thorns, which it shoots like arrows at those who hunt it." And he further asked about the golden water which they say bubbles up from a spring, and about the stone which behaves like a magnet, and about the men who live underground and the pigmies also and the shadow-footed men; and Iarchas answered his questions thus: "What have I to tell you about animals or plants or fountains which you have seen yourself on coming here? For by this time you are as competent to describe these to other people as I am; but I never yet heard in this country of an animal that shoots arrows or of springs of golden water.

XLVI

CHAP. XLVI

The *Pantarbe* stone

"However about the stone which attracts and binds to itself other stones you must not be sceptical; for you can see the stone yourself if you like, and admire its properties. For the greatest specimen is exactly of the size of this finger nail," and here he pointed to his own thumb, "and it is conceived in a hollow in the earth at a depth of four fathoms; but it is so highly endowed with spirit, that the earth swells

CAP. XLVI ματος, ὡς ὑποιδεῖν τὴν γῆν καὶ κατὰ πολλὰ ῥήγνυσθαι κυισκομένης ἐν αὐτῇ τῆς λίθου. μαστεῦσαι δὲ αὐτὴν οὐδενὶ ἔξεστιν, ἀποδιδράσκει γάρ, εἰ μὴ μετὰ λόγου ἀνασπῷτο· ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μόνοι τὰ μὲν δράσαντες, τὰ δὲ εἰπόντες ἀναιρούμεθα τὴν παντάρβην· ὄνομα γὰρ αὐτῇ τοῦτο. νύκτωρ μὲν οὖν ἡμέραν ἀναφαίνει, καθάπερ τὸ πῦρ, ἔστι γὰρ πυρσὴ καὶ ἀκτινώδης, εἰ δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὁρῷτο, βάλλει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μαρμαρυγαῖς μυρίαις. τὸ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ φῶς πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἀρρήτου ἰσχύος, πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἐγγὺς ἐσποιεῖ αὐτῇ. τί λέγω τὸ ἐγγύς; ἔστι σοι λίθους, ὁπόσας βούλει, καταποντῶσαί ποι ἢ τῶν ποταμῶν ἢ τῆς θαλάττης, καὶ μηδὲ ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων, ἀλλὰ σποράδας καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἡ δὲ ἐς αὐτὰς καθιμηθεῖσα, ξυλλέγεται πάσας τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος διαδόσει, καὶ ὑποκείσονται αὐτῇ βοτρυδὸν αἱ λίθοι, καθάπερ σμῆνος."

XLVII

CAP. XLVII Καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἔδειξε τὴν λίθον αὐτήν τε καὶ ὁπόσα ἐργάζεται. τοὺς δὲ πυγμαίους οἰκεῖν μὲν ὑπογείους, κεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν Γάγγην, ζῶντας τρόπον ὃς πᾶσιν εἴρηται, σκιάποδας δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἢ μακροκεφάλους ἢ ὁπόσα Σκύλακος ξυγγραφαὶ περὶ τούτων ᾄδουσιν, οὔτε ἄλλοσέ ποι βιοτεύειν τῆς γῆς οὔτε μὴν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς.

CHAP. XLVI

and breaks open in many places when the stone is conceived in it. But no one can get hold of it, for it runs away, unless it is scientifically attracted; but we alone can secure, partly by performance of certain rites, and partly by certain forms of words, this *pantarbe*, for such is the name given to it. Now in the night-time it glows like the day just as fire might, for it is red and gives out rays; and if you look at it in the daytime it smites your eyes with a thousand glints and gleams. And the light within it is a spirit of mysterious power, for it absorbs to itself everything in its neighbourhood. And why do I say in its neighbourhood? Why you can sink anywhere in river or in sea as many stones as you like, and these not even near to one another, but here there and everywhere; and then if you let down this stone among them by a string it gathers them all together by the diffusion of its spirit, and the stones yield to its influence and cling to it in a bunch, like a swarm of bees."

XLVII

CHAP. XLVII

The Pigmies

And having said this he showed the stone itself and all that it was capable of effecting. And as to the pigmies, he said that they lived underground, and that they lay on the other side of the Ganges and lived in the manner which is related by all. As to men that are shadow-footed or have long heads, and as to the other poetical fancies which the treatise of Scylax recounts about them, he said that they didn't live anywhere on the earth, and least of all in India.

XLVIII

CAP. XLVIII ῝Ον δ᾿ ὀρύττουσι χρυσὸν οἱ γρῦπες, πέτραι εἰσὶν οἷον σπινθῆρσιν ἐστιγμέναι ταῖς τοῦ χρυσοῦ ῥανίσιν, ἃς λιθοτομεῖ τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο τῇ τοῦ ῥάμφους ἰσχύϊ. τὰ γὰρ θηρία ταῦτα εἶναι τε ἐν Ἰνδοῖς καὶ ἱεροὺς νομίζεσθαι τοῦ Ἡλίου, τέθριππά τε αὐτῶν ὑποζευγνύναι τοῖς ἀγάλμασι τοὺς τὸν Ἥλιον ἐν Ἰνδοῖς γράφοντας, μέγεθός τε καὶ ἀλκὴν εἰκάσθαι αὐτοὺς τοῖς λέουσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ πλεονεξίας τῶν πτερῶν αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων δὲ καὶ δρακόντων ὑπερτέρους εἶναι. πέτονται δὲ οὔπω μέγα, ἀλλ᾿ ὅσον οἱ βραχύποροι ὄρνιθες, μὴ γὰρ ἐπτιλῶσθαι σφᾶς, ὡς ὄρνισι πάτριον, ἀλλ᾿ ὑμέσι τοὺς ταρσοὺς ὑφάνθαι πυρσοῖς, ὡς εἶναι κυκλώσαντας πέτεσθαί τε καὶ ἐκ μετεώρου μάχεσθαι, τὴν τίγριν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνάλωτον εἶναι μόνην, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τάχος αὐτὴν ἐσποιεῖ τοῖς ἀνέμοις.

XLIX

CAP. XLIX Καὶ τὸν φοίνικα δὲ τὸν ὄρνιν τὸν διὰ πεντακοσίων ἐτῶν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἥκοντα, πέτεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον, εἶναι δὲ ἕνα, ἐκδιδόμενον τῶν ἀκτίνων καὶ χρυσῷ λάμποντα, μέγεθος ἀετοῦ καὶ εἶδος, ἐς καλιάν τε ἱζάνειν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀρώματος ποιουμένην αὐτῷ πρὸς ταῖς τοῦ Νείλου πηγαῖς. ἃ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι περὶ αὐτοῦ ᾄδουσιν, ὡς ἐς Αἴγυπτον φέρεται, καὶ Ἰνδοὶ ξυμμαρτυροῦσι,

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CHAP. XLVIII

The griffins

As to the gold which the griffins dig up, there are rocks which are spotted with drops of gold as with sparks, which this creature can quarry because of the strength of its beak. "For these animals do exist in India," he said, "and are held in veneration as being sacred to the Sun; and the Indian artists, when they represent the Sun, yoke four of them abreast to draw the imaged car; and in size and strength they resemble lions, but having this advantage over them that they have wings, they will attack them, and they get the better of elephants and of dragons. But they have no great power of flying, not more than have birds of short flight; for they are not winged as is proper with birds, but the palms of their feet are webbed with red membranes, such that they are able to revolve them, and make a flight and fight in the air; and the tiger alone is beyond their powers of attack, because in swiftness it is akin to the winds.

XLIX

CHAP. XLIX

The phoenix

"And the phoenix," he said, "is the bird which visits Egypt every five hundred years, but the rest of that time it flies about in India; and it is unique in that it is an emanation of sunlight and shines with gold, in size and appearance like an eagle; and it sits upon the nest which is made by it at the springs of the Nile out of spices. The story of the Egyptians about it, that it comes to Egypt, is testified to by the Indians

CAP. XLIX προσᾴδοντες τῷ λόγῳ τὸ τὸν φοίνικα τὸν ἐν τῇ καλιᾷ τηκόμενον προπεμπτηρίους ὕμνους αὑτῷ ᾄδειν. τουτὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς κύκνους φασὶ δρᾶν οἱ σοφώτερον αὐτῶν ἀκούοντες.

L

CAP. L Τοιαίδε μὲν αἱ πρὸς τοὺς σοφοὺς ξυνουσίαι Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐγένοντο μηνῶν τεττάρων ἐκεῖ διατρίψαντι, καὶ ξυλλαβόντι λόγους φανερούς τε καὶ ἀπορρήτους πάντας, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξελαύνειν ἐβούλετο, τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα καὶ τὰς καμήλους πείθουσιν αὐτὸν ἀποπέμψαι τῷ Φραώτῃ μετ' ἐπιστολῆς, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἡγεμόνα ἕτερον καὶ καμήλους δόντες προέπεμπον αὐτόν, εὐδαιμονίζοντες αὑτούς τε κἀκεῖνον. ἀσπασάμενοι δὲ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ θεὸν τοῖς πολλοῖς εἶναι δόξειν οὐ τεθνεῶτα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶντα φήσαντες, αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπέστρεψαν ἐς τὸ φροντιστήριον, ἐπιστρεφόμενοι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ δηλοῦντες, ὅτι ἄκοντες αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάττονται· ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν τὸν Γάγγην ἔχων, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τὸν Ὕφασιν κατῄει ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἡμερῶν δέκα ὁδὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὄχθου. κατιοῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς πολλαὶ μὲν στρουθοὶ ἐφαίνοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ ἄγριοι βόες, πολλοὶ δὲ ὄνοι καὶ λέοντες καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ τίγρεις, καὶ πιθήκων γένος ἕτερον παρὰ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πεπέρισι, μέλανές τε γὰρ καὶ λάσιοι ἦσαν καὶ τὰ εἴδη κύνειοι καὶ σμικροῖς ἀνθρώποις ἴσοι. διαλεγόμενοι δὲ περὶ τῶν ὁρωμένων, ὁποῖα εἰώθεσαν, ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, ἐν ᾗ κατεσκεύαστο ἐμπόρια μικρά, καὶ πλοῖα

also, but the latter add this touch to the story, that the phoenix which is being consumed in its nest sings funeral strains for itself. And this is also done by the swans according to the account of those who have the wit to hear them. CHAP. XLIX

L

CHAP. L

Apollonius quits the Brahmans

In such conversations with the sages Apollonius spent the four months which he passed there, and he acquired all sorts of lore both profane and mysterious. But when he was minded to go on his way, they persuaded him to send back to Phraotes with a letter his guide and the camels; and they themselves gave him another guide and camels, and sent him forth on his way, congratulating both themselves and him. And having embraced Apollonius and declared that he would be esteemed a god by the many, not merely after his death, but while he was still alive, they turned back to their place of meditation, though ever and anon they turned towards him, and showed by their action that they parted from him against their will. And Apollonius keeping the Ganges on his right hand, but the Hyphasis on his left, went down towards the sea a journey of ten days from the sacred ridge. And as they went down they saw a great many ostriches, and many wild bulls, and many asses and lions and pards and tigers, and another kind of apes than those which inhabit the pepper trees, for these were black and bushy-haired and were dog-like in features and as big as small men. And in the usual discussion of what they saw they reached the sea, where small factories had been built, and passenger

CAP. L δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὥρμει πορθμεῖα παραπλήσια τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς. τὴν δὲ θάλατταν τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν εἶναι μὲν κυανωτάτην, ὠνομάσθαι δέ, ὡς εἶπον, ἀπὸ Ἐρύθρα βασιλέως, ὃς ἐπωνόμασεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκείνῳ τῷ πελάγει.

LI

CAP. LI Ἐνταῦθα ἥκων τὰς μὲν καμήλους ἀπέπεμψε τῷ Ἰάρχᾳ μετ' ἐπιστολῆς·

"Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰάρχᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις σοφοῖς χαίρειν.

ἀφικομένῳ μοι πεζῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεδώκατε τὴν θάλατταν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφίας τῆς ἐν ὑμῖν κοινωνήσαντες δεδώκατε καὶ διὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πορεύεσθαι. μεμνήσομαι τούτων καὶ πρὸς Ἕλληνας, κοινωνήσω τε λόγων ὡς παροῦσιν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ μάτην ἔπιον τοῦ Ταντάλου. ἔρρωσθε ἀγαθοὶ φιλόσοφοι."

LII

CAP. LII Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιβὰς νεὼς ἐκομίζετο λείῳ καὶ εὐφόρῳ πνεύματι, θαυμάζων τὸ στόμα τοῦ Ὑφάσιδος, ὡς φοβερῶς δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκχεῖται· τελευτῶν γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἐς χωρία πετρώδη καὶ στενὰ καὶ κρημνοὺς ἐκπίπτει, δι' ὧν καταρρηγνὺς ἐς τὴν θάλατταν ἑνὶ στόματι χαλεπὸς δοκεῖ τοῖς ἄγαν τῇ γῇ προσκειμένοις.

ships rode in them resembling those of the Tyrrhenes. And they say that the sea called Erythra or "red" is of a deep blue colour, but that it was so named, as I said before, from a king Erythras, who gave his own name to the sea in question.

CHAP. L

LI

CHAP. LI

Apollonius' farewell letter to Iarchas

Having reached this point, Apollonius sent back the camels to Iarchas together with the following letter:

"Apollonius to Iarchas and the other sages greeting.

"I came to you on foot, and yet you presented me with the sea; but by sharing with me the wisdom which is yours, you have made it mine even to travel through the heavens. All this I shall mention to the Hellenes; and I shall communicate in my words with you as if you were present, unless I have in vain drunk the draught of Tantalus. Farewell, ye goodly philosophers."

LII

CHAP. LII

The mouth of the Hyphasis

He then embarked upon the ship and was borne away by a smooth and favourable breeze, and he was much struck at the formidable manner in which the Hyphasis discharges itself into the sea at its mouth; for in its later course, as I said before, it falls into rocky and narrow places and over precipices, and breaking its way through these to the sea by a single mouth, presents a formidable danger to those who hug the land too closely.

LIII

CAP. LIII Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ στόμα ἰδεῖν φασι, πόλιν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κεῖσθαι Πάταλα περίρρυτον τῷ Ἰνδῷ, ἐς ἣν τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐλθεῖν, ᾧ ναύαρχον ἐπιτετάχθαι Νέαρχον οὐκ ἀγύμναστον τῆς θαλαττίου τάξεως. ἃ δὲ Ὀρθαγόρᾳ περὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς εἴρηται, καὶ ὅτι μήτε ἡ ἄρκτος ἐν αὐτῇ φαίνοιτο, μήτε σημαίνοιντο τὴν μεσημβρίαν οἱ πλέοντες, οἵ τε ἐπίδηλοι τῶν ἀστέρων ἐξαλλάττοιεν τῆς ἑαυτῶν τάξεως, δοκεῖ καὶ Δάμιδι, καὶ χρὴ πιστεύειν ὑγιῶς τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐκεῖ οὐρανὸν εἰρῆσθαι ταῦτα. μνημονεύουσι καὶ νήσου μικρᾶς, ᾗ ὄνομα εἶναι Βίβλον, ἐν ᾗ τὸ τοῦ κογχυλίου μέγεθος καὶ οἱ μύες ὄστρεά τε καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα δεκαπλάσια τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὸ μέγεθος ταῖς πέτραις προσπέφυκεν. ἁλίσκεται δὲ καὶ λίθος ἐκεῖ μαργαρὶς ἐν ὀστράκῳ λευκῷ καρδίας τόπον ἔχουσα τῷ ὀστρέῳ.

LIV

CAP. LIV Κατασχεῖν δέ φασι καὶ ἐς Πηγάδας τῆς τῶν Ὠρειτῶν χώρας, οἱ δὲ Ὠρεῖται, χαλκαῖ μὲν αὐτοῖς αἱ πέτραι, χαλκῆ δὲ ἡ ψάμμος, χαλκοῦν δὲ ψῆγμα οἱ ποταμοὶ ἄγουσι. ῥυσῖτιν δὲ ἡγοῦνται τὴν χγῆν διὰ τὴν εὐγένειαν τοῦ χαλκοῦ.

LIII

CHAP. LIII

THEY say, moreover, that they saw the mouth of the Indus, and that there was situated on it the city of Patala round which the Indus flows. It was to this city that the fleet of Alexander came, under the command of Nearchus, a highly trained naval captain. But as for the stories of Orthagoras about the sea called Erythra, to the effect that the constellation of the bear is not to be seen in it, and that the mariners cast no reckoning at midday, and that the visible stars there vary from their usual positions, this account is endorsed by Damis; and we must consider it to be sound and based on local observations of the heavens. They also mention a small island, of the name of Biblus, in which there is the large cockle, and where there are mussels and oysters and such like organisms, clinging to the rocks and ten times as big as those which we find in Greece. And there is also taken in this region a stone, the pearl in a white shell, wherein it occupies the place of the heart of the oyster.

The city of Patala

Nearchus and Orthagoras

The isle of Biblus

LIV

CHAP. LIV

AND they say that they also touched at Pegadae in the country of the Oreitae. As for these people, they have rocks of bronze and sand of bronze, and the dust which the rivers bring down is of bronze. But they regard their land as full of gold because the bronze is of such high quality.

The bronze of the Oreitae

LV

CAP. LV Φασὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἰχθυοφάγοις ἐντυχεῖν, οἷς πόλιν εἶναι Στόβηρα, διφθέρας δὲ τούτους ἐνῆφθαι μεγίστων ἰχθύων, καὶ τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἐκείνῃ ἰχθυώδη εἶναι καὶ φαγεῖν ἄτοπα, τοὺς γὰρ ποιμένας βόσκειν αὐτὰ τοῖς ἰχθύσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν Καρίᾳ τοῖς σύκοις. Καρμανοὶ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ γένος ἥμερον εὔιχθυν οὕτω νέμονται θάλατταν, ὡς μηδ᾽ ἀποθέτους ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἰχθῦς, μηδέ, ὥσπερ ὁ Πόντος, ταριχεύειν, ἀλλ᾽ ὀλίγους μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποδίδοσθαι, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς ἀσπαίροντας ἀποδιδόναι τῇ θαλάττῃ.

LVI

CAP. LVI Προσπλεῦσαί φασι καὶ Βαλάροις, ἐμπόριον δὲ εἶναι τὰ Βάλαρα μεστὸν μυρρινῶν τε καὶ φοινίκων, καὶ δάφνας ἐν αὐτῷ ἰδεῖν καὶ πηγαῖς διαρρεῖσθαι τὸ χωρίον. κῆποι δὲ ὁπόσοι τρωκτοὶ καὶ ὁπόσοι ἀνθέων κῆποι, βρύειν αὐτό, καὶ λιμένας μεστοὺς γαλήνης ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι. προκεῖσθαι δὲ τοῦ χωρίου τούτου νῆσον ἱεράν, ἣν καλεῖσθαι Σέληρα, καί, στάδια μὲν ἑκατὸν εἶναι τῷ πορθμῷ, νηρηίδα δὲ οἰκεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ δεινὴν δαίμονα, πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν πλεόντων ἁρπάζειν, καὶ μηδὲ ταῖς ναυσὶ ξυγχωρεῖν πεῖσμα ἐκ τῆς νήσου βάλλεσθαι.

LV

CHAP. LV

The Ichthyophagi

And they say that they came across the people called the Fish-eaters, whose city is Stobera; and they clothe themselves in the skins of very large fishes, and the cattle there look like fish and eat extraordinary things; for the shepherds feed them upon fish, just as in Caria the flocks are fed on figs. But the Indians of Carman are a gentle race, who live on the edge of a sea so well stocked with fish, that they neither lay them by in stores, nor salt them as is done in Pontus, but they just sell a few of them and throw back most they catch panting into the sea.

LVI

CHAP. LVI

Balara and the Nereid

They say that they also touched at Balara, which is an emporium full of myrtles and date palms; and there they also saw laurels, and the place was well watered by springs. And there were kitchen gardens there, as well as flower gardens, all growing luxuriantly, and the harbours therein were entirely calm. But off the place there lies a sacred island, which was called Selera, and the passage to it from the mainland was a hundred stades long. Now in this island there lived a Nereid, a dreadful female demon, which would snatch away many mariners and would not even allow ships to fasten a cable to the island.

LVII

CAP. LVII ῎Αξιον δὲ μηδὲ τὸν περὶ τῆς ἑτέρας μαργαρίτιδος παρελθεῖν λόγον, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ᾿Απολλωνίῳ μειρακιώδης ἔδοξεν, ἀλλὰ πλάττεται ἥδιστος καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλαττουργίᾳ θαυμασιώτατος. τὰ γὰρ τετραμμένα τῆς νήσου πρὸς τὸ πέλαγός ἐστι μὲν ἄπειρος πυθμὴν θαλάττης, φέρει δὲ ὄστρεον ἐν ἐλύτρῳ λευκῷ μεστὸν πιμελῆς, οὐδὲ γὰρ λίθον φύει οὐδένα. γαλήνην δὲ ἐπιφυλάξαντες καὶ τὴν θάλατταν αὐτοὶ λεάναντες, τουτὶ δὲ ἡ τοῦ ἐλαίου ἐπιρροὴ πράττει, καταδύεταί τις ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τοῦ ὀστρέου, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατεσκευασμένος, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰς σπογγιὰς κείροντες, ἔστι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πλινθὶς σιδηρᾶ καὶ ἀλάβαστρος μύρου. παριζήσας οὖν ὁ ᾿Ινδὸς τῷ ὀστρέῳ δέλεαρ αὐτοῦ τὸ μύρον ποιεῖται, τὸ δὲ ἀνοίγνυταί τε καὶ μεθύει ὑπ᾿ αὐτοῦ, κέντρῳ δὲ διελαθὲν ἀποπτύει τὸν ἰχῶρα, ὁ δὲ ἐκδέχεται αὐτὸν τῇ πλινθίδι τύπους ὀρωρυγμένῃ. λιθοῦται δὲ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ῥυθμίζεται, καθάπερ ἡ φύσει μαργαρίς, κἄστιν ἡ μαργαρὶς αἷμα λευκὸν ἐξ ἐρυθρᾶς τῆς θαλάττης. ἐπιτίθεσθαι δὲ τῇ θήρᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ τοὺς ᾿Αραβίους φασὶν ἀντιπέρας οἰκοῦντας. τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν θηριώδη μὲν τὴν θάλατταν εἶναι πᾶσαν, ἀγελάζεσθαι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ κήτη, τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἔρυμα τούτου κωδωνοφορεῖν κατὰ πρύμναν τε καὶ πρῷραν, τὴν δὲ ἠχὼ ἐκπλήττειν τὰ θηρία, καὶ μὴ ἐᾶν ἐμπελάζειν ταῖς ναυσί.

LVII

CHAP. LVII

The pearl-fishers

It is just as well not to omit the story of the other kind of pearl: since even Apollonius did not regard it as puerile, and it is anyhow a pretty invention, and there is nothing in the annals of sea fishing so remarkable. For on the side of the island which is turned towards the open sea, the bottom is of great depth, and produces an oyster in a white sheath full of fat, for it does not produce any jewel. The inhabitants watch for a calm day, or they themselves render the sea smooth, and this they do by flooding it with oil; and then a man plunges in in order to hunt the oyster in question, and he is in other respects equipped like those who cut off the sponges from the rocks, but he carries in addition an oblong iron block and an alabaster case of myrrh. The Indian then halts alongside of the oyster and holds out the myrrh before him as a bait; whereupon the oyster opens and drinks itself drunk upon the myrrh. Then it is pierced with a long pin and discharges a peculiar liquid called ichor, which the man catches in the iron block which is hollowed out in regular holes. The liquid so obtained petrifies in regular shapes, just like the natural pearl, which is a white blood furnished by the Red Sea. And they say that the Arabs also who live on the opposite coast devote themselves to catching these creatures. From this point on they found the entire sea full of wild animals, and it was crowded with seals; and the ships, they say, in order to keep off these animals, carry bells at the bow and at the stern, the sound of which frightens away these creatures and prevents them from approaching the ships.

Seals

LVIII

CAP. LVIII Καταπλεύσαντες δὲ ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Εὐφράτου φασὶν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα δι' αὐτοῦ ἀναπλεῦσαι παρὰ τὸν Οὐαρδάνην, καὶ τυχόντες αὐτοῦ οἵου ἐγίγνωσκον, ἐπὶ τὴν Νῖνον ἐλθεῖν αὖθις, καὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας συνήθως ὑβριζούσης καὶ μηδὲν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐσπουδακυίας, ἐπὶ θάλαττάν τε καταβῆναι τὴν ἐπὶ Σελεύκειαν, νεώς τε ἐπιτυχόντες προσπλεῦσαι Κύπρῳ κατὰ τὴν Πάφον, οὗ τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἕδος, ὃ ξυμβολικῶς ἱδρυμένον θαυμάσαι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς ἱερέας ἐς τὴν ὁσίαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ διδαξάμενον, ἐς Ἰωνίαν πλεῦσαι θαυμαζόμενον ἱκανῶς καὶ μεγάλων ἀξιούμενον παρὰ τοῖς τὴν σοφίαν τιμῶσιν.

LVIII

CHAP. LVIII

Apollonius regains Ionia

And when they had sailed as far as the mouth of the Euphrates, they say that they sailed up by it to Babylon to see Vardan, whom they found just as they had found him before. They then came afresh to Nineveh, and as the people of Antioch displayed their customary insolence and took no interest in any affairs of the Hellenes, they went down to the sea at Seleucia, and finding a ship, they sailed to Cyprus and landed at Paphos, where there is the statue of Aphrodite. Apollonius marvelled at the symbolic construction of the same, and gave the priests much instruction with regard to the ritual of the temple. He then sailed to Ionia, where he excited much admiration and no little esteem among all lovers of wisdom.

BOOK IV

Δ'.

I

CAP. I

Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ παρελθόντα ἐς τὴν Ἔφεσον, οὐδὲ οἱ βάναυσοι ἔτι πρὸς ταῖς ἑαυτῶν τέχναις ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ἠκολούθουν ὁ μὲν σοφίας, ὁ δὲ εἴδους, ὁ δὲ διαίτης, ὁ δὲ σχήματος, οἱ δὲ πάντων ὁμοῦ θαυμασταὶ ὄντες, λόγοι τε περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐφοίτων, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Κολοφῶνι μαντείου κοινωνὸν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας καὶ ἀτεχνῶς σοφὸν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τὸν ἄνδρα ᾄδοντες, οἱ δὲ ἐκ Διδύμων, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον ἱεροῦ, πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν ὑγιείας δεομένων ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσε προσφοιτᾶν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, τουτὶ γὰρ αὐτός τε βούλεσθαι καὶ δοκεῖν ταῖς Μοίραις. ἐφοίτων καὶ πρεσβεῖαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, ξένον τε αὐτὸν ἡγούμενοι καὶ βίου ξύμβουλον βωμῶν τε ἱδρύσεως καὶ ἀγαλμάτων, ὁ δὲ ἕκαστα τούτων τὰ μὲν ἐπιστέλλων, τὰ δὲ ἀφίξεσθαι φάσκων διωρθοῦτο. πρεσβευσαμένης δὲ καὶ τῆς Σμύρνης καὶ ὅ τι μὲν δέοιτο οὐκ εἰπούσης, ἐκλιπαρούσης δὲ ἀφικέσθαι, ἤρετο τὸν πρεσβευτήν, ὅ τι αὐτοῦ δέοιντο, ὁ δέ, "ἰδεῖν," ἔφη, "καὶ ὀφθῆναι." ὁ δὲ

BOOK IV

I

CHAP. I

Apollonius regains Ionia and is welcomed by the oracles of Greece

AND when they saw our sage in Ionia and he had arrived at Ephesus, even the mechanics would not remain at their handicrafts, but followed him, one admiring his wisdom, another his beauty, another his way of life, another his bearing, some of them everything alike about him. Reports also were current about him which originated from various oracles; thus from the oracle at Colophon it was announced that he shared its peculiar wisdom and was absolutely wise, and so forth; from that of Didyma similar rumours emanated, as also from the shrine at Pergamum; for the God urged not a few of those who were in need of health to betake themselves to Apollonius, for this was what "he himself approved and was pleasing to the Fates." Deputations also waited upon him from various cities offering him their hospitality, and asking his advice about life in general as well as about the dedication of altars and images; and he regulated their several affairs in some cases by letter, but in others he said would visit them. And the city of Smyrna also sent a deputation, but they would not say what they wanted, though they besought him to visit them; so he asked the legate what they wanted of him, but

CAP. I ᾿Απολλώνιος, "ἀφίξομαι," εἶπε, "δοίητε δέ, ὦ Μοῦσαι, καὶ ἐρασθῆναι ἀλλήλων."

II

CAP. II Τὴν μὲν δὴ διάλεξιν τὴν πρώτην ἀπὸ τῆς κρηπῖδος τοῦ νεὼ πρὸς τοὺς ᾿Εφεσίους διελέχθη, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ Σωκρατικοί, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀπάγων τε καὶ ἀποσπουδάζων, φιλοσοφίᾳ δὲ μόνῃ ξυμβουλεύων προσέχειν, καὶ σπουδῆς ἐμπιπλάναι τὴν ῎Εφεσον μᾶλλον ἢ ῥᾳθυμίας τε καὶ ἀγερωχίας, ὁπόσην εὗρεν· ὀρχηστῶν γὰρ ἡττημένοι καὶ πρὸς πυρρίχαις αὐτοὶ ὄντες, αὐλῶν μὲν πάντα μεστὰ ἦν, μεστὰ δὲ ἀνδρογύνων, μεστὰ δὲ κτύπων· ὁ δὲ καίτοι μεταθεμένων τῶν ᾿Εφεσίων πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἠξίου περιορᾶν ταῦτα, ἀλλ᾿ ἐξῄρει αὐτὰ καὶ διέβαλλε τοῖς πολλοῖς.

III

CAP. III Τὰς δὲ ἄλλας διαλέξεις περὶ τὰ ἄλση τὰ ἐν τοῖς ξυστοῖς δρόμοις ἐποιεῖτο, διαλεγομένου δέ ποτε περὶ κοινωνίας καὶ διδάσκοντος, ὅτι χρὴ τρέφειν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ὑπ᾿ ἀλλήλων τρέφεσθαι, στρουθοὶ μὲν ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν δένδρων σιωπῶντες, εἷς δὲ αὐτῶν προσπετόμενος ἐβόα, παρακελεύεσθαί τι

he merely said, "to see him and be seen." So Apollonius said: "I will come, but, O ye Muses, grant that we may also like one another."

CHAP. I

II

CHAP. II

Reproves the Ionians

The first discourse then which he delivered was to the Ephesians from the platform of their temple, and its tone was not that of the Socratic school; for he dissuaded and discouraged them from other pursuits, and urged them to devote themselves to philosophy alone, and to fill Ephesus with real study rather than with idleness and arrogance such as he found around him there; for they were devoted to dancers and taken up with pantomimes, and the whole city was full of pipers, and full of effeminate rascals, and full of noise. So at the risk of estranging his Ephesian converts, he determined not to wink at such things, but cleared them out and made them odious to most of them.

III

CHAP. III

The communistic sparrow

His other discourses he delivered under the trees which grow hard by the cloisters; and in these he sometimes dealt with the question of communism, and taught that they ought to support and be supported by one another. While he was doing so on one occasion, sparrows were sitting quite silent upon the trees, but one of them suddenly set to chirping as it flew up, just as if he had some

CAP. III δοκῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἱ δέ, ὡς ἤκουσαν, αὐτοί τε ἀνέκραγον καὶ ἀρθέντες ἐπέτοντο ὑπὸ τῷ ἑνί. ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀπολλώνιος εἴχετο τοῦ λόγου, γιγνώσκων μέν, ἐφ᾽ ὅ τι οἱ στρουθοὶ πέτοιντο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐχ ἑρμηνεύων αὐτό, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέβλεψαν ἐς αὐτοὺς πάντες καὶ ἀνοήτως ἔνιοι τερατῶδες αὐτὸ ἐνόμισαν, παραλλάξας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοῦ λόγου, "παῖς," εἶπεν, "ὤλισθεν ἀπάγων πυροὺς ἐν σκάφῃ, καὶ κακῶς αὐτοὺς ξυλλεξάμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπελήλυθε, πολλοὺς δ᾽ ἐσκεδασμένους ἀπολέλοιπεν ἐν στενωπῷ τῷ δεῖνι, ὁ δὲ στρουθὸς παρατυχὼν οὗτος πρόξενος τοῖς ἄλλοις ἥκει τοῦ ἑρμαίου καὶ ποιεῖται αὐτοὺς ξυσσίτους."

οἱ μὲν δὴ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀκροωμένων δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ᾤχοντο, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας διῄει τὸν λόγον, ὃν περὶ τῆς κοινωνίας προὔθετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκοντο βοῶντές τε καὶ μεστοὶ θαύματος, "οἱ μὲν στρουθοί," εἶπεν, "ὁρᾶτε, ὡς ἐπιμελοῦνταί τε ἀλλήλων καὶ κοινωνίᾳ χαίρουσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ κἂν κοινωνοῦντα ἑτέροις ἴδωμεν, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀσωτίαν καὶ τρυφὴν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡγούμεθα, τοὺς δὲ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τρεφομένους παρασίτους τε καὶ κόλακας φαμέν. καὶ τί λοιπὸν ἀλλ᾽ ἢ ξυγκλείσαντας αὑτούς, ὥσπερ τοὺς σιτευομένους τῶν ὀρνίθων, ἐν σκότῳ γαστρίζεσθαι, μέχρις ἂν διαρραγῶμεν παχυνόμενοι;"

exhortations to give to his fellows; and the latter, on hearing it, themselves set up a chirping and rose and flew off under the guidance of the one. Now Apollonius went on with his argument, for he knew what it was that made the sparrows take wing, but he did not explain the matter to the multitude who were listening to him; but when they all looked up at the birds and some of them in their silliness thought it a miraculous occurrence, Apollonius interrupted his argument and said: "A boy has slipped who was carrying some barley in a bowl, and after carelessly gathering together what was fallen, he has gone off, leaving much of it scattered about in yonder alley, and this sparrow, witnessing the occurrence has come here to acquaint his fellows with the good luck, and to invite them to come and eat it with him." CHAP. III

Most of his audience accordingly ran off to the spot, but Apollonius continued to those who remained with him the discourse he had proposed to himself on the topic of communism; and when they returned talking loudly and full of wonder, he continued thus: "You see how the sparrows care for one another and delight in communism; but we are far from approving of it, nay, should we happen to see anyone sharing his own in common with others, we set him down as a spendthrift and talk about his extravagance and so forth, while as for those who are supported by him, we call them parasites and flatterers. What then is left for us to do, except to shut overselves up like birds that are being fed up and fattened, and gorge ourselves in the dark until we literally burst with fat?"

IV

CAP. IV Λοιμοῦ δὲ ὑφέρποντος τὴν Ἔφεσον καὶ οὔπω ἀνοιδούσης τῆς νόσου, ξυνῆκε μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τῆς προσβολῆς, ξυνεὶς δὲ προὔλεγε, πολλαχοῦ τε τῶν διαλέξεων "ὦ γῆ, μένε ὁμοία," καὶ τοιαῦτα ἐπεφθέγγετο ξὺν ἀπειλῇ· "τούσδε σῶζε" καὶ "οὐ παρελεύσῃ ἐνταῦθα." οἱ δ' οὐ προσεῖχον καὶ τερατολογίαν τὰ τοιαῦτα ᾤοντο τοσῷδε μᾶλλον, ὅσῳ καὶ ἐς πάντα τὰ ἱερὰ φοιτῶν ἀποτρέπειν αὐτὸ ἐδόκει καὶ ἀπεύχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνοήτως εἶχον τοῦ πάθους, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐδὲν ᾤετο δεῖν ἐπαρκεῖν ἔτι, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην Ἰωνίαν περιῄει, διορθούμενος τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις καὶ διαλεγόμενος ἀεί τι σωτήριον τοῖς παροῦσιν.

V

CAP. V Ἀφικνουμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν Σμύρναν προσαπήντων μὲν οἱ Ἴωνες, καὶ γὰρ ἔτυχον Πανιώνια θύοντες, ἀναγνοὺς δὲ καὶ ψήφισμα Ἰωνικόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ κοινωνῆσαί σφισι τοῦ ξυλλόγου, καὶ ὀνόματι προστυχὼν ἥκιστα Ἰωνικῷ, Λούκουλλος γάρ τις ἐπεγέγραπτο τῇ γνώμῃ, πέμπει ἐπιστολὴν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν, ἐπίπληξιν ποιούμενος περὶ τοῦ βαρβαρισμοῦ τούτου· καὶ γὰρ

IV

A PESTILENCE was creeping over Ephesus; but the disease had not yet reached its full violence, before Apollonius understood that it was approaching, and impressed with the danger he foretold it, and interspersed his discourses with such exclamations as "O earth, remain true to thyself!" and he added in a tone of menace such appeals as these: "Do thou preserve these men here," and "Thou shalt not pass hither." But his hearers did not attend to these warnings and thought them mere rodomontade, all the more because they saw him constantly visiting all the temples in order to avert and deprecate the calamity. And since they conducted themselves so foolishly in respect of the scourge, he thought that it was not necessary to do anything more for them, but began a tour of the rest of Ionia, regulating their several affairs, and from time to time recommending in his discourses whatever was salutary for his audiences.

CHAP. IV

Predicts a plague in Ephesus

V

BUT when he came to Smyrna the Ionians went out to meet him, for they were just then celebrating the pan-Ionian sacrifices. And he there read a decree of the Ionians, in which they besought him to take part in their solemn meeting; and in it he met with a name which had not at all an Ionian ring, for a certain Lucullus had signed the resolution. He accordingly sent a letter to their council expressing his astonishment at such an instance of barbarism;

CHAP. V

His anger at adoption of Latin names by Greeks

CAP. V δὴ καὶ Φαβρίκιον καὶ τοιούτους ἑτέρους ἐν τοῖς ἐψηφισμένοις εὗρεν. ὡς μὲν οὖν ἐρρωμένως ἐπέπληξε, δηλοῖ ἡ περὶ τούτου ἐπιστολή.

VI

CAP. VI Παρελθὼν δὲ ἐπ' ἄλλης ἡμέρας ἐς τοὺς Ἴωνας, "τίς," ἔφη, "ὁ κρατὴρ οὗτος;" οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν, "Πανιώνιος." ἀρυσάμενος οὖν καὶ σπείσας, "ὦ θεοί," εἶπεν, "Ἰώνων ἡγεμόνες, δοίητε τῇ καλῇ ἀποικίᾳ ταύτῃ θαλάττῃ ἀσφαλεῖ χρῆσθαι καὶ μηδὲν τῇ γῇ κακὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς προσκωμάσαι, μηδ' Αἰγαίωνα σεισίχθονα τινάξαι ποτὲ τὰς πόλεις." τοιαῦτα ἐπεθείαζε προορῶν, οἶμαι, τὰ χρόνοις ὕστερον περί τε Σμύρναν περί τε Μίλητον περί τε Χίον καὶ Σάμον καὶ πολλὰς τῶν Ἰάδων ξυμβάντα.

VII

CAP. VII Σπουδῇ δὲ ὁρῶν τοὺς Σμυρναίους ἁπάντων ἁπτομένους λόγων, ἐπερρώννυε καὶ σπουδαιοτέρους ἐποίει, φρονεῖν τε ἐκέλευεν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ τῆς πόλεως εἴδει, καὶ γάρ, εἰ καὶ καλλίστη πόλεων, ὁπόσαι ὑπὸ ἡλίῳ εἰσί, καὶ τὸ πέλαγος οἰκειοῦται, ζεφύρου τε πηγὰς ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἀνδράσιν ἐστεφανῶσθαι αὐτὴν ἥδιον ἢ στοαῖς τε καὶ γραφαῖς καὶ χρυσῷ πλείονι τοῦ δέοντος.[1] τὰ μὲν γὰρ

[1] δέοντος should be read instead of ὄντος: "in excess of what they had."

for he had, it seems, also found the name Fabricius and other such names in the decrees. The letter on this subject shows how sternly he reprimanded them. CHAP. V

VI

CHAP. VI

Predicts earthquakes in Ionia

AND on another day he presented himself before the meeting of the Ionians, and asked: "What is this cup?" And they answered: "It is the pan-Ionian cup." Whereupon he took a draught from it and poured a libation, saying: "O ye Gods, who are patrons of the Ionians, may ye grant to this fair colony to enjoy safety at sea, and that no disaster may wreak itself on them by land therefrom, and that Aegeon, the author of earthquakes, may never shake down their cities." These words he uttered under divine impulse, because he foresaw, as I believe, the disasters which afterwards overtook Smyrna and Miletus and Chios and Samos and several of the Iades.

VII

CHAP. VII

Advice to Smyrneans to foster manhood rather than architecture

AND remarking the zeal with which the people of Smyrna devoted themselves to all sorts of compositions, he encouraged them and increased their zeal, and urged them to take pride rather in themselves than in the beauty of their city; for although they had the most beautiful of cities under the sun, and although they had a friendly sea at their doors, which held the springs of the zephyr, nevertheless, it was more pleasing for the city to be crowned with men than with porticos and pictures, or even with gold in excess of what they needed. For, he said,

CAP. VII οἰκοδομήματα ἐπὶ ταὐτοῦ μένειν, οὐδαμοῦ ὁρώμενα πλὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους τῆς γῆς, ἐν ᾧ ἐστιν, ἄνδρας δὲ ἀγαθοὺς πανταχοῦ μὲν ὁρᾶσθαι, πανταχοῦ δὲ φθέγγεσθαι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν, ἧς γεγόνασιν, ἀποφαίνειν τοσαύτην, ὅσοι περ αὐτοὶ γῆν ἐπελθεῖν δύνανται. ἔλεγε δὲ τὰς μὲν πόλεις τὰς οὕτω καλὰς ἐοικέναι τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἀγάλματι, ὃς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τῷ Φειδίᾳ ἐκπεποίηται, καθῆσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸ—οὕτως τῷ δημιουργῷ ἔδοξε—τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ἐπὶ πάντα ἥκοντας μηδὲν ἀπεοικέναι τοῦ Ὁμηρείου Διός, ὃς ἐν πολλαῖς ἰδέαις Ὁμήρῳ πεποίηται θαυμασιώτερον ξυγκείμενος τοῦ ἐλεφαντίνου· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐν γῇ φαίνεσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἐς πάντα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὑπονοεῖσθαι.

VIII

CAP. VIII Καὶ μὴν καὶ περι τοῦ πῶς ἂν πόλεις ἀσφαλῶς οἰκοῖντο ξυνεφιλοσόφει τοῖς Σμυρναίοις, διαφερομένους ὁρῶν ἀλλήλοις καὶ μὴ ξυγκειμένους τὰς γνώμας· ἔλεγε γὰρ δὴ τὴν ὀρθῶς οἰκησομένην πόλιν ὁμονοίας στασιαζούσης δεῖσθαι, τούτου δὲ ἀπιθάνως τε καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἀκόλουθον εἰρῆσθαι δόξαντος, ξυνεὶς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὅτι μὴ ἕπονται οἱ πολλοὶ τῷ λόγῳ "λευκὸν μέν," ἔφη, "καὶ μέλαν οὐκ ἄν ποτε ταὐτὸν γένοιτο, οὐδ' ἂν τῷ γλυκεῖ τὸ

public edifices remain where they are, and are nowhere seen except in that particular part of the earth where they exist, but good men are conspicuous everywhere, and everywhere utter their thoughts; and so they can magnify the city the more to which they belong, in proportion to the numbers in which they are able to visit any part of the earth. And he said that cities which are only beautiful in the same way as Smyrna was, resemble the statue of Zeus wrought in Olympia by Pheidias; for there Zeus sits, just as it pleased the artist that he should, whereas men who visit all regions of the earth may be well compared with the Homeric Zeus, who is represented by Homer under many shapes, and is a more wonderful creation than the image made of ivory; for the latter is only to be seen upon earth, but the former is an ideal presence imagined everywhere in heaven. CHAP. VII

VIII

CHAP. VIII

His ideal of civic patriotism

AND in his discussions, moreover, with the people of Smyrna he wisely taught them also how best to guarantee the security of those who live in cities, for he saw that they were at issue with one another and did not agree in their ideals. He accordingly told them that for a city to be rightly conducted by its inhabitants, you need a mixture of concord with party spirit; and as this utterance seemed inadmissible and hardly logical, Apollonius realising that most of them did not follow his argument, added: "White and black can never be one and the same, nor can bitter be wholesomely blended

CAP. VIII πικρὸν ὑγιῶς ξυγκραθείη, ὁμόνοια δὲ στασιάσει σωτηρίας ἕνεκα τῶν πόλεων. ὃ δὲ λέγω, τοιοῦτον ἡγώμεθα· στάσις ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ ξίφη καὶ τὸ καταλιθοῦν ἀλλήλους ἄγουσα ἀπέστω πόλεως, ᾗ παιδοτροφίας τε δεῖ καὶ νόμων καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ἐφ' οἷς λόγοι καὶ ἔργα, φιλοτιμία δὲ ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ, καὶ πῶς ἂν ὁ μὲν γνώμης εἴποι βελτίω γνώμην, ὁ δ' ἑτέρου ἄμεινον ἀρχῆς προσταίη, ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύσειεν, ὁ δ' ἐξοικοδομήσαιτο λαμπρότερον τῆς ἑτέρου ἐπιστατείας, ἔρις, οἶμαι, αὕτη ἀγαθὴ καὶ στάσις πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ. τὸ δ' ἄλλον ἄλλο ἐπιτηδεύοντας ἐς τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὄφελος ξυμφέρειν Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν εὔηθες ἐδόκει πάλαι, τὰ γὰρ πολεμικὰ ἐξεπονεῖτό σφισι, καὶ ἐς τοῦτο ἔρρωντο πάντες καὶ τούτου μόνου ἥπτοντο, ἐμοὶ δ' ἄριστον δοκεῖ τὸ πράττειν ἕκαστον, ὅ τι οἶδε καὶ ὅ τι δύναται. εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ δημαγωγίας θαυμασθήσεται, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ σοφίας, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν πλουτεῖν, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ χρηστὸς εἶναι, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμβριθὴς καὶ μὴ ξυγγνώμων τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ διαβεβλῆσθαι τὰς χεῖρας, εὖ κείσεται ἡ πόλις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑστήξει."

with sweet; but concord can be so blended with party spirit to secure the safety of cities. And let us consider my meaning to be somewhat as follows: Far be from your city the factiousness which leads men to draw swords and to stone one another; for in a city we need our children to be brought up properly, and we need laws, and we need inhabitants equally versed in discussion and in deeds. But mutual rivalry between men in behalf of the common weal, and with the object that one should give better advice than another, and that one should discharge better than another the duties of a magistrate, and that one should discharge the office of an ambassador or of an aedile more brilliantly than his fellows,—here," he said, "I think you have a worthy rivalry and a real contention among yourselves in behalf of the common weal. But that one person should practise one thing and another another with a view to benefiting the city seemed of old a foolish thing to the Lacedaemonians, because they only cultivated the arts of war, and because they all strengthened themselves for this end and interested themselves in nothing else; but to me it seems best that each man should do what he understands best and what he best can do. For that city will recline in peace, nay, will rather stand up erect, where one man is admired for his popular influence, and another for his wisdom, and another for his liberal expenditure on public objects, and another for his kindliness, and another for his severity and unbending sternness towards malefactors, and another because his hands are pure beyond suspicion." CHAP. VIII

IX

CAP. IX

Καὶ ἅμα διιὼν ταῦτα ναῦν εἶδε τῶν τριαρμένων ἐκπλέουσαν καὶ τοὺς ναύτας ἄλλον ἄλλως ἐς τὸ ἀνάγεσθαι αὐτὴν πράττοντας. ἐπιστρέφων οὖν τοὺς παρόντας, "ὁρᾶτε," εἶπε, "τὸν τῆς νεὼς δῆμον, ὡς οἱ μὲν τὰς ἐφολκίδας ἐμβεβήκασιν ἐρετικοὶ ὄντες, οἱ δ' ἀγκύρας ἀνιμῶσί τε καὶ ἀναρτῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑπέχουσι τὰ ἱστία τῷ ἀνέμῳ, οἱ δὲ ἐκ πρύμνης τε καὶ πρῴρας προορῶσιν; εἰ δὲ ἓν τούτων εἷς ἐλλείψει τι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔργων ἢ ἀμαθῶς τῆς ναυτικῆς ἅψεται, πονήρως πλευσοῦνται καὶ ὁ χειμὼν αὐτοὶ δόξουσιν· εἰ δὲ φιλοτιμήσονται πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στασιάσουσι μὴ κακίων ἕτερος ἑτέρου δόξαι, καλοὶ μὲν ὅρμοι τῇ νηὶ ταύτῃ, μεστὰ δὲ εὐδίας τε καὶ εὐπλοίας πάντα, Ποσειδῶν δὲ Ἀσφάλειος ἡ περὶ αὑτοῖς εὐβουλία δόξει."

X

CAP. X

Τοιούτοις μὲν δὴ λόγοις ξυνεῖχε τὴν Σμύρναν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ νόσος τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἐνέπεσε καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν πρὸς αὐτὴν αὔταρκες, ἐπρεσβεύοντο παρὰ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ἰατρὸν ποιούμενοι αὐτὸν τοῦ πάθους, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν ὁδόν, ἀλλ'

IX

AND as he was thus discoursing, he saw a ship with three masts leaving the harbour, of which the sailors were each discharging their particular duties in working it out to sea. Accordingly by way of reforming his audience he said: "Now look at that ship's crew, how some of them being rowers have embarked in the tug-boats, while others are winding up and making fast the anchors, and others again are spreading the sails to the wind, and others are keeping an outlook at bow and stern. Now if a single member of this community abandoned any one of his particular tasks or went about his naval duties in an inexperienced manner, they would have a bad voyage and would themselves impersonate the storm; but if they vie with one another and are rivals only with the object of one showing himself as good a man as the other, then their ship will make the best of all havens, and all their voyage be one of fair weather and fair sailing, and the precaution they exercise about themselves will prove to be as valuable as if Poseidon our Lord of safety were watching over them."

CHAP. IX

Parable of the ship of state

X

WITH such harangues as these he knit together the people of Smyrna; but when the plague began to rage in Ephesus, and no remedy sufficed to check it, they sent a deputation to Apollonius, asking him to become physician of their infirmity; and he thought that he ought not to postpone his journey,

CHAP. X

He scotches the plague demon at Ephesus

CAP. X εἰπὼν "ἴωμεν," ἦν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, τοῦ Πυθαγόρου, οἶμαι, ἐκεῖνο πράττων τὸ ἐν Θουρίοις ὁμοῦ καὶ Μεταποντίοις εἶναι. ξυναγαγὼν οὖν τοὺς Ἐφεσίους, "θαρσεῖτε," ἔφη, "τήμερον γὰρ παύσω τὴν νόσον," καὶ εἰπὼν ἦγεν ἡλικίαν πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τὸ θέατρον, οὗ τὸ τοῦ Ἀποτροπαίου ἵδρυται. πτωχεύειν δέ τις ἐνταῦθα ἐδόκει γέρων ἐπιμύων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τέχνῃ, καὶ πήραν ἔφερε καὶ ἄρτου ἐν αὐτῇ τρύφος, ῥάκεσί τε ἠμφίεστο καὶ αὐχμηρῶς εἶχε τοῦ προσώπου. περιστήσας οὖν τοὺς Ἐφεσίους αὐτῷ, "βάλλετε τὸν θεοῖς ἐχθρόν," εἶπε, "ξυλλεξάμενοι τῶν λίθων ὡς πλείστους." θαυμαζόντων δὲ τῶν Ἐφεσίων, ὅ τι λέγοι, καὶ δεινὸν ἡγουμένων, εἰ ξένον ἀποκτενοῦσιν ἀθλίως οὕτω πράττοντα, καὶ γὰρ ἱκέτευε καὶ πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἐλέῳ ἔλεγεν, ἐνέκειτο παρακελευόμενος τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἐρείδειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀνιέναι. ὡς δὲ ἀκροβολισμῷ τινες ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ ὁ καταμύειν δοκῶν ἀνέβλεψεν ἀθρόον πυρός τε μεστοὺς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔδειξε, ξυνῆκαν οἱ Ἐφέσιοι τοῦ δαίμονος καὶ κατελίθωσαν οὕτως αὐτόν, ὡς κολωνὸν λίθων περὶ αὐτὸν χώσασθαι. διαλιπὼν δὲ ὀλίγον ἐκέλευσεν ἀφελεῖν τοὺς λίθους, καὶ τὸ θηρίον, ὃ ἀπεκτόνασι, γνῶναι. γυμνωθέντος οὖν τοῦ βεβλῆσθαι δοκοῦντος, ὁ μὲν ἠφάνιστο, κύων δὲ τὸ μὲν εἶδος

but said: "Let us go." And forthwith he was in Ephesus, performing the same feat, I believe, as Pythagoras, who was in Thurii and Metapontum at one and the same moment. He therefore called together the Ephesians, and said: "Take courage, for I will to-day put a stop to the course of the disease." And with these words he led the population entire to the theatre, where the image of the Averting god has been set up. And there he saw what seemed an old mendicant artfully blinking his eyes as if blind, and he carried a wallet and a crust of bread in it; and he was clad in rags and was very squalid of countenance. Apollonius therefore ranged the Ephesians around him and said: "Pick up as many stones as you can and hurl them at this enemy of the gods." Now the Ephesians wondered what he meant, and were shocked at the idea of murdering a stranger so manifestly miserable; for he was begging and praying them to take mercy upon him. Nevertheless Apollonius insisted and egged on the Ephesians to launch themselves on him and not let him go. And as soon as some of them began to take shots and hit him with their stones, the beggar who had seemed to blink and be blind, gave them all a sudden glance and showed that his eyes were full of fire. Then the Ephesians recognised that he was a demon, and they stoned him so thoroughly that their stones were heaped into a great cairn around him. After a little pause Apollonius bade them remove the stones and acquaint themselves with the wild animal which they had slain. When therefore they had exposed the object which they thought they had thrown their missiles at, they found that he had disappeared and instead of him there was a hound CHAP. X

CAP. X ὅμοιος τῷ ἐκ Μολοττῶν, μέγεθος δὲ κατὰ τὸν μέγιστον λέοντα, ξυντετριμμένος ὤφθη ὑπὸ τῶν λίθων, καὶ παραπτύων ἀφρόν, ὥσπερ οἱ λυττῶντες. τὸ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀποτροπαίου ἕδος, ἔστι δὲ Ἡρακλῆς, ἵδρυται περὶ τὸ χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ φάσμα ἐβλήθη.

XI

CAP. XI Καθήρας δὲ τοὺς Ἐφεσίους τῆς νόσου καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἱκανῶς ἔχων, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὥρμητο. βαδίσας οὖν ἐς τὸ Πέργαμον καὶ ἡσθεὶς τῷ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱερῷ, τοῖς τε ἱκετεύουσι τὸν θεὸν ὑποθέμενος, ὁπόσα δρῶντες εὐξυμβόλων ὀνειράτων τεύξονται, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἰασάμενος, ἦλθεν ἐς τὴν Ἰλιάδα, καὶ πάσης τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν ἀρχαιολογίας ἐμφορηθεὶς ἐφοίτησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τάφους, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εἰπὼν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἀναίμων τε καὶ καθαρῶν καθαγίσας, τοὺς μὲν ἑταίρους ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν χωρεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ κολωνοῦ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἐννυχεύσειν ἔφη. δεδιττομένων οὖν τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτόν, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ οἱ Διοσκορίδαι καὶ οἱ Φαίδιμοι καὶ ἡ τοιάδε ὁμιλία πᾶσα ξυνῆσαν ἤδη τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, τόν τε Ἀχιλλέα φοβερὸν ἔτι φασκόντων φαίνεσθαι, τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ἰλίῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ πεπεῖσθαι, "καὶ μὴν ἐγώ," ἔφη, "τὸν Ἀχιλλέα σφόδρα οἶδα ταῖς ξυνουσίαις χαίροντα, τόν τε γὰρ Νέστορα τὸν ἐκ τῆς Πύλου μάλα

who resembled in form and look a Molossian dog, but was in size the equal of the largest lion; there he lay before their eyes, pounded to a pulp by their stones and vomiting foam as mad dogs do. Accordingly the statue of the Averting god, namely Hercules, has been set up over the spot where the ghost was slain. CHAP. X

XI

CHAP. XI

In Ilium he resolves to interview the ghost of Achilles

HAVING purged the Ephesians of the plague, and having had enough of the people of Ionia, he started for Hellas. Having made his way then to Pergamum, and being pleased with the temple of Asclepius, he gave hints to the supplicants of the god, what to do in order to obtain favourable dreams; and having healed many of them he came to the land of Ilium. And when his mind was glutted with all the traditions of their past, he went to visit the tombs of the Achaeans, and he delivered himself of many speeches over them, and he offered many sacrifices of a bloodless and pure kind; and then he bade his companions go on board ship, for he himself, he said, must spend a night on the mound of Achilles. Now his companions tried to deter him,—for in fact the sons of Dioscorus and the Phaedimi, and a whole company of such already followed in the train of Apollonius,—alleging that Achilles was still dreadful as a phantom; for such was the conviction about him of the inhabitants of Ilium. "Nevertheless," said Apollonius, "I know Achilles well and that he thoroughly delights in company; for he heartily welcomed Nestor when he came from Pylos, because he always had something

CAP. XI ἠσπάζετο, ἐπειδὴ ἀεί τι αὐτῷ διῄει χρηστόν, τόν τε Φοίνικα τροφέα καὶ ὀπαδὸν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τιμῶν ὠνόμαζεν,[1] ἐπειδὴ διῆγεν αὐτὸν ὁ Φοῖνιξ λόγοις, καὶ τὸν Πρίαμον δὲ καίτοι πολεμιώτατον αὐτῷ ὄντα πρᾳότατα εἶδεν, ἐπειδὴ διαλεγομένου ἤκουσε, καὶ Ὀδυσσεῖ δὲ ἐν διχοστασίᾳ ξυγγενόμενος οὕτω μέτριος ὤφθη, ὡς καλὸς τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ φοβερὸς δόξαι. τὴν μὲν δὴ ἀσπίδα καὶ τὴν κόρυν τὴν δεινόν, ὥς φασι, νεύουσαν, ἐπὶ τοὺς Τρῶας οἶμαι αὐτῷ εἶναι μεμνημένῳ, ἃ ὑπ᾿ αὐτῶν ἔπαθεν ἀπιστησάντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάμου, ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε μετέχω τι τοῦ Ἰλίου, διαλέξομαί τε αὐτῷ χαριέστερον ἢ οἱ τότε ἑταῖροι, κἂν ἀποκτείνῃ με, ὥς φατε, μετὰ Μέμνονος δήπου καὶ Κύκνου κείσομαι καὶ ἴσως με ἐν καπέτῳ κοίλῃ, καθάπερ τὸν Ἕκτορα, ἡ Τροία θάψει." τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους ἀναμὶξ παίξας τε καὶ σπουδάσας, προσέβαινε τῷ κολωνῷ μόνος, οἱ δὲ ἐβάδιζον ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν ἑσπέρας ἤδη.

XII

CAP. XII Ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος περὶ ὄρθρον ἥκων, "ποῦ," ἔφη, "Ἀντισθένης ὁ Πάριος;" ἑβδόμην δὲ οὗτος ἡμέραν ἐτύγχανεν ἤδη προσπεφοιτηκὼς αὐτῷ ἐν Ἰλίῳ. ὑπακούσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀντισθένους, "προσήκεις τι," ἔφη, "ὦ νεανία, τῇ Τροίᾳ;" "σφόδρα," εἶπεν, "εἰμὶ γὰρ δὴ ἄνωθεν Τρώς." "ἦ καὶ Πρια-

[1] τιμῶν ὠνόμαζεν Richards: τιμᾷν ἐνόμιζεν Kayser.

CHAP. XI

useful to tell him; and he used to honour Phoenix with the title of foster-father and companion and so forth, because Phoenix entertained him with his talk; and he looked most mildly upon Priam also, although he was his bitterest enemy, so soon as he heard him talk; and when in the course of a quarrel he had an interview with Odysseus, he made himself so gracious that Odysseus thought him more handsome than terrible. For, I think that his shield and his plumes that wave so terribly, as they say, are a menace to the Trojans, because he can never forget, what he suffered at their hands, when they played him false over the marriage. But I have nothing in common with Ilium, and I shall talk to him more pleasantly than his former companions; and if he slays me, as you say he will, why then I shall repose with Memnon and Cycnus, and perhaps Troy will bury me 'in a hollow sepulchre' as they did Hector." Such were his words to his companions, half playful and half serious, as he went up alone to the barrow; but they went on board ship, for it was already evening.

Iliad 24. 797

XII

CHAP. XII

Antisthenes sent away by order of Achilles

But Apollonius came about dawn to them and said: "Where is Antisthenes of Paros?" And this person had joined their society seven days before in Ilium. And when Antisthenes answered that he was there, he said: "Have you, O young man, any Trojan blood in your veins?" "Certainly I have," he said, "for I am a Trojan by ancestry." "And a descendant of Priam as well?" asked Apollonius.

CAP. XII μίδης;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν "ἐκ τούτου γὰρ δὴ ἀγαθός τε οἶμαι κἀξ ἀγαθῶν εἶναι." "εἰκότως οὖν," ἔφη, "ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀπαγορεύει μοι μὴ ξυνεῖναί σοι, κελεύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρεσβεῦσαί με πρὸς τοὺς Θετταλοὺς περὶ ὧν αἰτιᾶται σφᾶς, ὡς ἠρόμην, τί ἂν πρὸς τούτῳ ἕτερον πρὸς χάριν αὐτῷ πράττοιμι, τὸ μειράκιον ἔφη τὸ ἐκ Πάρου μὴ ποιούμενος ξυνέμπορον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας, Πριαμίδης τε γὰρ ἱκανῶς ἐστι καὶ τὸν Ἕκτορα ὑμνῶν οὐ παύεται."

XIII

CAP. XIII Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀντισθένης ἄκων ἀπῆλθεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐπεδίδου, περί τε ἀναγωγὴν ἡ ναῦς εἶχεν, ἐπέρρεον αὐτῇ σμικρᾷ οὔσῃ πλείους ἕτεροι, βουλόμενοι τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ξυμπλεῖν, καὶ γὰρ μετόπωρον ἤδη ἐτύγχανε καὶ ἡ θάλαττα ἧττον βεβαία. πάντες οὖν καὶ χειμῶνος καὶ πυρὸς καὶ τῶν χαλεπωτάτων κρείττω τὸν ἄνδρα ἡγούμενοι ξυνεμβαίνειν ἤθελον, καὶ ἐδέοντο προσδοῦναί σφισι τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ πλοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πλήρωμα πολλαπλάσιον ἦν τῆς νεώς, ναῦν μείζω ἑτέραν ἐπισκεψάμενος, πολλαὶ δὲ περὶ τὸ Αἰάντειον ἦσαν, "ἐνταῦθα," ἔφη, "ἐμβαίνωμεν, καλὸν γὰρ τὸ μετὰ πλειόνων σώζεσθαι." περιβαλὼν οὖν τὸ Τρωικὸν ἀκρωτήριον, ἐκέλευσε

"Why yes, by Zeus," answered the other, "and that is why I consider myself a good man and of good stock." "That explains then," said the sage, "why Achilles forbids me to associate with you; for after he bade me go as his deputy to the Thessalians in the matter of a complaint which he has against them, and I asked him whether there was anything else which I could do to please him, 'yes,' he said, 'you must take care not to initiate the young man from Paros in your wisdom, for he is too much of a descendant of Priam, and the praise of Hector is never out of his mouth.'" CHAP. XII

XIII

CHAP. XIII

Sets sail from the tomb of Ajax for Methymna

Accordingly Antisthenes went off though against his will; and when the day broke and the wind off shore increased in strength, and the ship was ready to put to sea, it was invaded in spite of its small dimensions by a number of other people who were anxious to share the voyage with Apollonius; for it was already autumn and the sea was not much to be trusted. They all then regarded Apollonius as one who was master of the tempest and of fire and of perils of all sorts, and so wished to go on board with him, and begged him to allow them to share the voyage with him. But as the company was many times too great for the ship, spying a larger ship,—for there were many in the neighbourhood of the tomb of Ajax,—he said: "Let us go on board this, for it is a good thing to get home safely with as many as may be." He accordingly doubled the promontory of Troy, and then commanded the pilot

CAP. XIII τὸν κυβερνήτην κατασχεῖν ἐς τὴν Αἰολέων, ἣ ἀντιπέρας Λέσβου κεῖται, πρὸς Μήθυμνάν τε μᾶλλον τετραμμένον ποιεῖσθαι τὸν ὅρμον. "ἐνταῦθα γάρ που τὸν Παλαμήδην φησὶν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς κεῖσθαι, οὗ καὶ ἄγαλμα αὐτοῦ εἶναι πηχυαῖον, ἐν πρεσβυτέρῳ, ἢ ὡς Παλαμήδης, τῷ εἴδει." καὶ ἅμα ἐξιὼν τῆς νεώς, "ἐπιμεληθῶμεν," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρός, δι' ὃν σοφία πᾶσα, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ τῶν γε Ἀχαιῶν βελτίους γενοίμεθα, τιμῶντες δι' ἀρετήν, ὃν ἐκεῖνοι δίκῃ οὐδεμιᾷ ἀπέκτειναν." οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐξεπήδων τῆς νεώς, ὁ δὲ ἐνέτυχε τῷ τάφῳ καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα κατορωρυγμένον πρὸς αὐτῷ εὗρεν. ἐπεγέγραπτο δὲ τῇ βάσει τοῦ ἀγάλματος ΘΕΙΩΙ ΠΑΛΑΜΗΔΕΙ. καθιδρύσας οὖν αὐτό, ὡς κἀγὼ εἶδον, καὶ ἱερὸν περὶ αὐτὸ βαλόμενος, ὅσον οἱ τὴν Ἐνοδίαν τιμῶντες, ἔστι γὰρ ὡς δέκα ξυμπότας ἐν αὐτῷ εὐωχεῖσθαι, τοιάνδε εὐχὴν ηὔξατο· "Παλάμηδες, ἐκλάθου τῆς μήνιδος, ἣν ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ποτε ἐμήνισας, καὶ δίδου γίγνεσθαι πολλούς τε καὶ σοφοὺς ἄνδρας. ναὶ Παλάμηδες, δι' ὃν λόγοι, δι' ὃν Μοῦσαι, δι' ὃν ἐγώ."

XIV

CAP. XIV Παρῆλθε καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ὀρφέως ἄδυτον προσορμισάμενος τῇ Λέσβῳ. φασὶ δὲ ἐνταῦθά ποτε

CHAP. XIII

Finds and restores the statue of Palamedes

to shape his course towards the country of the Aeolians, which lies over against Lesbos, and then to turn as close as he could to Methymna, and there to cast anchor. For there it was, he said, that Achilles declared Palamedes lay, where also they would find his image a cubit high, representing however a man older than was ever Palamedes. And at the moment of disembarking from the ship, he said: "Let us show our respect, O ye Greeks, for so good a man to whom we owe all wisdom. For we shall anyhow prove ourselves better men than the Achaeans, if we pay tribute to the excellence of one whom they so unjustly slew." They then had hardly leapt out of the ship, when he hit upon the tomb and found the statue buried beside it. And there were inscribed on the base of the statue the words: "To the divine Palamedes." He accordingly set it up again in its place, as I myself saw; and he raised a shrine around it of the size which the worshippers of the goddess of the crossways, called Enodia, use; for it was large enough for ten persons at once to sit and drink and keep good cheer in; and having done so he offered up the following prayer: "O Palamedes, do thou forget the wrath, wherewith thou wast wroth against the Achaeans, and grant that men may multiply in numbers and wisdom. Yea, O Palamedes, author of all eloquence, author of the Muses, author of myself."

XIV

CHAP. XIV

He also visited in passing the shrine of Orpheus when he had put in at Lesbos. And they tell that

CAP. XIV τὸν Ὀρφέα μαντικῇ χαίρειν, ἔστε τὸν Ἀπόλλω ἐπιμεμελῆσθαι αὐτόν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ μήτε ἐς Γρύνειον ἐφοίτων ἔτι ὑπὲρ χρησμῶν ἄνθρωποι μήτε ἐς Κλάρον μήτ᾽ ἔνθα ὁ τρίπους ὁ Ἀπολλώνειος, Ὀρφεὺς δὲ ἔχρα μόνος, ἄρτι ἐκ Θρᾴκης ἡ κεφαλὴ ἥκουσα, ἐφίσταταί οἱ χρησμῳδοῦντι ὁ θεὸς καί, "πέπαυσο," ἔφη, "τῶν ἐμῶν, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ᾄδοντά σε ἱκανῶς ἤνεγκα."

XV

CAP. XV . Πλεόντων δὲ αὐτῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ ἐπ᾽ Εὐβοίας πέλαγος, ὃ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ δοκεῖ τῶν χαλεπῶν καὶ δυσμετρήτων εἶναι, ἡ μὲν θάλαττα ὑπτία καὶ τῆς ὥρας κρείττων ἐφαίνετο, λόγοι τε ἐγίγνοντο περί τε νήσων, ἐπειδὴ πολλαῖς τε καὶ ὀνομασταῖς ἐνετύγχανον, περί τε ναυπηγίας καὶ κυβερνητικῆς πρόσφοροι τοῖς πλέουσιν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Δάμις τοὺς μὲν διέβαλλε τῶν λόγων, τοὺς δὲ ὑπετέμνετο, τοὺς δὲ οὐ ξυνεχώρει ἐρωτᾶν, ξυνῆκεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὅτι λόγον ἕτερον σπουδάσαι βούλοιτο, καί, "τί παθών," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, διασπᾷς τὰ ἐρωτώμενα; οὐ γὰρ ναυτιῶν γε, ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλοῦ πονηρῶς ἔχων ἀποστρέφῃ τοὺς λόγους, ἡ γὰρ θάλαττα, ὁρᾷς, ὡς ὑποτέθεικεν ἑαυτὴν τῇ νηὶ καὶ πέμπει. τί οὖν δυσχεραίνεις;" "ὅτι," ἔφη, "λόγου μεγάλου ἐν

it was here that Orpheus once on a time loved to prophesy, before Apollo had turned his attention to him. For when the latter found that men no longer flocked to Gryneium for the sake of oracles nor to Clarus nor (to Delphi) where is the tripod of Apollo, and that Orpheus was the only oracle, his head having lately come from Thrace, he presented himself before the giver of oracles and said: "Cease to meddle with my affairs, for I have already put up long enough with your vaticinations."

CHAP. XIV

Visits the shrine of Orpheus in Lesbos

XV

After this they continued their voyage along the sea of Euboea, which Homer considered to be one of the most dangerous and difficult to traverse. However the sea was smooth and was much better than you expected in that season; and their conversation turned upon the many and famous islands which they were visiting, and upon ship-building and pilotage and other topics suitable to a voyage. But as Damis found fault with some of the things they said, and cut short many of their remarks, and would not allow some of their questions to be put, Apollonius realised that he was anxious to discuss some other topic and said: "What ails you, Damis, that you break in on the course of our questions in this way? For I am sure that it is not because you are seasick or in any way inconvenienced by the voyage, that you object to our conversation; for you see how smoothly our ship is wafted over her bosom by the submissive sea. Why then are you so uneasy?" "Because," replied the other, "when a

CHAP. XV

Enters the sea of Euboea. Damis curious about Achilles

CAP. XV μέσῳ ὄντος, ὃν εἰκὸς ἦν ἐρωτᾶν μᾶλλον, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἑώλους τε καὶ ἀρχαίους ἐρωτῶμεν." "καὶ τίς," εἶπεν, "ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἴη ἄν, δι' ὃν τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγῇ περιττούς;" "Ἀχιλλεῖ," ἔφη, "ξυγγενόμενος, ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ πολλὰ ἴσως διακηκοὼς μήπω ἡμῖν γιγνωσκόμενα, οὐ δίει ταῦτα, οὐδὲ τὸ εἶδος ἡμῖν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἀνατυποῖς, περιπλεῖς δὲ τὰς νήσους καὶ ναυπηγεῖς τῷ λόγῳ." "εἰ μὴ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι," ἔφη, "δόξω, πάντα εἰρήσεται."

XVI

CAP. XVI Δεομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ λόγου τούτου καὶ φιληκόως ἐχόντων αὐτοῦ, "ἀλλ' οὐχὶ βόθρον," εἶπεν, "Ὀδυσσέως ὀρυξάμενος, οὐδὲ ἀρνῶν αἵματι ψυχαγωγήσας, ἐς διάλεξιν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἦλθον, ἀλλ' εὐξάμενος, ὁπόσα τοῖς ἥρωσιν Ἰνδοί φασιν εὔχεσθαι, "ὦ Ἀχιλλεῦ," ἔφην, "τεθνάναι σε οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φασίν, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρῶ τῷ λόγῳ, οὐδὲ Πυθαγόρας σοφίας ἐμῆς πρόγονος. εἰ δὴ ἀληθεύομεν, δεῖξον ἡμῖν τὸ σεαυτοῦ εἶδος, καὶ γὰρ ἂν ὄναιο ἄγαν τῶν ἐμῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, εἰ μάρτυσιν αὐτοῖς τοῦ εἶναι χρήσαιο." ἐπὶ τούτοις σεισμὸς μὲν περὶ τὸν κολωνὸν βραχὺς ἐγένετο, πεντάπηχυς δὲ νεανίας ἀνεδόθη Θεττα-

great topic suggests itself, which we surely ought rather to be asking about, we are asking questions about these threadbare and antiquated subjects." "And what," said Apollonius, "may be this topic which makes you regard all others as superfluous?" "You have," he answered, "had an interview with Achilles, O Apollonius, and probably you have heard him speak at length of many things so far unknown to ourselves; and yet you tell us nothing about these, nor do you describe to us the figure of Achilles, but you fill your conversation with talk of the islands we are sailing round and of ship-building." "If you will not accuse me of bragging," said Apollonius, "you shall hear everything." CHAP. XV

XVI

CHAP. XVI

Apollonius relates his interview with Achilles

THE rest of the company also besought him to tell them all about it, and as they were in a mood to listen to him, he said: "Well, it was not by digging a ditch like Odysseus, nor by tempting souls with the blood of sheep, that I obtained a conversation with Achilles; but I offered up the prayer which the Indians say they use in approaching their heroes. 'O Achilles,' I said, 'most of mankind declare that you are dead, but I cannot agree with them, nor can Pythagoras, my spiritual ancestor. If then we hold the truth, show to us your own form; for you would profit not a little by showing yourself to my eyes, if you should be able to use them to attest your existence.' Thereupon a slight earthquake shook the neighbourhood of the barrow, and a youth issued forth five cubits high, wearing a cloak of

CAP. XVI λικὸς τὴν χλαμύδα, τὸ δὲ εἶδος οὐκ ἀλαζών τις ἐφαίνετο, ὡς ἐνίοις ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς δοκεῖ, δεινός τε ὁρώμενος οὐκ ἐξήλλαττε τοῦ φαιδροῦ, τὸ δὲ κάλλος οὔπω μοι δοκεῖ ἐπαινέτου ἀξίου ἐπειλῆφθαι, καίτοι Ὁμήρου πολλὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἰπόντος, ἀλλὰ ἄρρητον εἶναι καὶ καταλύεσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑμνοῦντος ἢ παραπλησίως ἑαυτῷ ᾄδεσθαι. ὁρώμενος δέ, ὁπόσον εἶπον, μείζων ἐγίγνετο καὶ διπλάσιος καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦτο, δωδεκάπηχυς γοῦν ἐφάνη μοι, ὅτε δὴ τελεώτατος ἑαυτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἀεὶ ξυνεπεδίδου τῷ μήκει. τὴν μὲν δὴ κόμην οὐδὲ κείρασθαί ποτε ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ ἄσυλον φυλάξαι τῷ Σπερχειῷ, ποταμῶν γὰρ πρώτῳ Σπερχειῷ χρήσασθαι, τὰ γένεια δ' αὐτῷ πρώτας ἐκβολὰς εἶχε.

προσειπὼν δέ με, "ἀσμένως," εἶπεν, "ἐντετύχηκά σοι, πάλαι δεόμενος ἀνδρὸς τοιοῦδε· Θετταλοὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐναγίσματα χρόνον ἤδη πολὺν ἐκλελοίπασί μοι, καὶ μηνίειν μὲν οὔπω ἀξιῶ, μηνίσαντος γὰρ ἀπολοῦνται μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ ἐνταῦθά ποτε Ἕλληνες, ξυμβουλίᾳ δὲ ἐπιεικεῖ χρῶμαι, μὴ ὑβρίζειν σφᾶς ἐς τὰ νόμιμα, μηδὲ κακίους ἐλέγχεσθαι τουτωνὶ τῶν Τρώων, οἳ τοσούσδε ἄνδρας ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀφαιρεθέντες δημοσίᾳ τε θύουσί μοι καὶ ὡραίων ἀπάρχονται, καὶ ἱκετηρίαν τιθέμενοι σπονδὰς αἰτοῦσιν, ἃς ἐγὼ οὐ δώσω· τὰ γὰρ ἐπιορκηθέντα

Thessalian fashion; but in appearance he was by no means the braggart figure which some imagine Achilles to have been. Though he was stern to look upon, he had never lost his bright look; and it seems to me that his beauty has never received its meed of praise, even though Homer dwelt at length upon it; for it was really beyond the power of words, and it is easier for the singer to ruin his fame in this respect than to praise him as he deserved. At first sight he was of the size which I have mentioned, but he grew bigger, till he was twice as large and even more than that; at any rate he appeared to me to be twelve cubits high just at that moment when he reached his complete stature, and his beauty grew apace with his length. He told me then that he had never at any time shorn off his hair, but preserved it inviolate for the river Spercheus, for this was the first river he had consulted; but on his cheeks you saw the first down. CHAP. XVI

"And he addressed me and said: 'I am pleased to have met you, since I have long wanted a man like yourself. For the Thessalians for a long time past have failed to present their offerings at my tomb, and I do not yet wish to show my wrath against them; for if I did so, they would perish more thoroughly than ever the Hellenes did on this spot; accordingly I resort to gentle advice, and would warn them not to violate ancient custom, nor to prove themselves worse men than the Trojans here, who though they were robbed of so many of their heroes by myself, yet sacrifice publicly to me, and also give me the tithes of their fruits in season, and olive branch in hand ask for a truce from my hostility. But this I will not grant,

Thessalian neglect of his tomb

CAP. XVI τούτοις ἐπ' ἐμὲ οὐκ ἐάσει τὸ Ἴλιόν ποτε τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀναλαβεῖν εἶδος, οὐδὲ τυχεῖν ἀκμῆς, ὁπόση περὶ πολλὰς τῶν καθῃρημένων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' οἰκήσουσιν αὐτὸ βελτίους οὐδὲν ἢ εἰ χθὲς ἥλωσαν. ἵν' οὖν μὴ καὶ τὰ Θετταλῶν ἀποφαίνω ὅμοια, πρέσβευε παρὰ τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ ὧν εἶπον." "πρεσβεύσω," ἔφην, "ὁ γὰρ νοῦς τῆς πρεσβείας ἦν μὴ ἀπολέσθαι αὐτούς. ἀλλ' ἐγώ τί σου, Ἀχιλλεῦ, δέομαι." "ξυνίημι," ἔφη, "δῆλος γὰρ εἶ περὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἐρωτήσων· ἐρώτα δὲ λόγους πέντε, οὓς αὐτός τε βούλει καὶ Μοῖραι ξυγχωροῦσιν." ἠρόμην οὖν πρῶτον, εἰ κατὰ τὸν τῶν ποιητῶν λόγον ἔτυχε τάφου. "κεῖμαι μέν," εἶπεν, "ὡς ἔμοιγε ἥδιστον καὶ Πατρόκλῳ ἐγένετο, ξυνέβημεν γὰρ δὴ κομιδῇ νέοι, ξυνέχει δὲ ἄμφω χρυσοῦς ἀμφορεὺς κειμένους, ὡς ἕνα. Μουσῶν δὲ θρῆνοι καὶ Νηρηίδων, οὓς ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γενέσθαι φασί, Μοῦσαι μὲν οὐδ' ἀφίκοντό ποτε ἐνταῦθα, Νηρηίδες δὲ ἔτι φοιτῶσι." μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἠρόμην, εἰ ἡ Πολυξένη ἐπισφαγείη αὐτῷ, ὁ δὲ ἀληθὲς μὲν ἔφη τοῦτο εἶναι, σφαγῆναι δὲ αὐτὴν οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλ' ἑκοῦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα ἐλθοῦσαν καὶ τὸν ἑαυτῆς τε κἀκείνου ἔρωτα μεγάλων ἀξιῶσαι προσπεσοῦσαν ξίφει ὀρθῷ. τρίτον ἠρόμην· "ἡ Ἑλένη, ὦ Ἀχιλλεῦ, ἐς Τροίαν ἦλθεν ἢ Ὁμήρῳ ἔδοξεν ὑποθέσθαι ταῦτα;"

for the perjuries which they committed against me will not suffer Ilium ever to resume its pristine beauty, nor to regain the prosperity which yet has favoured many a city that was destroyed of old; nay, if they rebuild it, things shall go as hard with them as if their city had been captured only yesterday. In order then to save me from bringing the Thessalian polity to the same condition, you must go as my envoy to their council in behalf of the object I have mentioned.' 'I will be your envoy,' I replied, 'for the object of my embassy were to save them from ruin. But, O Achilles, I would ask something of you.' 'I understand,' said he, 'for it is plain you are going to ask about the Trojan war. So ask me five questions about whatever you like, and that the Fates approve of.' 'I accordingly asked him firstly, if he had obtained burial in accordance with the story of the poets.' 'I lie here,' he answered, 'as was most delightful to myself and Patroclus; for you know we met in mere youth, and a single golden jar holds the remains of both of us, as if we were one. But as for the dirges of the Muses and of the Nereids, which they say are sung over me, the Muses, I may tell you, never once came here at all, though the Nereids still resort to the spot.' Next I asked him, if Polyxena was really slaughtered over his tomb; and he replied that this was true, but that she was slain not by the Achaeans, but that she came of her own free will to the sepulchre, and that so high was the value she set on her own passion for him and his for her, that she threw herself upon an upright sword. The third question I asked was this: 'Did Helen, O Achilles, really come to Troy or was it Homer that was

CHAP. XVI

CAP. XVI “πολύν,” ἔφη, “χρόνον ἐξηπατώμεθα πρεσβευόμενοί τε παρὰ τοὺς Τρῶας, καὶ ποιούμενοι τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μάχας, ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἰλίῳ οὔσης, ἡ δ᾽ Αἴγυπτόν τε ᾤκει καὶ τὸν Πρωτέως οἶκον ἁρπασθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πάριδος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπιστεύθη τοῦτο, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς Τροίας λοιπὸν ἐμαχόμεθα, ὡς μὴ αἰσχρῶς ἀπέλθοιμεν.” ἠψάμην καὶ τετάρτης ἐρωτήσεως καὶ θαυμάζειν ἔφην, εἰ τοσούσδε ὁμοῦ καὶ τοιούσδε ἄνδρας ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἤνεγκεν, ὁπόσους Ὅμηρος ἐπὶ τὴν Τροίαν ξυντάττει. ὁ δὲ Ἀχιλλεύς, “οὐδὲ οἱ βάρβαροι,” ἔφη, “πολὺ ἡμῶν ἐλείποντο, οὕτως ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἀρετῆς ἤνθησε.” πέμπτον δ᾽ ἠρόμην· τί παθὼν Ὅμηρος τὸν Παλαμήδην οὐκ οἶδεν, ἢ οἶδε μέν, ἐξαιρεῖ δὲ τοῦ περὶ ὑμῶν λόγου; “εἰ Παλαμήδης,” εἶπεν, “ἐς Τροίαν οὐκ ἦλθεν, οὐδὲ Τροία ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνὴρ σοφώτατός τε καὶ μαχιμώτατος ἀπέθανεν, ὡς Ὀδυσσεῖ ἔδοξεν, οὐκ ἐσάγεται αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ ποιήματα Ὅμηρος, ὡς μὴ τὰ ὀνείδη τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ᾄδοι.” καὶ ἐπολοφυράμενος αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ὡς μεγίστῳ τε καὶ καλλίστῳ, νεωτάτῳ τε καὶ πολεμικωτάτῳ, σωφροσύνῃ τε ὑπερβαλομένῳ πάντας καὶ πολλὰ ξυμβαλομένῳ ταῖς Μούσαις, “ἀλλὰ σύ,” ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιε, σοφοῖς γὰρ πρὸς σοφοὺς ἐπιτήδεια, τοῦ τε τάφου ἐπιμελήθητι, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Παλαμήδους ἀνάλαβε φαύλως ἐρριμμένον· κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι κατὰ Μήθυμναν τὴν ἐν Λέσβῳ.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι

CHAP. XVI

pleased to make up the story?' 'For a long time,' he replied, 'we were deceived and tricked into sending envoys to the Trojans and fighting battles in her behalf, in the belief that she was in Ilium, whereas she really was living in Egypt and in the house of Proteus, whither she had been snatched away by Paris. But when we became convinced thereof, we continued to fight to win Troy itself, so as not to disgrace ourselves by retreat.' The fourth question which I ventured upon was this: 'I wonder,' I said, 'that Greece ever produced at any one time so many and such distinguished heroes as Homer says were gathered against Troy.' But Achilles answered: 'Why even the barbarians did not fall far short of us, so abundantly then did excellence flourish all over the earth.' And my fifth question was this: 'Why was it that Homer knew nothing about Palamedes, or if he knew him, then kept him out of your story?' 'If Palamedes,' he answered, 'never came to Troy, then Troy never existed either. But since this wisest and most warlike hero fell in obedience to Odysseus' whim, Homer does not introduce him into his poems, lest he should have to record the shame of Odysseus in his song.' And withal Achilles raised a wail over him as over one who was the greatest and most beautiful of men, the youngest and also the most warlike, one who in sobriety surpassed all others, and had often foregathered with the Muses. 'But you,' he added, 'O Apollonius, since sages have a tender regard for one another, you must care for his tomb and restore the image of Palamedes that has been so contemptuously cast aside; and it lies in Aeolis close to Methymna

CAP. XVI τὰ περὶ τὸν νεανίαν τὸν ἐκ Πάρου, ἀπῆλθε ξὺν ἀστραπῇ μετρίᾳ, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνες ἤδη ᾠδῆς ἥπτοντο."

XVII

CAP. XVII Τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς νεώς, ἐς δὲ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἐσπλεύσας περὶ μυστηρίων ὥραν, ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοι πολυανθρωπότατα Ἑλλήνων πράττουσιν, ἀνῄει ξυντείνας ἀπὸ τῆς νεὼς ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, προιὼν δὲ πολλοῖς τῶν φιλοσοφούντων ἐνετύγχανε Φάληράδε κατιοῦσιν, ὧν οἱ μὲν γυμνοὶ ἐθέροντο, καὶ γὰρ τὸ μετόπωρον εὐήλιον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, οἱ δὲ ἐκ βιβλίων ἐσπούδαζον, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ στόματος ἠσκοῦντο, οἱ δὲ ἤριζον. παρῄει δὲ οὐδεὶς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τεκμηράμενοι πάντες, ὡς εἴη Ἀπολλώνιος, ξυνανεστρέφοντό τε καὶ ἠσπάζοντο χαίροντες, νεανίσκοι δὲ ὁμοῦ δέκα περιτυχόντες αὐτῷ, "νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐκείνην," ἔφασαν ἀνατείναντες τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, "ἡμεῖς ἄρτι ἐς Πειραιᾶ ἐβαδίζομεν πλευσόμενοι ἐς Ἰωνίαν παρὰ σέ." ὁ δὲ ἀπεδέχετο αὐτῶν καὶ ξυγχαίρειν ἔφη φιλοσοφοῦσιν.

XVIII

CAP. XVIII Ἦν μὲν δὴ Ἐπιδαυρίων ἡμέρα. τὰ δὲ Ἐπιδαύρια μετὰ πρόρρησίν τε καὶ ἱερεῖα δεῦρο μυεῖν

in Lesbos.' With these words and with the closing remarks concerning the youth from Paros, Achilles vanished with a flash of summer lightning, for indeed the cocks were already beginning their chant." CHAP. XVI

XVII

CHAP. XVII

His welcome in Athens

So much for the conversation on board; but having sailed into the Piraeus at the season of the mysteries, when the Athenians keep the most crowded of Hellenic festivals, he went post haste up from the ship into the city; but as he went forward, he fell in with quite a number of students of philosophy on their way down to Phalerum. Some of them were stripped and enjoying the heat, for in autumn the sun is hot upon the Athenians; and others were studying books, and some were rehearsing their speeches, and others were disputing. But no one passed him by, for they all guessed that it was Apollonius, and they turned and thronged around him and welcomed him warmly; and ten youths in a body met him, and holding up their hands towards the Acropolis they cried: "By Athene yonder, we were on the point of going down to the Piraeus there to take ship to Ionia in order to visit you." And he welcomed them and said how much he congratulated them on their study of philosophy.

XVIII

CHAP. XVIII

It was then the day of the Epidaurian festival, at which it is still customary for the Athenians to

CAP. XVIII ᾿Αθηναίοις πάτριον ἐπὶ θυσίᾳ δευτέρᾳ, τουτὶ δὲ ἐνόμισαν ᾿Ασκληπιοῦ ἕνεκα, ὅτι δὴ ἐμύησαν αὐτὸν ἥκοντα ᾿Επιδαυρόθεν ὀψὲ μυστηρίων. ἀμελήσαντες δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ μυεῖσθαι περὶ τὸν ᾿Απολλώνιον εἶχον, καὶ τοῦτ᾿ ἐσπούδαζον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἀπελθεῖν τετελεσμένοι, ὁ δὲ ξυνέσεσθαι μὲν αὐτοῖς αὖθις ἔλεγεν, ἐκέλευσε δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς τότε γίγνεσθαι, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς μυεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἱεροφάντης οὐκ ἐβούλετο παρέχειν τὰ ἱερά, μὴ γὰρ ἄν ποτε μυῆσαι γόητα, μηδὲ τὴν ᾿Ελευσῖνα ἀνοῖξαι ἀνθρώπῳ μὴ καθαρῷ τὰ δαιμόνια. ὁ δὲ ᾿Απολλώνιος οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τούτων ἥττων αὑτοῦ γενόμενος, "οὔπω," ἔφη, "τὸ μέγιστον, ὧν ἐγὼ ἐγκληθείην ἄν, εἴρηκας, ὅτι περὶ τῆς τελετῆς πλείω ἢ σὺ γιγνώσκων, ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς παρὰ σοφώτερον ἐμαυτοῦ μυησόμενος ἦλθον." ἐπαινεσάντων δὲ τῶν παρόντων, ὡς ἐρρωμένως καὶ παραπλησίως αὑτῷ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὁ μὲν ἱεροφάντης, ἐπειδὴ ἐξείργων αὐτὸν οὐ φίλα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐδόκει πράττειν, μετέβαλε τοῦ τόνου καί, "μυοῦ," ἔφη, "σοφὸς γάρ τις ἥκειν ἔοικας," ὁ δὲ ᾿Απολλώνιος "μυήσομαι," ἔφη, "αὖθις, μυήσει δέ με ὁ δεῖνα," προγνώσει χρώμενος ἐς τὸν μετ᾿ ἐκεῖνον ἱεροφάντην, ὃς μετὰ τέτταρα ἔτη τοῦ ἱεροῦ προὔστη.

CHAP. XVIII

Is refused initiation in Epidaurian mystery

hold the initiation at a second sacrifice after both proclamation and victims have been offered; and this custom was instituted in honour of Asclepius, because they still initiated him when on one occasion he arrived from Epidaurus too late for the mysteries. Now most people neglected the initiation and hung around Apollonius, and thought more of doing that than of being perfected in their religion before they went home; but Apollonius said that he would join them later on, and urged them to attend at once to the rites of religion, for that he himself would be initiated. But the hierophant was not disposed to admit him to the rites, for he said that he would never initiate a wizard and charlatan, nor open the Eleusinian rite to a man who dabbled in impure rites. Thereupon Apollonius, fully equal to the occasion, said: "You have not yet mentioned the chief of my offence, which is that knowing, as I do, more about the initiatory rite than you do yourself, I have nevertheless come for initiation to you, as if you were wiser than I am." The bystanders applauded these words, and deemed that he had answered with vigour and like himself; and thereupon the hierophant, since he saw that his exclusion of Apollonius was not by any means popular with the crowd, changed his tone and said: "Be thou initiated, for thou seemest to be some wise man that has come here." But Apollonius replied: "I will be initiated at another time, and it is so and so," mentioning a name, "who will initiate me." Herein he showed his gift of prevision, for he glanced at the hierophant who succeeded the one he addressed, and presided over the temple four years later.

XIX

CAP. XIX

Τὰς δὲ Ἀθήνησι διατριβὰς πλείστας μὲν ὁ Δάμις γενέσθαι φησὶ τῷ ἀνδρί, γράψαι δὲ οὐ πάσας, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀναγκαίας τε καὶ περὶ μεγάλων σπουδασθείσας. τὴν μὲν δὴ πρώτην διάλεξιν, ἐπειδὴ φιλοθύτας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἶδεν, ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν διελέξατο, καὶ ὡς ἄν τις ἐς τὸ ἑκάστῳ τῶν θεῶν οἰκεῖον καὶ πηνίκα δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἢ θύοι ἢ σπένδοι ἢ εὔχοιτο, καὶ βιβλίῳ Ἀπολλωνίου προστυχεῖν ἔστιν, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φωνῇ ἐκδιδάσκει. διῆλθε δὲ ταῦτα Ἀθήνησι πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὲρ σοφίας αὑτοῦ τε κἀκείνων, εἶτ' ἐλέγχων τὸν ἱεροφάντην δι' ἃ βλασφήμως τε καὶ ἀμαθῶς εἶπε· τίς γὰρ ἔτι ᾠήθη τὰ δαιμόνια μὴ καθαρὸν εἶναι τὸν φιλοσοφοῦντα, ὅπως οἱ θεοὶ θεραπευτέοι;

XX

CAP. XX

Διαλεγομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ σπένδειν, παρέτυχε μὲν τῷ λόγῳ μειράκιον τῶν ἁβρῶν οὕτως ἀσελγὲς νομιζόμενον, ὡς γενέσθαι ποτὲ καὶ ἁμαξῶν ᾆσμα, πατρὶς δὲ αὐτῷ Κέρκυρα ἦν καὶ ἐς Ἀλκίνουν ἀνέφερε τὸν ξένον τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως τὸν Φαίακα, καὶ διῄει μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος περὶ τοῦ

XIX

CHAP. XIX

Lectures the Athenians on Religion

MANY were the discourses which according to Damis the sage delivered at Athens; though he did not write down all of them, but only the more indispensable ones in which he handled great subjects. He took then for the topic of his first discourse the matter of rites and ceremonies, and this because he saw that the Athenians were much addicted to sacrifices; and in it he explained how a religious man could best adapt his sacrifice, his libation, or prayers to any particular divinity, and at what hours of day and night he ought to offer them. And it is possible to obtain a book of Apollonius, in which he gives instructions on these points in his own words. But at Athens he discussed these topics with a view to improving his own wisdom and that of others in the first place, and in the second of convicting the hierophant of blasphemy and ignorance in the remarks he had made; for who could continue to regard as one impure in his religion a man who taught philosophically how the worship of the gods is to be conducted?

XX

CHAP. XX

Heals a demoniac youth who mocked at him

Now while he was discussing the question of libations, there chanced to be present in his audience a young dandy who bore so evil a reputation for licentiousness, that his conduct had long been the subject of coarse street-corner songs. His home was Corcyra, and he traced his pedigree to Alcinous the Phaeacian who entertained Odysseus. Apollonius then

CAP. XX σπένδειν, ἐκέλευε δὲ μὴ πίνειν τοῦ ποτηρίου τούτου, φυλάττειν δὲ αὐτὸ τοῖς θεοῖς ἄχραντόν τε καὶ ἄποτον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὦτα ἐκέλευσε τῷ ποτηρίῳ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ σπένδειν κατὰ τὸ οὖς, ἀφ᾽ οὗ μέρους ἥκιστα πίνουσιν ἄνθρωποι, τὸ μειράκιον κατεσκέδασε τοῦ λόγου πλατύν τε καὶ ἀσελγῆ γέλωτα· ὁ δὲ ἀναβλέψας ἐς αὐτό, "οὐ σύ," ἔφη, "ταῦτα ὑβρίζεις, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ δαίμων, ὃς ἐλαύνει σε οὐκ εἰδότα." ἐλελήθει δὲ ἄρα δαιμονῶν τὸ μειράκιον· ἐγέλα τε γὰρ ἐφ᾽ οἷς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος καὶ μετέβαλλεν ἐς τὸ κλάειν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχον, διελέγετό τε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ ᾖδε. καὶ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τὴν νεότητα σκιρτῶσαν ᾤοντο ἐκφέρειν αὐτὸ ἐς ταῦτα, ὁ δ᾽ ὑπεκρίνετο ἄρα τῷ δαίμονι καὶ ἐδόκει παροινεῖν, ἃ ἐπαρῴνει τότε, ὁρῶντός τε ἐς αὐτὸ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, δεδοικότως τε καὶ ὀργίλως φωνὰς ἠφίει τὸ εἴδωλον, ὁπόσαι καομένων τε καὶ στρεβλουμένων εἰσίν, ἀφέξεσθαί τε τοῦ μειρακίου ὤμνυ καὶ μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐμπεσεῖσθαι. τοῦ δὲ οἷον δεσπότου πρὸς ἀνδράποδον ποικίλον πανοῦργόν τε καὶ ἀναιδὲς καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ξὺν ὀργῇ λέγοντος, καὶ κελεύοντος αὐτῷ ξὺν τεκμηρίῳ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, "τὸν δεῖνα," ἔφη, "καταβαλῶ ἀνδριάντα," δείξας τινὰ τῶν περὶ τὴν Βασίλειον στοάν, πρὸς ᾗ ταῦτα ἐπράττετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ἀνδριὰς ὑπεκινήθη πρῶτον, εἶτα ἔπεσε, τὸν μὲν θόρυβον

was talking about libations, and was urging them not to drink out of a particular cup, but to reserve it for the gods, without ever touching it or drinking out of it. But when he also urged them to have handles on the cup, and to pour the libation over the handle, because that is the part of the cup at which men are least likely to drink, the youth burst out into loud and coarse laughter, and quite drowned his voice. Then Apollonius looked up at him and said: "It is not yourself that perpetrates this insult, but the demon, who drives you on without your knowing it." And in fact the youth was, without knowing it, possessed by a devil; for he would laugh at things that no one else laughed at, and then he would fall to weeping for no reason at all, and he would talk and sing to himself. Now most people thought that it was the boisterous humour of youth which led him into such excesses; but he was really the mouthpiece of a devil, though it only seemed a drunken frolic in which on that occasion he was indulging. Now when Apollonius gazed on him, the ghost in him began to utter cries of fear and rage, such as one hears from people who are being branded or racked; and the ghost swore that he would leave the young man alone and never take possession of any man again. But Apollonius addressed him with anger, as a master might a shifty, rascally, and shameless slave and so on, and he ordered him to quit the young man and show by a visible sign that he had done so. "I will throw down yonder statue," said the devil, and pointed to one of the images which were in the king's portico, for there it was that the scene took place. But when the statue began by moving gently, and then fell down, it would defy anyone to describe CHAP. XX

CAP. XX τὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ὡς ἐκρότησαν ὑπὸ θαύματος, τί ἄν τις γράφοι; τὸ δὲ μειράκιον, ὥσπερ ἀφυπνίσαν, τούς τε ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔτριψε καὶ πρὸς τὰς αὐγὰς τοῦ ἡλίου εἶδεν, αἰδῶ τε ἐπεσπάσατο πάντων ἐς αὐτὸ ἐστραμμένων, ἀσελγές τε οὐκέτι ἐφαίνετο, οὐδὲ ἄτακτον βλέπον, ἀλλ' ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν μεῖον οὐδὲν ἢ εἰ φαρμακοποσίᾳ ἐκέχρητο, μεταβαλόν τε τῶν χλανιδίων καὶ ληδίων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης συβάριδος, ἐς ἔρωτα ἦλθεν αὐχμοῦ καὶ τρίβωνος καὶ ἐς τὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἤθη ἀπεδύσατο.

XXI

CAP. XXI Ἐπιπλῆξαι δὲ λέγεται περὶ Διονυσίων Ἀθηναίοις, ἃ ποιεῖταί σφισιν ἐν ὥρᾳ τοῦ ἀνθεστηριῶνος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ μονῳδίας ἀκροασομένους καὶ μελοποιίας παραβάσεών τε καὶ ῥυθμῶν, ὁπόσοι κωμῳδίας τε καὶ τραγῳδίας εἰσίν, ἐς τὸ θέατρον ξυμφοιτᾶν ᾤετο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσεν, ὅτι αὐλοῦ ὑποσημήναντος λυγισμοὺς ὀρχοῦνται, καὶ μεταξὺ τῆς Ὀρφέως ἐποποιίας τε καὶ θεολογίας τὰ μὲν ὡς Ὧραι, τὰ δὲ ὡς Νύμφαι, τὰ δὲ ὡς Βάκχαι πράττουσιν, ἐς ἐπίπληξιν τούτου κατέστη, καί, "παύσασθε," εἶπεν, "ἐξορχούμενοι τοὺς Σαλαμινίους καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους κειμένους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, εἰ μὲν γὰρ Λακωνικὴ ταῦτα ὄρχησις, εὖγε οἱ στρατιῶται, γυμνάζεσθε γὰρ πολέμῳ καὶ

CHAP. XX

the hubbub which arose thereat and the way they clapped their hands with wonder. But the young man rubbed his eyes as if he had just woke up, and he looked towards the rays of the sun, and won the consideration of all who now had turned their attention to him; for he no longer showed himself licentious, nor did he stare madly about, but he had returned to his own self, as thoroughly as if he had been treated with drugs; and he gave up his dainty dress and summery garments and the rest of his sybaritic way of life, and he fell in love with the austerity of philosophers, and donned their cloak, and stripping off his old self modelled his life in future upon that of Apollonius.

XXI

CHAP. XXI

Rebukes Athenian levity at feast of Dionysus

AND he is said to have rebuked the Athenians for their conduct of the festival of Dionysus, which they hold at the season of the month Anthesterion. For when he saw them flocking to the theatre he imagined that they were going to listen to solos and compositions in the way of processional and rhythmic hymns, such as are sung in comedies and tragedies; but when he heard them dancing lascivious jigs to the rondos of a flute, and in the midst of the solemn and sacred epic of Orpheus striking attitudes as the Hours, or as nymphs, or as bacchants, he set himself to rebuke their proceedings, and said: "Stop dancing away the reputations of the victors of Salamis as well as of many other good men departed this life. For if indeed this were a Lacedaemonian form of dance, I would say, 'Bravo, soldiers; for you are training yourselves for war, and I will join in your dance';

CAP. XXI ξυνορχήσομαι, εἰ δὲ ἁπαλὴ καὶ ἐς τὸ θῆλυ σπεύδουσα, τί φῶ περὶ τῶν τροπαίων; οὐ γὰρ κατὰ Μήδων ταῦτα ἢ Περσῶν, καθ' ὑμῶν δὲ ἑστήξει, τῶν ἀναθέντων αὐτὰ εἰ λίποισθε. κροκωτοὶ δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἁλουργία καὶ κοκκοβαφία τοιαύτη πόθεν; οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ Ἀχαρναί γε ὧδε ἐστέλλοντο, οὐδὲ ὁ Κολωνὸς ὧδε ἵππευε. καὶ τί λέγω ταῦτα; γυνὴ ναύαρχος ἐκ Καρίας ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἔπλευσε μετὰ Ξέρξου, καὶ ἦν αὐτῇ γυναικεῖον οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς στολὴ καὶ ὅπλα, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἁβρότεροι τῶν Ξέρξου γυναικῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς στέλλεσθε οἱ γέροντες οἱ νέοι τὸ ἐφηβικόν, οἳ πάλαι μὲν ὤμνυσαν ἐς Ἀγραύλου φοιτῶντες ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανεῖσθαι καὶ ὅπλα θήσεσθαι, νῦν δὲ ἴσως ὀμοῦνται ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος βακχεύσειν καὶ θύρσον λήψεσθαι, κόρυν μὲν οὐδεμίαν φέρον, γυναικομίμῳ δὲ μορφώματι, κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην, αἰσχρῶς διαπρέπον. ἀκούω δὲ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀνέμους γίγνεσθαι, καὶ λήδια ἀνασείειν λέγεσθε ἔπιπλα μετεώρως αὐτὰ κολποῦντες. ἔδει δὲ ἀλλὰ τούτους γε αἰδεῖσθαι, ξυμμάχους ὄντας καὶ πνεύσαντας ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν μέγα, μηδὲ τὸν Βορέαν κηδεστήν γε ὄντα καὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἀνέμους ἄρσενα ποιεῖσθαι θῆλυν, οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς Ὠρειθυίας ἐραστὴς ἄν ποτε ὁ Βορέας ἐγένετο, εἰ κἀκείνην ὀρχουμένην εἶδε."

but as it is a soft dance and one of effeminate tendency, what am I to say of your national trophies? Not as monuments of shame to the Medians or Persians, but to your own shame they will have been raised, should you degenerate so much from those who set them up. And what do you mean by your saffron robes and your purple and scarlet raiment? For surely the Acharnians never dressed themselves up in this way, nor ever the knights of Colonus rode in such a garb. And why need I say this? A woman commanded a ship from Caria and sailed against you with Xerxes, and about her there was nothing womanly, but she wore the garb and armour of a man; but you are softer than the women of Xerxes' day, and you are dressing yourselves up to your own despite, old and young and striplings alike, all those who of old flocked to the temple of Agraulus in order to swear to die in battle on behalf of the fatherland. And now it seems that the same people are ready to swear to become bacchants and don the thyrsus in behalf of their country; and no one bears a helmet, but disguised as female harlequins, to use the phrase of Euripides, they shine in shame alone. Nay more, I hear that you turn yourselves into winds, and wave your skirts, and pretend that you are ships bellying their sails aloft. But surely you might at least have some respect for the winds that were your allies and once blew mightily to protect you, instead of turning Boreas who was your patron, and who of all the winds is the most masculine, into a woman; for Boreas would never have become the lover of Oreithya, if he had seen her executing, like you, a skirt dance."

CHAP. XXI

Eurip. *Bacchae* 980.

XXII

CAP. XXII Διωρθοῦτο δὲ κἀκεῖνο Ἀθήνησιν· οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξυνιόντες ἐς θέατρον τὸ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει προσεῖχον σφαγαῖς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐσπουδάζετο ταῦτα ἐκεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν Κορίνθῳ νῦν, χρημάτων τε μεγάλων ἐωνημένοι ἤγοντο μοιχοὶ καὶ πόρνοι καὶ τοιχωρύχοι καὶ βαλαντιοτόμοι καὶ ἀνδραποδισταὶ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔθνη, οἱ δ' ὥπλιζον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκέλευον ξυμπίπτειν. ἐλάβετο δὲ καὶ τούτων ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ καλούντων αὐτὸν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἂν ἔφη παρελθεῖν ἐς χωρίον ἀκάθαρτον καὶ λύθρου μεστόν. ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ἐν ἐπιστολῇ. καὶ θαυμάζειν ἔλεγεν "ὅπως ἡ θεὸς οὐ καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἤδη ἐκλείπει τοιοῦτον αἷμα ὑμῶν ἐκχεόντων αὐτῇ. δοκεῖτε γάρ μοι προϊόντες, ἐπειδὰν τὰ Παναθήναια πέμπητε, μηδὲ βοῦς ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἑκατόμβας ἀνθρώπων καταθύσειν τῇ θεῷ. σὺ δέ, Διόνυσε, μετὰ τοιοῦτον αἷμα ἐς τὸ θέατρον φοιτᾷς; κἀκεῖ σοι σπένδουσιν οἱ σοφοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι; μετάστηθι καὶ σύ, Διόνυσε· Κιθαιρὼν καθαρώτερος." τοιάδε εὗρον τὰ σπουδαιότατα τῶν φιλοσοφηθέντων Ἀθήνησιν αὐτῷ τότε.

XXIII

CAP. XXIII Ἐπρέσβευσε δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Πυλαίᾳ ξυλλόγους,

XXII

CHAP. XXII

His criticism of gladiatorial shows in Athens

He also corrected the following abuse at Athens. The Athenians ran in crowds to the theatre beneath the Acropolis to witness human slaughter, and the passion for such sports was stronger there than it is in Corinth to-day; for they would buy for large sums adulterers and fornicators and burglars and cut-purses and kidnappers and such-like rabble, and then they took them and armed them and set them to fight with one another. Apollonius then attacked these practices, and when the Athenians invited him to attend their assembly, he refused to enter a place so impure and reeking with gore. And this he said in an epistle to them; he said that he was surprised "that the goddess had not already quitted the Acropolis, when you shed such blood under her eyes. For I suspect that presently, when you are conducting the pan-Athenaic procession, you will no longer be content with bulls, but will be sacrificing hecatombs of men to the goddess. And thou, O Dionysus, dost thou after such bloodshed frequent their theatre? And do the wise among the Athenians pour libations to thee there? Nay do thou depart, O Dionysus. Holier and purer is thy Cithaeron."

Such were the more serious of the subjects which I have found he treated of at that time in Athens in his philosophic discourses.

XXIII

CHAP. XXIII

And he also went as envoy to the Thessalians in behalf of Achilles at the time of the conferences

CAP. XXIII ἐν οἷς οἱ Θετταλοὶ τὰ Ἀμφικτυονικὰ πράττουσιν, οἱ δὲ δείσαντες ἐψηφίσαντο ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ προσήκοντα τῷ τάφῳ. καὶ τὸ Λεωνίδου σῆμα τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου μονονοὺ περιέβαλεν ἀγασθεὶς τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν κολωνὸν βαδίζων, ἐφ' οὗ λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι περιχωσθῆναι τοῖς τοξεύμασιν, ἤκουσε τῶν ὁμιλητῶν διαφερομένων ἀλλήλοις, ὅ τι εἴη τὸ ὑψηλότατον τῆς Ἑλλάδος, παρεῖχε δὲ ἄρα τὸν λόγον ἡ Οἴτη τὸ ὄρος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς οὖσα, καὶ ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "τὸ ὑψηλότατον τοῦτο ἡγοῦμαι, οἱ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἀποθανόντες ἀντανήγαγον αὐτὸ τῇ Οἴτῃ καὶ ὑπὲρ πολλοὺς Ὀλύμπους ἦραν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἄγαμαι μὲν καὶ τούσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας, τὸν δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνα Μεγιστίαν καὶ πρὸ τούτων, ἃ γὰρ πεισομένους ἐγίγνωσκε, τούτων ἐπεθύμησε κοινωνῆσαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οὐ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν δείσας, ἀλλὰ τὸ μετὰ τοιῶνδε μὴ τεθνάναι."

CAP. XXIV

XXIV

Ἐπεφοίτησε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἱεροῖς πᾶσι τῷ τε Δωδωναίῳ καὶ τῷ Πυθικῷ καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἀβαῖς, ἐς Ἀμφιάρεώ τε καὶ Τροφωνίου ἐβάδισε καὶ ἐς τὸ Μουσεῖον τὸ ἐν Ἑλικῶνι ἀνέβη. φοιτῶντι δὲ ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ διορθουμένῳ αὐτὰ ξυνεφοίτων μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἠκολούθουν δὲ οἱ γνώρι-

CHAP. XXIII

He visits Thessaly. Eulogy of Leonidas

held in Pylaea, at which the Thessalians transact the Amphictyonic business. And they were so frightened that they passed a resolution for the resumption of the ceremonies at the tomb. As for the monument of Leonidas the Spartan, he almost embraced it, out of sheer admiration for the hero; and as he was coming to the mound where the Lacedaemonians are said to have been overwhelmed by the bolts which the enemy rained upon them, he heard his companions discussing with one another which was the loftiest hill in Hellas, this topic being suggested it seems by the sight of the mountain of Oeta which rose before their eyes; so ascending the mound, he said: "I consider this the loftiest spot of all, for those who fell here in defence of freedom raised it to a level with Oeta and carried it to a height surpassing many mountains like Olympus. It is these men that I admire, and beyond any of them Megistias the Acarnanian; for he knew the death that they were about to die, and deliberately made up his mind to share in it with these heroes, fearing not so much death, as the prospect that he should miss death in such company."

XXIV

CHAP. XXIV

Visits Greek shrines

And he also visited all the Greek shrines, namely that of Dodona, and the Pythian temple, and the one at Abae, and he betook himself to those of Amphiareus and of Trophonius, and he went up to the shrine of the Muses on Mount Helicon. And when he visited these temples and corrected the rites, the priests went in his company, and the

CAP. XXIV μοι, λόγων τε κρατῆρες ἵσταντο καὶ ἠρύοντο αὐτῶν οἱ διψῶντες. ὄντων δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπίων καὶ καλούντων αὐτὸν Ἠλείων ἐπὶ κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος, "δοκεῖτέ μοι," ἔφη, "διαβάλλειν τὴν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων δόξαν πρεσβειῶν δεόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς αὐτόθεν ἥξοντας." γενόμενος δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν μυκησαμένης τῆς περὶ τὸ Λέχαιον θαλάττης, "οὗτος," εἶπεν, "ὁ αὐχὴν τῆς γῆς τετμήσεται, μᾶλλον δὲ οὔ." εἶχε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτο πρόρρησιν τῆς μικρὸν ὕστερον περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τομῆς, ἣν μετὰ ἔτη ἑπτὰ Νέρων διενοήθη· τὰ γὰρ βασίλεια ἐκλιπὼν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφίκετο κηρύγμασιν ὑποθήσων ἑαυτὸν Ὀλυμπικοῖς τε καὶ Πυθικοῖς, ἐνίκα δὲ καὶ Ἰσθμοῖ· αἱ δὲ νῖκαι ἦσαν κιθαρῳδίαι καὶ κήρυκες, ἐνίκα δὲ καὶ τραγῳδοὺς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. τότε λέγεται καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν καινοτομίας ἅψασθαι, περίπλουν αὐτὸν ἐργαζόμενος καὶ τὸν Αἰγαῖον τῷ Ἀδρίᾳ ξυμβάλλων, ὡς μὴ πᾶσα ναῦς ὑπὲρ Μαλέαν πλέοι, κομίζοιντό τε αἱ πολλαὶ διὰ τοῦ ῥήγματος ξυντέμνουσαι τὰς περιβολὰς τοῦ πλοῦ. πῆ δὲ ἀπέβη τὸ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου λόγιον; ἡ ὀρυχὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Λεχαίου λαβοῦσα στάδια προὔβη ἴσως τέτταρα ξυνεχῶς ὀρυττόντων, σχεῖν δὲ λέγεται Νέρων τὴν τομὴν οἱ μὲν Αἰγυπτίων

votaries followed in his steps, and goblets were set up flowing with rational discourse and the thirsty quaffed their wine. And as the Olympic Games were coming on, and the people of Elis invited him to take part in the contest, he answered: "You seem to me to tarnish the glory of the Olympic Games, if you need to send special invitations to those who intend to visit you at their own promptings." And he was at the Isthmus, when the sea was roaring around Lechaeum, and hearing it he said: "This neck of land shall be cut through, or rather it shall not be cut." And herein he uttered a prediction of the cutting of the Isthmus which was attempted soon afterwards, when Nero after seven years projected it. For the latter left his imperial palace and came to Hellas, with the intention of submitting himself to the heralds' commands, in the Olympic and Pythian festivals; and he also won the prize at the Isthmus, his victories being won in the contest of singing to the harp and in that of the heralds. And he also won the prize for tragedians at Olympia. It is said that he then formed the novel project of cutting through the Isthmus, in order to make a canal of it for ships to sail through and not right round, uniting the Aegean with the Adriatic Sea. So instead of every ship having to round Cape Malea, most by passing through the canal so cut could abridge an otherwise circuitous voyage. But mark the upshot of the oracle delivered by Apollonius. They began to dig the canal at Lechaeum, but they had not advanced more than about four stadia of continuous excavation, when Nero stopped the work of cutting it, some say because Egyptian men of science

CHAP. XXIV

Is invited to the Olympic games

Predicts Nero's Isthmian canal

CAP. XXIV φιλοσοφησάντων αὐτῷ τὰς θαλάττας καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ Λεχαίου πέλαγος ὑπερχυθὲν ἀφανιεῖν εἰπόντων τὴν Αἴγιναν, οἱ δὲ νεώτερα περὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ δείσαντα. τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τὸ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τετμήσεσθαι καὶ οὐ τετμήσεσθαι.

XXV

CAP. XXV Ἐν Κορίνθῳ δὲ φιλοσοφῶν ἐτύγχανε τότε Δημήτριος, ἀνὴρ ξυνειληφὼς ἅπαν τὸ ἐν Κυνικῇ κράτος, οὗ Φαβωρῖνος ὕστερον ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λόγων οὐκ ἀγεννῶς ἐπεμνήσθη, παθὼν δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὅπερ φασὶ τὸν Ἀντισθένην πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Σωκράτους σοφίαν παθεῖν, εἵπετο αὐτῷ μαθητιῶν καὶ προσκείμενος τοῖς λόγοις, καὶ τῶν αὐτῷ γνωρίμων τοὺς εὐδοκιμωτέρους ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἔτρεπεν, ὧν καὶ Μένιππος ἦν ὁ Λύκιος, ἔτη μὲν γεγονὼς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, γνώμης δὲ ἱκανῶς ἔχων καὶ τὸ σῶμα εὖ κατεσκευασμένος, ἐῴκει γοῦν ἀθλητῇ καλῷ καὶ ἐλευθερίῳ τὸ εἶδος. ἐρᾶσθαι δὲ τὸν Μένιππον οἱ πολλοὶ ᾤοντο ὑπὸ γυναίου ξένου, τὸ δὲ γύναιον καλή τε ἐφαίνετο καὶ ἱκανῶς ἁβρά, καὶ πλουτεῖν ἔφασκεν, οὐδεν δὲ τούτων ἄρα ἀτεχνῶς ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἐδόκει πάντα. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ Κεγχρεὰς βαδίζοντι αὐτῷ μόνῳ, φάσμα ἐντυχὸν γυνή τε ἐγένετο, καὶ χεῖρα ξυνῆψεν ἐρᾶν αὐτοῦ πάλαι φάσκουσα, Φοίνισσα δὲ εἶναι καὶ οἰκεῖν ἐν

explained to him the nature of the seas, and declared that the sea above Lechaeum would flood and obliterate the island of Aegina, and others because he apprehended a revolution in the empire. Such then was the meaning of Apollonius' prediction that the Isthmus would be cut through and would not be cut through. CHAP. XXIV

XXV

CHAP. XXV

The story of Menippus and the Lamia

Now there was in Corinth at that time a man named Demetrius, who studied philosophy and had embraced in his system all the masculine vigour of the Cynics. Of him Favorinus in several of his own works subsequently made the most generous mention, and his attitude towards Apollonius was exactly that which they say Antisthenes took up towards the system of Socrates; for he followed him and was anxious to be his disciple, and was devoted to his doctrines, and converted to the side of Apollonius the more esteemed of his own pupils. Among the latter was Menippus a Lycian of twenty-five years of age, well endowed with good judgment, and of a physique so beautifully proportioned that in mien he resembled a fine and gentlemanly athlete. Now this Menippus was supposed by most people to be loved by a foreign woman, who was good-looking and extremely dainty, and said that she was rich; although she was really, as it turned out, none of these things, but was only so in semblance. For as he was walking all alone along the road towards Cenchreæ, he met with an apparition, and it was a woman who clasped his hand and declared that she had been long in love with him, and that she was a

CAP. XXV προαστείῳ τῆς Κορίνθου, τὸ δεῖνα εἰποῦσα προάστειον, "ἐς ὃ ἑσπέρας," ἔφη, "ἀφικομένῳ σοι ᾠδή τε ὑπάρξει ἐμοῦ ᾀδούσης καὶ οἶνος, οἷον οὔπω ἔπιες, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀντεραστὴς ἐνοχλήσει σε, βιώσομαι δὲ καλὴ ξὺν καλῷ." τούτοις ὑπαχθεὶς ὁ νεανίας, τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλην φιλοσοφίαν ἔρρωτο, τῶν δὲ ἐρωτικῶν ἥττητο, ἐφοίτησε περὶ ἑσπέραν αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐθάμιζεν, ὥσπερ παιδικοῖς, οὔπω ξυνεὶς τοῦ φάσματος.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἀνδριαντοποιοῦ δίκην ἐς τὸν Μένιππον βλέπων ἐζωγράφει τὸν νεανίαν καὶ ἐθεώρει, καταγνοὺς δὲ αὐτόν, "σὺ μέντοι," εἶπεν, "ὁ καλός τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν καλῶν γυναικῶν θηρευόμενος ὄφιν θάλπεις καὶ σὲ ὄφις." θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Μενίππου, "ὅτι γυνή σοι," ἔφη, "ἐστὶν οὐ γαμετή. τί δέ; ἡγῇ ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐρᾶσθαι;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ἐπειδὴ διάκειται προς με ὡς ἐρῶσα." "καὶ γήμαις δ' ἂν αὐτήν;" ἔφη. "χαρίεν γὰρ ἂν εἴη τὸ ἀγαπῶσαν γῆμαι." ἤρετο οὖν, "πηνίκα οἱ γάμοι;" "θερμοί," ἔφη, "καὶ ἴσως αὔριον." ἐπιφυλάξας οὖν τὸν τοῦ συμποσίου καιρὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ ἐπιστὰς τοῖς δαιτυμόσιν ἄρτι ἥκουσι, "ποῦ," ἔφη, "ἡ ἁβρά, δι' ἣν ἥκετε;" "ἐνταῦθα," εἶπεν ὁ Μένιππος καὶ ἅμα ὑπανίστατο ἐρυθριῶν.

Phoenician woman and lived in a suburb of Corinth, and she mentioned the name of the particular suburb, and said: "When you reach the place this evening, you will hear my voice as I sing to you, and you shall have wine such as you never before drank, and there will be no rival to disturb you; and we two beautiful beings will live together." The youth consented to this, for although he was in general a strenuous philosopher, he was nevertheless susceptible to the tender passion; and he visited her in the evening, and for the future constantly sought her company as his darling, for he did not yet realise that she was a mere apparition. CHAP XXV

Then Apollonius looked over Menippus as a sculptor might do, and he sketched an outline of the youth and examined him, and having observed his foibles, he said: "You are a fine youth and are hunted by fine women, but in this case you are cherishing a serpent, and a serpent cherishes you." And when Menippus expressed his surprise, he added: "For this lady is of a kind you cannot marry. Why should you? Do you think that she loves you?" "Indeed I do," said the youth, "since she behaves to me as if she loves me." "And would you then marry her?" said Apollonius. "Why, yes, for it would be delightful to marry a woman who loves you." Thereupon Apollonius asked when the wedding was to be. "Perhaps to-morrow," said the other, "for it brooks no delay." Apollonius therefore waited for the occasion of the wedding breakfast, and then, presenting himself before the guests who had just arrived, he said: "Where is the dainty lady at whose instance ye are come?" "Here she is," replied Menippus, and at the same moment he

CAP. XXV "ὁ δὲ ἄργυρος καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς καὶ τὰ λοιπά, οἷς ὁ ἀνδρὼν κεκόσμηται, ποτέρου ὑμῶν;" "τῆς γυναικός," ἔφη, "τἀμὰ γὰρ τοσαῦτα," δείξας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τρίβωνα.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "τοὺς Ταντάλου κήπους," ἔφη, "εἴδετε, ὡς ὄντες οὐκ εἰσί;" "παρ' Ὁμήρῳ γε," ἔφασαν, "οὐ γὰρ ἐς Ἅιδου γε καταβάντες." "τοῦτ'," ἔφη, "καὶ τουτονὶ τὸν κόσμον ἡγεῖσθε, οὐ γὰρ ὕλη ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ὕλης δόξα. ὡς δὲ γιγνώσκοιτε, ὃ λέγω, ἡ χρηστὴ νύμφη μία τῶν ἐμπουσῶν ἐστιν, ἃς λαμίας τε καὶ μορμολυκίας οἱ πολλοὶ ἡγοῦνται. ἐρῶσι δ' αὗται, καὶ ἀφροδισίων μέν, σαρκῶν δὲ μάλιστα ἀνθρωπείων ἐρῶσι καὶ παλεύουσι τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις, οὓς ἂν ἐθέλωσι δαίσασθαι." ἡ δέ, "εὐφήμει," ἔλεγε, "καὶ ἄπαγε," καὶ μυσάττεσθαι ἐδόκει, ἃ ἤκουε, καί που καὶ ὑπέσκωπτε τοὺς φιλοσόφους, ὡς ἀεὶ ληροῦντας. ἐπεὶ μέντοι τὰ ἐκπώματα τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ ὁ δοκῶν ἄργυρος ἀνεμιαῖα ἠλέγχθη, καὶ διέπτη τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἅπαντα, οἰνοχόοι τε καὶ ὀψοποιοὶ καὶ ἡ τοιαύτη θεραπεία πᾶσα ἠφανίσθησαν ἐλεγχόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, δακρύοντι ἐῴκει τὸ φάσμα, καὶ ἐδεῖτο μὴ βασανίζειν αὐτό, μηδὲ ἀναγκάζειν ὁμολογεῖν, ὅ τι εἴη, ἐπικειμένου δὲ καὶ μὴ ἀνιέντος ἔμπουσά τε εἶναι ἔφη καὶ πιαίνειν ἡδοναῖς τὸν

rose slightly from his seat, blushing. "And to which of you belong the silver and gold and all the rest of the decorations of the banqueting hall?" "To the lady," replied the youth, "for this is all I have of my own," pointing to the philosopher's cloak which he wore. CHAP. XXV

And Apollonius said: "Have you heard of the gardens of Tantalus, how they exist and yet do not exist?" "Yes," they answered, "in the poems of Homer, for we certainly never went down to Hades." "As such," replied Apollonius, "you must regard this adornment, for it is not reality but the semblance of reality. And that you may realise the truth of what I say, this fine bride is one of the vampires, that is to say of those beings whom the many regard as lamias and hobgoblins. These beings fall in love, and they are devoted to the delights of Aphrodite, but especially to the flesh of human beings, and they decoy with such delights those whom they mean to devour in their feasts." And the lady said: "Cease your ill-omened talk and begone"; and she pretended to be disgusted at what she heard, and no doubt she was inclined to rail at philosophers and say that they always talked nonsense. When, however, the goblets of gold and the show of silver were proved as light as air and all fluttered away out of their sight, while the wine-bearers and the cooks and all the retinue of servants vanished before the rebukes of Apollonius, the phantom pretended to weep, and prayed him not to torture her nor to compel her to confess what she really was. But Apollonius insisted and would not let her off, and then she admitted that she was a vampire, and was fattening up Menippus with

CAP. XXV Μένιππον ἐς βρῶσιν τοῦ σώματος, τὰ γὰρ καλὰ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ νέα σιτεῖσθαι ἐνόμιζεν, ἐπειδὴ ἀκραιφνὲς αὐτοῖς τὸ αἷμα. τοῦτον τὸν λόγον γνωριμώτατον τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου τυγχάνοντα ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐμήκυνα, γιγνώσκουσι μὲν γὰρ πλείους αὐτόν, ἅτε καθ' Ἑλλάδα μέσην πραχθέντα, ξυλλήβδην δὲ αὐτὸν παρειλήφασιν, ὅτι ἕλοι ποτὲ ἐν Κορίνθῳ λάμιαν, ὅ τι μέντοι πράττουσαν καὶ ὅτι ὑπὲρ Μενίππου, οὔπω γιγνώσκουσιν, ἀλλὰ Δάμιδί τε καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων ἐμοὶ εἴρηται.

XXVI

CAP. XXVI Τότε καὶ πρὸς Βάσσον διηνέχθη τὸν ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου, πατραλοίας γὰρ οὗτος καὶ ἐδόκει καὶ ἐπεπίστευτο, σοφίαν δὲ ἑαυτοῦ κατεψεύδετο καὶ χαλινὸς οὐκ ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ γλώττῃ. λοιδορούμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπέσχεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, οἷς τε ἐπέστειλεν οἷς τε διελέχθη κατ' αὐτοῦ. πᾶν γάρ, ὅπερ ὡς ἐς πατραλοίαν ἔλεγεν, ἀληθὲς ἐδόκει, μὴ γὰρ ἄν ποτε τοιόνδε ἄνδρα ἐς λοιδορίαν ἐκπεσεῖν, μηδ' ἂν εἰπεῖν τὸ μὴ ὄν.

XXVII

CAP. XXVII Τὰ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοιαῦτα· ἀνιόντι τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐνέτυχον Λακεδαιμο-

pleasures before devouring his body, for it was her habit to feed upon young and beautiful bodies, because their blood is pure and strong. I have related at length, because it was necessary to do so, this the best-known story of Apollonius; for many people are aware of it and know that the incident occurred in the centre of Hellas; but they have only heard in a general and vague manner that he once caught and overcame a lamia in Corinth, but they have never learned what she was about, nor that he did it to save Menippus, but I owe my own account to Damis and to the work which he wrote. CHAP. XXV

XXVI

CHAP. XXVI

His quarrel with the parricide Bassus

It was at this time also that he had a difference with Bassus of Corinth; for the latter was regarded as a parricide and believed to be such. But he feigned a wisdom of his own, and no bridle could be set upon his tongue. However, Apollonius put a stop to his reviling himself, both by the letters which he sent him, and the harangues which he delivered against him. For everything which he said about his being a parricide was held to be true; for it was felt that such a man would never have condescended to mere personal abuse, nor to have said what was not true.

XXVII

CHAP. XXVII

The career of our sage in Olympia was as follows: when Apollonius was on his way up to Olympia,

CAP. XXVII νίων πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ ξυνουσίας, Λακωνικὸν δὲ οὐδὲν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλ' ἁβρότερον αὐτῶν εἶχον καὶ συβάριδος μεστοὶ ἦσαν. ἰδὼν δὲ ἄνδρας λείους τὰ σκέλη, λιπαροὺς τὰς κόμας καὶ μηδὲ γενείοις χρωμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα μαλακούς, τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἐπέστειλεν, ὡς ἐκείνους κήρυγμα ποιήσασθαι δημοσίᾳ, τήν τε πίτταν τῶν βαλανείων ἐξαιροῦντας, καὶ τὰς παρατιλτρίας ἐξελαύνοντας, ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖόν τε καθισταμένους πάντα, ὅθεν παλαῖστραί τε ἀνήβησαν καὶ σπουδαί, καὶ τὰ φιλίτια ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ Λακεδαίμων ἑαυτῇ ὁμοία. μαθὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς τὰ οἴκοι διορθουμένους, ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπ' Ὀλυμπίας βραχυτέραν τῆς Λακωνικῆς σκυτάλης. ἔστι δὲ ἥδε·

"Ἀπολλώνιος ἐφόροις χαίρειν.

Ἀνδρῶν μὲν τὸ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν, γενναίων δὲ τὸ καὶ ἁμαρτάνοντας αἰσθέσθαι."

XXVIII

CAP. XXVIII Ἰδὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ ἕδος τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, "χαῖρε," εἶπεν, "ἀγαθὲ Ζεῦ, σὺ γὰρ οὕτω τι ἀγαθός, ὡς καὶ σαυτοῦ κοινωνῆσαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις." ἐξηγήσατο

CHAP. XXVII

Rebukes the laxity of the Spartans

some envoys of the Lacedaemonians met him and asked him to visit their city; there seemed, however, to be no appearance of Sparta about them, for they conducted themselves in a very effeminate manner and reeked of luxury. And seeing them to have smooth legs, and sleek hair, and that they did not even wear beards, nay were even dressed in soft raiment, he sent such a letter to the Ephors that the latter issued a public proclamation and forbade the use of pitch plasters in the baths,[1] and drove out of the city the women who professed to rejuvenate dandies,[2] and they restored the ancient régime in every respect. The consequence was that the wrestling grounds were filled once more with the youth, and the jousts and the common meals were restored, and Lacedaemon became once more like herself. And when he learned that they had set their house in order, he sent them an epistle from Olympia, briefer than any cipher despatch of ancient Sparta; and it ran as follows:—

"Apollonius to the Ephors sends salutation.

"It is the duty of men not to fall into sin, but of noble men, to recognise that they are doing so."

XXVIII

CHAP. XXVIII

He explains the statue of Milo

AND looking at the statue set up at Olympia, he said: "Hail, O thou good Zeus, for thou art so good that thou dost impart thine own nature unto mankind."

[1] Adhesive plasters were used to remove superfluous hair from the body.

[2] Literally "hair-pluckers."

CAP. XXVIII δὲ καὶ τὸν χαλκοῦν Μίλωνα καὶ τὸν λόγον τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν σχήματος. ὁ γὰρ Μίλων ἑστάναι μὲν ἐπὶ δίσκου δοκεῖ τὼ πόδε ἄμφω συμβεβηκώς, ῥόαν δὲ ξυνέχει τῇ ἀριστερᾷ, ἡ δεξιὰ δέ, ὀρθοὶ τῆς χειρὸς ἐκείνης οἱ δάκτυλοι καὶ οἷον διείροντες. οἱ μὲν δὴ κατ' Ὀλυμπίαν τε καὶ Ἀρκαδίαν λόγοι τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἱστοροῦσι τοῦτον ἄτρεπτον γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐκβιβασθῆναί ποτε τοῦ χώρου, ἐν ᾧ ἔστη, δηλοῦσθαι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀπρὶξ τῶν δακτύλων ἐν τῇ ξυνοχῇ τῆς ῥόας, τὸ δὲ μηδ' ἂν σχισθῆναί ποτ' ἀπ' ἀλλήλων αὐτούς, εἴ τις πρὸς ἕνα αὐτῶν ἁμιλλῷτο, τῷ τὰς διαφυὰς ἐν ὀρθοῖς τοῖς δακτύλοις εὖ ξυνηρμόσθαι, τὴν ταινίαν δέ, ἣν ἀναδεῖται, σωφροσύνης ἡγοῦνται ξύμβολον. ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος σοφῶς μὲν εἶπεν ἐπινενοῆσθαι ταῦτα, σοφώτερα δὲ εἶναι τὰ ἀληθέστερα. "ὡς δὲ γιγνώσκοιτε τὸν νοῦν τοῦ Μίλωνος, Κροτωνιᾶται τὸν ἀθλητὴν τοῦτον ἱερέα ἐστήσαντο τῆς Ἥρας. τὴν μὲν δὴ μίτραν ὅ τι χρὴ νοεῖν, τί ἂν ἐξηγοίμην ἔτι, μνημονεύσας ἱερέως ἀνδρός; ἡ ῥόα δὲ μόνη φυτῶν τῇ Ἥρᾳ φύεται, ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσὶ δίσκος, ἐπὶ ἀσπιδίου βεβηκὼς ὁ ἱερεὺς τῇ Ἥρᾳ εὔχεται, τουτὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ δεξιὰ σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ ἔργον τῶν δακτύλων καὶ τὸ μήπω διεστὼς τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ ἀγαλματοποιίᾳ προσκείσθω."

And he also gave them an account of the brazen statue of Milo and explained the attitude of this figure. For this Milo is seen standing on a disk with his two feet close together, and in his left hand he grasps a pomegranate, while of his right hand the fingers are extended and pressed together as if to pass through a chink. Now among the people of Olympia and Arcadia the story told about this athlete is, that he was so inflexible that he could never be induced to leave the spot on which he stood; and they infer the grip of the clenched fingers from the way he grasps the pomegranate, and that they could never be separated from one another, however much you struggled with any one of them, because the intervals between the extended fingers are very close; and they say that the fillet with which his head is bound is a symbol of temperance and sobriety. Apollonius while admitting that this account was wisely conceived, said that the truth was still wiser. "In order that you may know," said he, "the meaning of the statue of Milo, the people of Croton made this athlete a priest of Hera. As to the meaning then of his mitre, I need not explain it further than by reminding you that the hero was a priest. But the pomegranate is the only fruit which is grown in honour of Hera; and the disk beneath his feet means that the priest is standing on a small shield to offer his prayer to Hera; and this is also indicated by his right hand. As for the artist's way of rendering the fingers and feet, between which he has left no interval, that you may ascribe to the antique style of the sculpture." CHAP. XXVIII

XXIX

CAP. XXIX

Παρατυγχάνων δὲ τοῖς δρωμένοις ἀπεδέχετο τῶν Ἠλείων, ὡς ἐπεμελοῦντό τε αὐτῶν καὶ ξὺν κόσμῳ ἔδρων, μεῖόν τε οὐδὲν ἢ οἱ ἀγωνιούμενοι τῶν ἀθλητῶν κρίνεσθαι ᾤοντο, καὶ μήθ' ἑκόντες τι μήτ' ἄκοντες ἁμαρτάνειν προὐνοοῦντο. ἐρομένων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν ἑταίρων, τίνας Ἠλείους περὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἡγοῖτο, "εἰ μὲν σοφούς," ἔφη, "οὐκ οἶδα, σοφιστὰς μέντοι."

XXX

CAP. XXX

Ὡς δὲ καὶ διεβέβλητο πρὸς τοὺς οἰομένους ξυγγράφειν, καὶ ἀμαθεῖς ἡγεῖτο τοὺς ἀπτομένους λόγου μείζονος, ὑπάρχει μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶνδε· μειράκιον γὰρ δοκησίσοφον ἐντυχὸν αὐτῷ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν, "συμπροθυμήθητί μοι," ἔφη, "αὔριον, ἀναγνώσομαι γάρ τι." τοῦ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐρομένου, ὅ τι ἀναγνώσοιτο, "λόγος," εἶπε, "ξυντέτακταί μοι ἐς τὸν Δία." καὶ ἅμα ὑπὸ τῷ ἱματίῳ ἐπεδείκνυ αὐτὸν σεμνυνόμενος τῇ παχύτητι τοῦ βιβλίου. "τί οὖν," ἔφη, "ἐπαινέσῃ τοῦ Διός; ἢ τὸν Δία τὸν ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι τῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὅμοιον;" "καὶ

XXIX

CHAP. XXIX

He commends Elis

He was present at the rites, and he commended the solicitude with which the people of Elis administered them, and the good order with which they conducted them, as if they considered themselves to be as much on trial as the athletes who were contending for the prizes, anxious neither willingly nor unwillingly to commit any error. And when his companions asked him what he thought of the Eleans in respect of their management of the Olympic games, he replied: "Whether they are wise, I do not know, but of their cleverness I am quite sure."

XXX

CHAP. XXX

Rebukes a literary puppy

How great a dislike he entertained of people who imagine they can write, and how senseless he considered those to be who essay a literary task beyond their powers, we can learn from the following incident: A young man who thought he had talent met him in the precincts of the temple and said: "Pray honour me with your presence to-morrow, for I am going to recite something." When Apollonius asked him what he was going to recite, he replied: "I have composed a treatise upon Zeus." And as he said these words he showed, with no little pride at its stoutness, a book which he was carrying under his garment. "And," said Apollonius, "what are you going to praise about Zeus? Is it the Zeus of this fane, and are you going to say that there is nothing like him on the whole earth?"

CAP. XXX τοῦτο μέν," ἔφη, "πολλὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτου καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἕτερα, καὶ γὰρ αἱ ὧραι καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἀνέμους εἶναι καὶ ἄστρα Διὸς πάντα." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "δοκεῖς μοι," εἶπεν, "ἐγκωμιαστικός τις εἶναι σφόδρα." "διὰ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "καὶ ποδάγρας ἐγκώμιόν τί μοι ξυντέτακται καὶ τοῦ τυφλόν τινα ἢ κωφὸν εἶναι." "ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τοὺς ὑδέρους," εἶπε, "μηδὲ τοὺς κατάρρους ἀποκήρυττε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας, εἰ βούλοιο ἐπαινεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα, βελτίων δὲ ἔσῃ καὶ τοῖς ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἑπόμενος καὶ διιὼν ἐπαίνους τῶν νοσημάτων, ὑφ' ὧν ἀπέθανον, ἧττον γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀνιάσονται πατέρες τε καὶ παῖδες καὶ οἱ ἀγχοῦ τῶν ἀποθανόντων." κεχαλινωμένον δὲ ἰδὼν τὸ μειράκιον ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου, "ὁ ἐγκωμιάζων," εἶπεν, "ὦ ξυγγραφεῦ, πότερον ἃ οἶδεν ἐπαινέσεται ἄμεινον ἢ ἃ οὐκ οἶδεν;" "ἃ οἶδεν," ἔφη, "πῶς γὰρ ἄν τις ἐπαινοῖ, ἃ οὐκ οἶδε;" "τὸν πατέρα οὖν ἤδη ποτὲ τὸν σαυτοῦ ἐπῄνεσας;" "ἐβουλήθην," εἶπεν "ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μέγας τι μοι δοκεῖ καὶ γενναῖος ἀνθρώπων τε ὧν οἶδα κάλλιστος, οἶκόν τε ἱκανὸς οἰκῆσαι καὶ σοφίᾳ ἐς πάντα χρῆσθαι, παρῆκα τὸν ἐς αὐτὸν ἔπαινον, ὡς μὴ αἰσχύνοιμι τὸν πατέρα λόγῳ ἥττονι." δυσχεράνας οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, τουτὶ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φορτικοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων

"Why that, of course," said the other, "and a great deal more that comes before that and also follows it. For I shall say how the seasons and how everything on earth and above the earth, and how the winds and all the stars belong to Zeus." And Apollonius said: "It seems to me that you are a past-master of encomium." "Yes," said the other, "and that is why I have composed an encomium of gout and of blindness and deafness." "And why not of dropsy too," said Apollonius; "for surely you won't rule out influenza from the sphere of your cleverness, since you are minded to praise such things? And while you are about it, you would do as well to attend funerals and detail the praises of the various diseases of which the people died; for so you will somewhat soothe the regrets of the fathers and children and the near relations of the deceased." And as he saw that the effect of his words was to put a bridle on the young man's tongue, he added: "My dear author, which is the author of a panegyric likely best to praise, things which he knows or things which he does not?" "Things which he knows," said the youth. "For how can a man praise things which he does not know?" "I conclude then that you have already written a panegyric of your own father?" "I wanted to," said the other, "but as he appears to me rather a big man and a noble one, and the fairest of men I know, and a very clever housekeeper, and a paragon of wisdom all round, I gave up the attempt to compose a panegyric upon him, lest I should disgrace my father by a discourse which would not do him justice." Thereupon Apollonius was incensed, as he often was against trivial and vulgar people. "Then," said he,

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CAP. XXX ἔπασχεν, "εἶτα," ἔφη, "ὦ κάθαρμα, τὸν μὲν πατέρα τὸν σεαυτοῦ, ὃν ἴσα καὶ σεαυτὸν γιγνώσκεις, οὐκ ἄρ᾽ οἴει πότ᾽ ἂν ἱκανῶς ἐπαινέσαι, τὸν δ᾽ ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν πατέρα καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων, ὅσα περὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἐστιν, εὐκόλως οὕτως ἐγκωμιάζων οὔθ᾽, ὃν ἐπαινεῖς, δέδιας, οὔτε ξυνίης ἐς λόγον καθιστάμενος μείζονα ἀνθρώπου;"

XXXI

CAP. XXXI Αἱ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ διαλέξεις τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ περὶ τῶν χρησιμωτάτων ἐγίγνοντο, περὶ σοφίας τε καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ καθάπαξ, ὁπόσαι ἀρεταί εἰσι, περὶ τούτων ἀπὸ τῆς κρηπῖδος τοῦ νεὼ διελέγετο, πάντας ἐκπλήττων οὐ ταῖς διανοίαις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἰδέαις τοῦ λόγου. περιστάντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ξένον τε παρὰ τῷ Διὶ ἐποιοῦντο καὶ τῶν οἴκοι νέων πατέρα βίου τε νομοθέτην καὶ γερόντων γέρας. ἐρομένου δὲ Κορινθίου τινὸς κατὰ ἀχθηδόνα, εἰ καὶ θεοφάνια αὐτῷ ἄξουσι, "ναὶ τὼ Σιώ," ἔφη, "ἕτοιμά γε." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἀπήγαγεν αὐτοὺς τῶν τοιούτων, ὡς μὴ φθονοῖτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπερβὰς τὸ Ταΰγετον εἶδεν ἐνεργὸν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ τὰ τοῦ Λυκούργου πάτρια εὖ πράττοντα, οὐκ ἀηδὲς ἐνόμισε τὸ καὶ

"you wretch, you are not sure that you can ever sufficiently praise your own father whom you know as well as you do yourself, and yet you set out in this light-hearted fashion to write an encomium of the father of men and of gods and of the creator of everything around us and above us; and you have no reverence for him whom you praise, nor have you the least idea that you are embarking on a subject which transcends the power of man." CHAP. XXX

XXXI

CHAP. XXXI

He is invited to Sparta

THE conversations which Apollonius held in Olympia turned upon the most profitable topics, such as wisdom and courage and temperance, and in a word upon all the virtues. He discussed these from the platform of the temple, and he astonished everyone not only by the insight he showed but by his forms of expression. And the Lacedaemonians flocked round him and invited him to share their hospitality at their shrine of Zeus, and made him father of their youths at home, and legislator of their lives and the honour of their old men. Now there was a Corinthian who felt piqued at all this, and asked whether they were also going to celebrate a theophany for him. "Yes," said the other, "by Castor and Pollux, everything is ready anyhow." But Apollonius did not encourage them to pay him such honours, for he feared they would arouse envy. And when having crossed the mountain Taÿgetus, he saw a Lacedaemon hard at work before him and all the institutions of Lycurgus in full swing, he felt that it would be a real pleasure to converse with

CAP. XXXI τοῖς τέλεσι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ξυγγενέσθαι περὶ ὧν ἐρωτᾶν ἐβούλοντο· ἤροντο οὖν ἀφικόμενον, πῶς θεοὶ θεραπευτέοι, ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, "ὡς δεσπόται." πάλιν ἤροντο, πῶς ἥρωες· "ὡς πατέρες." τρίτον δὲ ἐρομένων, πῶς δὲ ἄνθρωποι, "οὐ Λακωνικόν," ἔφη, "τὸ ἐρώτημα." ἤροντο καὶ ὅ τι ἡγοῖτο τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς νόμους, ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, "ἀρίστους διδασκάλους, οἱ διδάσκαλοι δὲ εὐδοκιμήσουσιν, ἣν οἱ μαθηταὶ μὴ ῥᾳθυμῶσιν." ἐρομένων δ' αὐτῶν, τί περὶ ἀνδρείας ξυμβουλεύοι, "καὶ τί;" ἔφη, "τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ χρήσεσθαι."

XXXII

CAP. XXXII 'Ετύγχανε δὲ περὶ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον νεανίας Λακεδαιμόνιος αἰτίαν ἔχων παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἀδικῶν περὶ τὰ ἤθη· Καλλικρατίδα μὲν γὰρ τοῦ περὶ 'Αργινούσας ναυαρχήσαντος ἦν ἔκγονος, ναυκληρίας δὲ ἤρα καὶ οὐ προσεῖχε τοῖς κοινοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐξέπλει καὶ Σικελίαν ναῦς πεποιημένος. ἀκούσας οὖν κρίνεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, δεινὸν ᾠήθη περιιδεῖν τὸν νεανίαν ὑπαχθέντα ἐς δίκην, καί, "ὦ λῷστε," ἔφη, "τί πεφροντικὼς περίει καί, μεστὸς ἐννοίας;" "ἀγών," εἶπεν, "ἐπήγγελταί

the authorities of the Lacedaemonians about things which they might ask his opinion upon; so they asked him when he arrived, how the gods are to be revered, and he answered: "As your lords and masters." Secondly they asked him: "And how the heroes?" "As fathers," he replied. And their third question was: "How are men to be revered?" And he answered: "Your question is not one which any Spartan should put." They asked him also what he thought of their laws, and he replied that they were most excellent teachers, adding that teachers will gain fame in proportion as their disciples are industrious. And when they asked him what advice he had to give them about courage, he answered: "Why what else, but that you should display it?" CHAP. XXXI

XXXII

AND about this time it happened that a certain youth of Lacedaemon was charged by his fellow citizens with violating the customs of his country. For though he was descended from Callicratidas who led the navy at the battle of Arginusae, yet he was devoted to seafaring and paid no attention to public affairs; but, instead of doing so, would sail off to Carthage and Sicily in the ships which he had had built. Apollonius then hearing that he was arraigned for this conduct, thought it a pity to desert the youth who had thus fallen under the hand of justice, and said to him: "My excellent fellow, why do you go about so full of anxiety and with such a gloomy air?" "A public prosecution," said the other, "has

CHAP. XXXII

Converts a youthful Spartan from his seafaring life

CAP. XXXII μοι δημόσιος, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς ναυκληρίαις εἰμὶ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ οὐ πράττω." "πατὴρ δέ σοι ναύκληρος ἐγένετο ἢ πάππος;" "ἄπαγε," εἶπε, "γυμνασίαρχοι τε καὶ ἔφοροι καὶ πατρονόμοι πάντες, Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ὁ πρόγονος καὶ τῶν ναυαρχησάντων ἐγένετο." "μῶν," ἔφη, "τὸν ἐν Ἀργινούσαις λέγεις;" "ἐκεῖνον," εἶπε, "τὸν ἐν τῇ ναυαρχίᾳ ἀποθανόντα." "εἶτ' οὐ διέβαλέ σοι," εἶπε, "τὴν θάλατταν ἡ τελευτὴ τοῦ προγόνου;" "μὰ Δί'," εἶπεν, "οὐ γὰρ ναυμαχήσων γε πλέω." "ἀλλ' ἐμπόρων τε καὶ ναυκλήρων κακοδαιμονέστερόν τι ἐρεῖς ἔθνος; πρῶτον μὲν περινοστοῦσι, ζητοῦσιν ἀγορὰν κακῶς πράττουσαν, εἶτα προξένοις καὶ καπήλοις ἀναμιχθέντες πωλοῦσί τε καὶ πωλοῦνται, καὶ τόκοις ἀνοσίοις τὰς αὑτῶν κεφαλὰς ὑποτιθέντες ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον σπεύδουσι, κἂν μὲν εὖ πράττωσιν, εὐπλοεῖ ἡ ναῦς, καὶ πολὺν ποιοῦνται λόγον τοῦ μήτε ἑκόντες ἀνατρέψαι μήτε ἄκοντες, εἰ δὲ ἡ ἐμπορία πρὸς τὰ χρέα μὴ ἀναφέροιτο, μεταβάντες ἐς τὰ ἐφόλκια προσαράττουσι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τὸν ἑτέρων ναῦται βίον θεοῦ ἀνάγκην εἰπόντες ἀθεώτατα καὶ οὐδὲ ἄκοντες αὐτοὶ ἀφείλοντο. εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ τοιοῦτον ἦν τὸ θαλαττουργόν τε καὶ ναυτικὸν ἔθνος, ἀλλὰ τό γε Σπαρτιάτην ὄντα καὶ πατέρων γεγονότα, οἳ μέσην ποτὲ τὴν Σπάρτην ᾤκησαν, ἐν κοίλῃ νηὶ κεῖσθαι λήθην μὲν ἴσχοντα Λυκούργου τε καὶ Ἰφίτου, φόρτου δὲ μνήμονα καὶ ναυτικῆς ἀκριβο-

been instituted against me, because I go in for seafaring and take no part in public affairs." "And was your father or your grandfather a mariner?" "Of course not," said the other; "they were all of them chiefs of the gymnasium and Ephors and public guardians; Callicratidas, however, my ancestor, was a real admiral of the fleet." "I suppose," said Apollonius, "you hardly mean him of Arginusae fame?" "Yes, that fell in the naval action leading his fleet." "Then," said Apollonius, "your ancestor's mode of death has not given you any prejudice against a seafaring life?" "No, by Zeus," said the other, "for it is not with a view to conducting battles by sea that I set sail." "Well, and can you mention any rabble of people more wretched and ill-starred than merchants and skippers? In the first place they roam from sea to sea, looking for some market that is badly stocked; and then they sell and are sold, associating with factors and brokers, and they subject their own heads to the most unholy rate of interest in their hurry to get back the principal; and if they do well, their ship has a lucky voyage, and they tell you a long story of how they never wrecked it either willingly or unwillingly; but if their gains do not balance their debts, they jump into their long boats and dash their ships on to the rocks, and make no bones as sailors of robbing others of their substance, pretending in the most blasphemous manner that it is an act of God. And even if the seafaring crowd who go on voyages be not so bad as I make them out to be; yet is there any shame worse than this, for a man who is a citizen of Sparta and the child of forbears who of old lived in the heart of Sparta, to secrete himself in the hold of a ship, oblivious of Lycurgus and of Iphitus, thinking of

CHAP. XXXII

CAP. XXXII λογίας, τίνος αἰσχύνης ἄπεστιν; εἰ γὰρ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τὴν γοῦν Σπάρτην αὐτὴν ἔδει ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, ὡς, ὁπότε μὲν τῆς γῆς εἴχετο, οὐρανομήκη δόξασαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ θαλάττης ἐπεθύμησε, βυθισθεῖσάν τε καὶ ἀφανισθεῖσαν οὐκ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ." τούτοις τὸν νεανίαν οὕτω τι ἐχειρώσατο τοῖς λόγοις, ὡς νεύσαντα αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν κλαίειν, ἐπεὶ τοσοῦτον ἤκουσεν ἀπολελεῖφθαι τῶν πατέρων, ἀποδόσθαι τε τὰς ναῦς, ἐν αἷς ἔζη. καθεστῶτα δὲ αὐτὸν ἰδὼν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀσπαζόμενον, κατήγαγε παρὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ παρῃτήσατο τῆς δίκης.

XXXIII

CAP. XXXIII Κἀκεῖνο τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι· ἐπιστολὴ ἐκ βασιλέως Λακεδαιμονίοις ἧκεν ἐπίπληξιν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν φέρουσα, ὡς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὑβριζόντων, ἐκ διαβολῶν δὲ τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχοντος ἐπέσταλτο αὐτοῖς ταῦτα. οἱ μὲν δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀπορίᾳ εἴχοντο, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτη πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἤριζεν, εἴτε χρὴ παραιτουμένους τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εἴτε ὑπερφρονοῦντας ἐπιστέλλειν· πρὸς ταῦτα ξύμβουλον ἐποιοῦντο τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἤθους, ὁ δέ, ὡς εἶδε διεστηκότας, παρῆλθέ τε ἐς τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν καὶ ὧδε ἐβραχυ-

nought but of cargoes and petty bills of lading? For if he thinks of nothing else, he might at least bear in mind that Sparta herself, so long as she stuck to the land, enjoyed a fame reaching to heaven; but when she began to covet the sea, she sank down and down, and was blotted out at last, not only on the sea but on the land as well." The young man was so overcome by these arguments, that he bowed his head to the earth and wept, because he heard he was so degenerate from his fathers; and he sold the ships by which he lived. And when Apollonius saw that he was restored to his senses and inclined to embrace a career on land, he led him before the Ephors and obtained his acquittal.

CHAP. XXXII

XXXIII

CHAP. XXXIII

Advice to Sparta how to answer an Emperor

HERE is another incident that happened in Lacedaemon. A letter came from the Emperor heaping reproaches upon the public assembly of the Lacedaemonians, and declaring that in their licence they abused liberty, and this letter had been addressed to them at the instance of the governor of Greece, who had maligned them. The Lacedaemonians then were at a loss what to do, and Sparta was divided against herself over the issue, whether in their reply to the letter they should try to appease the Emperor's wrath or take a lofty tone towards him. Under the circumstances they sought the counsel of Apollonius and asked him how to pitch the tone of their letter. And he, when he saw them to be divided on the point, came forward in their public assembly and delivered himself of the following short and concise

CAP. XXXIII λόγησε· "Παλαμήδης εὗρε γράμματα οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ γράφειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ γιγνώσκειν ἃ δεῖ μὴ γράφειν." οὕτω μὲν δὴ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπῆγε τοῦ μήτε θρασεῖς μήτε δειλοὺς ὀφθῆναι.

XXXIV

CAP. XXXIV Διατρίψας δ' ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ μετὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν χρόνον, ὡς ἐτελεύτα ὁ χειμών, ἐπὶ Μαλέαν ἦλθεν ἀρχομένου ἦρος, ὡς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφήσων, διανοουμένῳ δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα ἐγένετο ὄναρ τοιόνδε· ἐδόκει γυναῖκα μεγίστην τε καὶ πρεσβυτάτην περιβάλλειν αὐτὸν καὶ δεῖσθαί οἱ ξυγγενέσθαι, πρὶν ἐς Ἰταλοὺς πλεῦσαι, Διὸς δὲ εἶναι ἡ τροφὸς ἔλεγε, καὶ ἦν αὐτῇ στέφανος πάντ' ἔχων τὰ ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης. λογισμὸν δὲ αὐτῷ διδοὺς τῆς ὄψεως ξυνῆκεν, ὅτι πλευστέα εἴη ἐς Κρήτην πρότερον, ἣν τροφὸν ἡγούμεθα τοῦ Διός, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ταύτῃ ἐμαιεύθη, ὁ δὲ στέφανος καὶ ἄλλην ἴσως δηλῶσαι νῆσον. οὐσῶν δὲ ἐν Μαλέᾳ νεῶν πλειόνων, αἳ ἐς Κρήτην ἀφήσειν ἔμελλον, ἐνέβη ναῦν ἀποχρῶσαν τῷ κοινῷ· κοινὸν δὲ ἐκάλει τούς τε ἑταίρους καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἑταίρων δούλους, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνους παρεώρα. προσπλεύσας δὲ Κυδωνίᾳ, καὶ παραπλεύσας ἐς Κνωσσόν, τὸν μὲν Λαβύρινθον, ὃς ἐκεῖ δείκνυται, ξυνεῖχε δέ, οἶμαί, ποτε τὸν Μινώταυρον, βουλομένων ἰδεῖν τῶν ἑταίρων, ἐκείνοις μὲν ξυνεχώρει τοῦτο, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἂν

speech: "Palamedes discovered writing not only in order that people might write, but also in order that they might know what they must not write." In this way accordingly he dissuaded the Lacedaemonians from showing themselves to be either too bold or cowardly. CHAP. XXXIII

XXXIV

CHAP. XXXIV

Is warned in a dream to visit Crete

He stayed in Sparta for some time after the Olympic festival, until the winter was over; and at the beginning of spring proceeded to Malea with the intention of setting out for Rome. But while he was still pondering this project, he had the following dream: It seemed as if a woman both very tall and venerable in years embraced him, and asked him to visit her before he set sail for Italy; and she said that she was the nurse of Zeus, and she wore a wreath that held everything that is on the earth or in the sea. He proceeded to ponder the meaning of the vision, and came to the conclusion that he ought first to sail to Crete, which we regard as the nurse of Zeus, because in that island Zeus was born; although the wreath might perhaps indicate some other island. Now there were several ships at Malea, making ready to set sail to Crete, so he embarked upon one sufficient for his association, to which he gave the title of his companions, and also his companions' servants, for he did not think it right to pass over the latter. And he bent his course for Cydonia, and sailed past that place to Knossus, where a labyrinth is shown, which, I believe, once on a time, contained the Minotaur. As his companions were anxious to see this he allowed them to do so,

CAP. XXXIV ἔφη θεατὴς γενέσθαι τῆς ἀδικίας τοῦ Μίνω. προῄει δὲ ἐπὶ Γόρτυναν πόθῳ τῆς Ἴδης. ἀνελθὼν οὖν καὶ τοῖς θεολογουμένοις ἐντυχών, ἐπορεύθη καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Λεβηναῖον· ἔστι δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, καὶ ὥσπερ ἡ Ἀσία ἐς τὸ Πέργαμον, οὕτως ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ξυνεφοίτα ἡ Κρήτη, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ Λιβύων ἐς αὐτὸ περαιοῦνται· καὶ γὰρ τέτραπται πρὸς τὸ Λιβυκὸν πέλαγος κατὰ γοῦν τὴν Φαιστόν, ἔνθα τὴν πολλὴν ἀνείργει θάλατταν ὁ μικρὸς λίθος. Λεβηναῖον δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν ὠνομάσθαι φασίν, ἐπειδὴ ἀκρωτήριον ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατατείνει λέοντι εἰκασμένον, οἷα πολλὰ αἱ ξυντυχίαι τῶν πετρῶν ἀποφαίνουσι, μῦθόν τε ἐπὶ τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ ᾄδουσιν, ὡς λέων εἷς οὗτος γένοιτο τῶν ὑποζυγίων ποτὲ τῇ Ῥέᾳ. ἐνταῦθα διαλεγομένου ποτὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου περὶ μεσημβρίαν, διελέγετο δὲ πολλοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὑφ' ὧν τὸ ἱερὸν ἐθεραπεύετο, σεισμὸς ἀθρόως τῇ Κρήτῃ προσέβαλε, βροντὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐκ νεφῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὑπήχησεν, ἡ θάλαττα δὲ ὑπενόστησε στάδια ἴσως ἑπτά. καὶ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἔδεισαν, μὴ τὸ πέλαγος ὑποχωρῆσαν ἐπισπάσηται τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἀπενεχθῶσιν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "θαρσεῖτε," ἔφη, "ἡ γὰρ θάλαττα γῆν ἔτεκε." καὶ οἱ μὲν ᾤοντο αὐτὸν τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῶν στοιχείων λέγειν, καὶ ὅτι μηδὲν ἂν ἡ θάλαττα νεώτερον ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐργάσαιτο, μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἀφικόμενοί τινες ἐκ τῆς Κυδωνιάτιδος ἤγγειλαν, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τε καὶ μεσημβρίαν, ἣν ἐγένετο ἡ διοσημία, νῆσος ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνεδόθη περὶ τὸν πορθμὸν τὸν

but refused himself to be a spectator of the injustice of Minos, and continued his course to Gortyna because he longed to visit Ida. He accordingly climbed up, and after visiting the sacred sites he passed on to the shrine of Leben. And this is a shrine of Asclepius, and just as the whole of Asia flocks to Pergamum, so the whole of Crete flocked to this shrine; and many Libyans also cross the sea to visit it, for it faces towards the Libyan sea close to Phaestus, where the little rock keeps out a mighty sea. And they say that this shrine is named that of Leben, because a promontory juts out from it which resembles a lion, for here, as often, a chance arrangement of the rocks suggests an animal form; and they tell a story about this promontory, how it was once one of the lions which were yoked in the chariot of Rhea. Here Apollonius was haranguing on one occasion about midday, and was addressing quite a number of people who were worshipping at the shrine, when an earthquake shook the whole of Crete at once, and a roar of thunder was heard to issue not from the clouds but from the earth, and the sea receded about seven stadia. And most of them were afraid that the sea by receding in this way would drag the temple after it, so that they would be carried away. But Apollonius said: "Be of good courage, for the earth hath borne land and brought it forth." And they thought that he was alluding to the harmony of the elements, and was arguing that the sea would never wreak any violence upon the land; but after a few days some travellers arrived from Cydoniatis and announced that on the very day on which this portent occurred and just at the same hour of midday, an island rose out of the sea in the

CHAP. XXXIV

Earthquake at the shrine of Leben

CAP. XXXIV διαρρέοντα Θήραν τε καὶ Κρήτην. ἐάσαντες οὖν λόγων μῆκος ἔλθωμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν Ῥώμῃ σπουδάς, αἳ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ μετὰ τὰ ἐν Κρήτῃ.

XXXV

CAP. XXXV Νέρων οὐ ξυνεχώρει φιλοσοφεῖν, ἀλλὰ περίεργον αὐτῷ χρῆμα οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες ἐφαίνοντο καὶ μαντικὴν συσκιάζοντες, καὶ ἤχθη ποτὲ ὁ τρίβων ἐς δικαστήριον, ὡς μαντικῆς σχῆμα. ἐῶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ Μουσώνιος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος, ἀνὴρ Ἀπολλωνίου μόνου δεύτερος, ἐδέθη ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ ἐκεῖ μένων ἐκινδύνευσεν, ἀπέθανε δ' ἂν τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ δήσαντι, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα ἔρρωτο.

XXXVI

CAP. XXXVI Ἐν τοιαύτῃ καταστάσει φιλοσοφίας οὔσης ἔτυχε προσιὼν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, στάδια δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀπέχων ἐνέτυχε Φιλολάῳ τῷ Κιττιεῖ περὶ τὸ νέμος τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἀρικίᾳ. ἦν δὲ ὁ Φιλόλαος τὴν μὲν γλῶτταν ξυγκείμενος, μαλακώτερος δὲ καρτερῆσαί τι. οὗτος ἀναλύων ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης αὐτός τε ἐῴκει φεύγοντι, καὶ ὅτῳ ἐντύχοι φιλοσοφοῦντι παρεκελεύετο τὸ αὐτὸ πράττειν. προσειπὼν οὖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐκέλευεν ἐκστῆναι τῷ καιρῷ, μηδὲ ἐπιφοιτᾶν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διαβεβλημένου τοῦ

firth between Thera and Crete. However, I must give up all prolixity and hurry on to relate the conversations which he held in Rome, subsequently to his stay in Crete. CHAP. XXXIV

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Nero was opposed to philosophy, because he suspected its devotees of being addicted to magic, and of being diviners in disguise; and at last the philosopher's mantle brought its wearers before the law courts, as if it were a mere cloak of the divining art. I will not mention other names, but Musonius of Babylon, a man only second to Apollonius, was thrown into prison for the crime of being a sage, and there lay in danger of death; and he would have died for all his gaoler cared, if it had not been for the strength of his constitution

CHAP. XXXV

Nero imprisons Musonius

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Such was the condition in which philosophy stood when Apollonius was approaching Rome; and at a distance of one hundred and twenty stadia from its walls he met Philolaus of Cittium in the neighbourhood of the Grove of Aricia. Now Philolaus was a polished speaker, but too soft to bear any hardships. He had quitted Rome, and was virtually a fugitive, and any philosopher he met with he urged to take the same course. He accordingly addressed himself to Apollonius, and urged him to give way to circumstances, and not to proceed to Rome, where philosophy was in such bad odour; and he related

CHAP. XXXVI

Philolaus warns him against entering Rome

CAP. XXXVI φιλοσοφεῖν, καὶ διηγεῖτο τὰ ἐκεῖ πραττόμενα θαμὰ ἐπιστρεφόμενος, μὴ ἐπακροῷτό τις αὐτοῦ κατόπιν. "σὺ δὲ καὶ χορὸν φιλοσόφων ἀναψάμενος," εἶπε, "βαδίζεις φθόνου μεστός, οὐκ εἰδὼς τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους ταῖς πύλαις ὑπὸ Νέρωνος, οἳ ξυλλήψονταί σέ τε καὶ τούτους, πρὶν ἔσω γενέσθαι." "τί δ'," εἶπεν, "ὦ Φιλόλαε, τὸν αὐτοκράτορα σπουδάζειν φασίν;" "ἡνιοχεῖ," ἔφη, "δημοσίᾳ καὶ ᾄδει παριὼν ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων θέατρα καὶ μετὰ τῶν μονομαχούντων ζῇ, μονομαχεῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἀποσφάττει." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "εἶτα," ἔφη, "ὦ βέλτιστε, μεῖζόν τι ἡγῇ θέαμα ἀνδράσι πεπαιδευμένοις ἢ βασιλέα ἰδεῖν ἀσχημονοῦντα; θεοῦ μὲν γὰρ παίγνιον ἄνθρωπος" εἶπε "κατὰ τὴν Πλάτωνος δόξαν, βασιλεὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπου παίγνιον γιγνόμενος καὶ χαριζόμενος τοῖς ὄχλοις τὴν ἑαυτοῦ αἰσχύνην, τίνας οὐκ ἂν παράσχοι λόγους τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσι;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν ὁ Φιλόλαος, "εἴγε μετὰ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου γίγνοιτο, εἰ δὲ ἀπόλοιο ἀναχθεὶς καὶ Νέρων σε ὠμὸν φάγοι μηδὲν ἰδόντα ὧν πράττει, ἐπὶ πολλῷ ἔσται σοι τὸ ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείονι ἢ τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ ἐγένετο, ὁπότε παρὰ τὸν Κύκλωπα ἦλθεν, ἀπώλεσε γὰρ πολλοὺς τῶν ἑταίρων ποθήσας ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἀτόπου καὶ ὠμοῦ θεάματος." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "οἴει γάρ," ἔφη, "τοῦτον ἧττον

to him what was taking place there, and as he did so he kept turning his head round, lest anybody should be listening behind him to what he said. "And you," he said, "after attaching this band of philosophers to yourself, a thing which will bring you into suspicion and odium, are on your way thither, knowing nothing of the officers set over the gates by Nero, who will arrest you and them before ever you enter or get inside." "And what," said Apollonius, "O Philolaus, are the occupations of the autocrat said to be?" "He drives a chariot," said the other, "in public; and he comes forward on the boards of the Roman theatres and sings songs, and he lives with gladiators, and he himself fights as one and slays his man." Apollonius therefore replied and said: "Then, my dear fellow, do you think that there can be any better spectacle for men of education than to see an emperor thus demeaning himself? For if in Plato's opinion man is the sport of the gods, what a theme we have here provided for philosophers by an emperor who makes himself the sport of man and sets himself to delight the common herd with the spectacle of his own shame?" "Yes, by Zeus," said Philolaus, "if you could do it with impunity; but if you are going to be taken up and lose your life, and if Nero is going to devour you alive before you see anything of what he does, your interview with him will cost you dear, much dearer than it ever cost Ulysses to visit the Cyclops in his home; though he lost many of his comrades in his anxiety to see him, and because he yielded to the temptation of beholding so cruel a monster." But Apollonius said: "So you think that this ruler is less blinded than the Cyclops, if he

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CAP. XXXVI ἐκτετυφλῶσθαι τοῦ Κύκλωπος, εἰ τοιαῦτα ἐργάζεται;" καὶ ὁ Φιλόλαος "πραττέτω μέν," εἶπεν, "ὅ τι βούλεται, σὺ δὲ ἀλλὰ τούτους σῶζε."

XXXVII

CAP. XXXVII Φωνῇ δὲ ταῦτα μείζονι ἔλεγε καὶ ἐῴκει κλάοντι. ἐνταῦθα δείσας ὁ Δάμις περὶ τοῖς νέοις, μὴ χείρους αὐτῶν γένοιντο ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ Φιλολάου πτοίας, ἀπολαβὼν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, "ἀπολεῖ," ἔφη, "τοὺς νέους ὁ λαγὼς οὗτος τρόμων καὶ ἀθυμίας ἀναπιμπλὰς πάντα." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "καὶ μὴν πολλῶν," ἔφη, "ἀγαθῶν ὄντων, ἃ μηδ' εὐξαμένῳ μοι πολλάκις παρὰ τῶν θεῶν γέγονε, μέγιστον ἂν ἔγωγε φαίην ἀπολελαυκέναι τὸ νυνὶ τοῦτο, παραπέπτωκε γὰρ βάσανος τῶν νέων, ἣ σφόδρα ἐλέγξει τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντάς τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἕτερόν τι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦτο πράττοντας." καὶ ἠλέγχθησαν αὐτίκα οἱ μὴ ἐρρωμένοι σφῶν, ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Φιλολάου λόγων ἀπαχθέντες οἱ μὲν ἔφασαν νοσεῖν, οἱ δ' οὐκ εἶναι αὐτοῖς ἐφόδια, οἱ δὲ τῶν οἴκοι ἐρᾶν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ὀνειράτων ἐκπεπλῆχθαι, καὶ περιῆλθεν ἐς ὀκτὼ ὁμιλητὰς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐκ τεττάρων καὶ τριάκοντα, οἳ ξυνεφοίτων αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Νέρωνά τε καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἀποδράντες φυγῇ ᾤχοντο.

commits such crimes?" And Philolaus answered: "Let him do what he likes, but do you at least save these your companions." CHAP. XXXVI

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CHAP. XXXVII

Most of his followers forsake Apollonius in fear

And these words he uttered in a loud voice and with an air of weeping; whereupon Damis conceived a fear lest the younger men of his party should be unmanned by the craven terrors of Philolaus. So he took aside Apollonius and said: "This hare, with all his panicky fears, will ruin these young men, and fill them with discouragement." But Apollonius said: "Well, of all the blessings which have been vouchsafed to me by the gods, often without my praying for them at all, this present one, I may say, is the greatest that I have ever enjoyed; for chance has thrown in my way a touchstone to test these young men, of a kind to prove most thoroughly which of them are philosophers, and which of them prefer some other line of conduct than that of the philosopher." And in fact the knock-kneed among them were detected in no time, for under the influence of what Philolaus said, some of them declared that they were ill, others that they had no provisions for the journey, others that they were homesick, others that they had been deterred by dreams; and in the result the thirty-four companions of Apollonius who were willing to accompany him to Rome were reduced to eight. And all the rest ran away from Nero and philosophy, both at once, and took to their heels.

XXXVIII

CAP. XXXVIII Ξυναγαγὼν οὖν τοὺς περιλειφθέντας, ὧν καὶ Μένιππος ἦν ὁ ξυναλλάξας τῇ ἐμπούσῃ καὶ Διοσκορίδης ὁ Αἰγύπτιος καὶ Δάμις, "οὐ λοιδορήσομαι," ἔφη, "τοῖς ἀπολελοιπόσιν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς ἐπαινέσομαι μᾶλλον, ὅτι ἄνδρες ἐστὲ ἐμοὶ ὅμοιοι, οὐδ', εἴ τις Νέρωνα δείσας ἀπῆλθε, δειλὸν ἡγήσομαι τοῦτον, ἀλλ' εἴ τις τοῦ δέους τούτου κρείττων γίγνεται, φιλόσοφος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ προσειρήσεται, καὶ διδάξομαι αὐτόν, ὁπόσα οἶδα. δοκεῖ δή μοι πρῶτον μὲν εὔξασθαι τοῖς θεοῖς, δι' οὓς ταῦτα ἐπὶ νοῦν ἦλθεν ὑμῖν τε κἀκείνοις, ἔπειθ' ἡγεμόνας αὐτοὺς ποιεῖσθαι, θεῶν γὰρ χωρὶς οὐδ' ἐν ἄλλῳ ἐσμέν. παριτητέα ἐς πόλιν, ἣ τοσούτων τῆς οἰκουμένης μερῶν ἄρχει· πῶς οὖν ἂν παρέλθοι τις, εἰ μὴ ἐκεῖνοι ἡγοῖντο; καὶ ταῦτα τυραννίδος ἐν αὐτῇ καθεστηκυίας οὕτω χαλεπῆς, ὡς μὴ ἐξεῖναι σοφοῖς εἶναι. ἀνόητόν τε μηδενὶ δοκείτω τὸ θαρσεῖν ὁδόν, ἣν πολλοὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων φεύγουσιν, ἐγὼ γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν ἡγοῦμαι φοβερὸν οὕτω γενέσθαι τῶν κατ' ἀνθρώπους, ὡς ἐκπλαγῆναί ποτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν σοφόν, εἶτ' οὐδ' ἂν προθείην ἀνδρείας μελέτας, ἐὰν μὴ μετὰ κινδύνων γίγνοιντο. καὶ ἄλλως ἐπελθὼν γῆν, ὅσην οὔπω τις ἀνθρώπων, θηρία μὲν Ἀράβιά τε καὶ Ἰνδικὰ πάμπολλα εἶδον, τὸ δὲ θηρίον τοῦτο, ὃ καλοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τύραννον,

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CHAP. XXXVIII

He addresses exhortations to the eight who remain

He therefore assembled those who were left, among whom were Menippus, who had foregathered with the hobgoblin, and Dioscorides the Egyptian, and Damis, and said to them: "I shall not scold those who have abandoned us, but I shall rather praise you for being men like myself: nor shall I think a man a coward, because he has disappeared out of dread of Nero, but anyone who rises superior to such fear I will hail as a philosopher, and I will teach him all I know. I think then that we ought first of all to pray to the gods who have suggested these different courses to you and to them; and then we ought to solicit their direction and guidance, for we have not any succour to rely upon apart from the gods. We must then march forward to the city which is mistress of so much of the inhabited world; but how can anybody go forward thither, unless the gods are leading him? The more so, because a tyranny has been established in this city so harsh and cruel, that it does not suffer men to be wise. And let not anyone think it foolish so to venture along a path which many philosophers are fleeing from; for in the first place I do not esteem any human agency so formidable, that a wise man can ever be terrified by it; and in the second place, I would not urge upon you the pursuit of bravery, unless it were attended with danger. Moreover, in traversing more of the earth than any man yet has visited, I have seen hosts of Arabian and Indian wild beasts; but as to this wild beast, which the many call a tyrant,

He characterises Nero

CAP. XXXVIII οὔτε ὁπόσαι κεφαλαὶ αὐτῷ, οἶδα, οὔτε εἰ γαμψώνυχόν τε καὶ καρχαρόδουν ἐστί. καίτοι πολιτικὸν μὲν εἶναι τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο λέγεται καὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν πόλεων οἰκεῖν, τοσούτῳ δὲ ἀγριώτερον διάκειται τῶν ὀρεινῶν τε καὶ ὑλαίων, ὅσῳ λέοντες μὲν καὶ παρδάλεις ἐνίοτε κολακευόμενοι ἡμεροῦνται καὶ μεταβάλλουσι τοῦ ἤθους, τουτὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν καταψηχόντων ἐπαιρόμενον ἀγριώτερον αὑτοῦ γίγνεται καὶ λαφύσσει πάντα. περὶ μέν γε θηρίων οὐκ ἂν εἴποις, ὅτι τὰς μητέρας ποτὲ τὰς αὑτῶν ἐδαίσαντο, Νέρων δὲ ἐμπεφόρηται τῆς βορᾶς ταύτης. εἰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα γέγονεν ἐπ' Ὀρέστῃ καὶ Ἀλκμαίωνι, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις σχῆμα τοῦ ἔργου πατέρες ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν ἀποθανὼν ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικός, ὁ δὲ ὅρμου πραθείς, οὑτοσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐσποιηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς γέροντι βασιλεῖ καὶ κληρονομήσας τὸ ἄρχειν, ναυαγίῳ τὴν μητέρα ἀπέκτεινε, πλοῖον ἐπ' αὐτῇ ξυνθείς, ὑφ' οὗ ἀπώλετο πρὸς τῇ γῇ. εἰ δὲ ἐκ τούτων φοβερόν τις ἡγεῖται Νέρωνα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀποπηδᾷ φιλοσοφίας, οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς αὐτῷ νομίζων τὸ ἀπὸ θυμοῦ τι αὐτῷ πράττειν, ἴστω τὸ μὲν φοβερὸν ἐκείνοις ὑπάρχον, ὅσοι περ ἂν σωφροσύνης τε καὶ σοφίας ἅπτωνται, τούτοις γὰρ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὖ ἔχει, τὰ δὲ τῶν ὑβριζόντων ὕθλον ἡγείσθω, καθὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν μεμεθυσμένων, καὶ γὰρ δὴ κἀκείνους γε ἠλιθίους μὲν ἡγούμεθα, φοβεροὺς δὲ οὔ. ἴωμεν οὖν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, εἴγε ἐρρώμεθα, πρὸς γὰρ τὰ Νέρωνος

I know not either how many heads he has, nor whether he has crooked talons and jagged teeth. In any case, though this monster is said to be a social beast and to inhabit the heart of cities, yet he is so much wilder and fiercer in his disposition than animals of the mountain and forest, that whereas you can sometimes tame and alter the character of lions and leopards by flattering them, this one is only roused to greater cruelty than before by those who stroke him, so that he rends and devours all alike. And again there is no animal anyhow of which you can say that it ever devours its own mother, but Nero is gorged with such quarry. It is true, perhaps, that the same crime was committed in the case of Orestes and Alcmaeon, but they had some excuse for their deeds, in that the father of the one was murdered by his own wife, while the other's had been sold for a necklace; this man, however, has murdered the very mother to whom he owes his adoption by the aged emperor and his inheritance of the empire; for he shipwrecked and so slew her close to land in a vessel built for the express purpose of doing her to death. If, however, anyone is disposed to dread Nero for these reasons, and is led abruptly to forsake philosophy, conceiving that it is not safe for him to thwart his evil temper, let him know that the quality of inspiring fear really belongs to those who are devoted to temperance and wisdom, because they are sure of divine succour. But let him snap his fingers at the threats of the proud and insolent, as he would at those of drunken men; for we regard the latter surely as daft and silly, but not as formidable. Let us then go forward to Rome, if we are good men and true; for to Nero's proclamations

CAP. XXXVIII κηρυγματα, δι' ὧν ἐξείργει φιλοσοφίαν, ἔστιν ἡμῖν τὸ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους λέγειν·

οὐ γάρ τί μοι Ζεὺς ἦν ὁ κηρύξας τάδε,

οὐδὲ Μοῦσαι καὶ Ἀπόλλων λόγιος. εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν Νέρωνα γιγνώσκειν τὰ ἰαμβεῖα ταῦτα, τραγῳδίᾳ, ὥς φασι, χαίροντα."

ἐνταῦθά τις τὸ Ὁμήρου ἐνθυμηθείς, ὡς, ἐπειδὰν ὁ λόγος ἁρμόσῃ πολεμικοὺς ἄνδρας, μία μὲν κόρυς γίγνονται, μία δὲ ἀσπίς, εὑρεῖν ἄν μοι δοκεῖ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τούσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας γενόμενον· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου λόγων ξυγκροτηθέντες, ἀποθνήσκειν τε ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας ἔρρωντο καὶ βελτίους τῶν ἀποδράντων φαίνεσθαι.

XXXIX

CAP. XXXIX Προσῄεσαν μὲν οὖν ταῖς πύλαις, οἱ δὲ ἐφεστῶτες οὐδὲν ἠρώτων, ἀλλὰ περιῄθρουν τὸ σχῆμα καὶ ἐθαύμαζον· ὁ γὰρ τρόπος ἱερὸς ἐδόκει καὶ οὐδὲν ἐοικὼς τοῖς ἀγείρουσι. καταλύουσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν πανδοχείῳ περὶ τὰς πύλας καὶ δεῖπνον αἱρουμένοις, ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἑσπέρας ἤδη ἐτύγχανεν, ὡς ἐπὶ κῶμον ἔρχεται μεθύων ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἀγλευκῶς τῆς φωνῆς ἔχων, περιῄει δὲ ἄρα κύκλῳ τὴν Ῥώμην ᾄδων τὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος μέλη καὶ μεμισθωμένος τοῦτο, τὸν δὲ ἀμελῶς ἀκούσαντα ἢ μὴ καταβαλόντα μισθὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως ξυνεκεχώρητο

in which he banishes philosophy we may well oppose the verse of Sophocles: CHAP. XXXVIII

"'For in no wise was it Zeus who made this proclamation unto me,' Antigone 450

nor the Muses either, nor Apollo the god of eloquence. But it may well be that Nero himself knows this iambic line, for he is, they say, addicted to tragedy."

This occasion reminds one of the saying of Homer, that when warriors are knit together by reason, they become as it were a single plume and helmet, and a single shield; and it seems to me that this very sentiment found its application in regard to these heroes; for they were welded together and encouraged by the words of Apollonius to die in behalf of their philosophy, and strengthened to show themselves superior to those who had run away. Iliad 13. 130

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They accordingly approached the gates of Rome, and the sentries asked them no questions, although they scanned their dress with some curiosity; for the fashion of it was that of religious ascetics, and did not in the least resemble that of beggars. And they put up at an inn close to the gate, and were taking their supper, for it was already eventide, when a drunken fellow with a far from harsh voice turned up as it were for a revel; and he was one it seems who was in the habit of going round about Rome singing Nero's songs and hired for the purpose, and anyone who neglected to listen to him or refused to pay him for his music, he had the right to arrest for violating Nero's CHAP. XXXIX They enter Rome Nero's harpists

CHAP. XXXIX αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπάγειν ὡς ἀσεβοῦντα. ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ κιθάρα καὶ ἡ πρόσφορος τῷ κιθαρίζειν σκευὴ πᾶσα, καί τινα καὶ νευρὰν τῶν ἐφαψαμένων τε καὶ προεντεταμένων ἀποκειμένην ἐν κοιτίδι εἶχεν, ἣν ἔφασκεν ἐκ τῆς Νέρωνος ἐωνῆσθαι κιθάρας δυοῖν μναῖν καὶ ἀποδώσεσθαι αὐτὴν οὐδενί, ἣν μὴ κιθαρῳδὸς ᾖ τῶν ἀρίστων τε καὶ ἀγωνιουμένων Πυθοῖ. ἀναβαλόμενος οὖν, ὅπως εἰώθει, καὶ βραχὺν διεξελθὼν ὕμνον τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐπῆγε μέλη τὰ μὲν ἐξ Ὀρεστείας, τὰ δὲ ἐξ Ἀντιγόνης, τὰ δ' ὁποθενοῦν τῶν τραγῳδουμένων αὐτῷ, καὶ ᾠδὰς ἔκαμπτεν, ὁπόσας Νέρων ἐλύγιζέ τε καὶ κακῶς ἔστρεφεν. ἀργότερον δὲ ἀκροωμένων ὁ μὲν ἀσεβεῖσθαι Νέρωνα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔφασκε καὶ πολεμίους τῆς θείας φωνῆς εἶναι, οἱ δὲ οὐ προσεῖχον. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Μενίππου τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, πῶς ἀκούοι λέγοντος ταῦτα, "πῶς," ἔφη, "ᾗ ὡς ὅτε ᾖδεν; ἡμεῖς μέντοι, ὦ Μένιππε, μὴ παροξυνώμεθα πρὸς ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ τὸν μισθὸν τῆς ἐπιδείξεως δόντες ἐάσωμεν αὐτὸν θύειν ταῖς Νέρωνος Μούσαις."

XL

CAP. XL Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπαρῳνήθη. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Τελεσῖνος ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων καλέσας τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, "τί," ἔφη, "τὸ σχῆμα;" ὁ

CHAP. XXXIX

majesty. And he carried a harp and all the outfit proper for a harpist, and he also had put away in a casket a second-hand string which others had fastened on their instruments and tuned up before him, and this he said he had purchased off Nero's own lyre for two minas, and that he would sell it to no one who was not a first-rate harpist and fit to contend for the prize at Delphi. He then struck up a prelude, according to his custom, and after performing a short hymn composed by Nero, he added various lays, some out of the story of Orestes, and some from the Antigone, and others from one or another of the tragedies composed by Nero, and he proceeded to drawl out the rondos which Nero was in the habit of murdering by his miserable writhings and modulations. As they listened with some indifference, he proceeded to accuse them of violating Nero's majesty and of being enemies of his divine voice; but they paid no attention to him. Then Menippus asked Apollonius how he appreciated these remarks, whereupon he said: "How do I appreciate them? Why, just as I did his songs. Let us, however, O Menippus, not take too much offence at his remarks, but let us give him something for his performance and dismiss him to sacrifice to the Muses of Nero."

XL

CHAP. XL

Interview with Telesinus the Consul

So ended the episode of this poor drunken fool. But at daybreak Telesinus, one of the consuls, called Apollonius to him, and said: "What is this dress which you wear?" And he answered: "A pure

CAP. XL δέ, "καθαρόν," εἶπε, "καὶ ἀπ' οὐδενὸς θνητοῦ." "τίς δὲ ἡ σοφία;" "θειασμός," ἔφη, "καὶ ὡς ἄν τις θεοῖς εὔχοιτο καὶ θύοι." "ἔστι δέ τις, ὦ φιλόσοφε, ὃς ἀγνοεῖ ταῦτα;" "πολλοί," εἶπεν, "εἰ δὲ καὶ ὀρθῶς τις ἐπίσταται ταῦτα, πολλῷ γένοιτ' ἂν αὑτοῦ βελτίων ἀκούσας σοφωτέρου ἀνδρός, ὅτι, ἃ οἶδεν, εὖ οἶδεν." ταῦτα ἀκούοντα τὸν Τελεσῖνον, καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν ὑποθεραπεύων τὸ θεῖον, ἐσῆλθεν ὁ ἀνὴρ δι' ἃ πάλαι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἤκουε, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἐρωτᾶν, μή τιν' ἔτι λανθάνειν βούλοιτο, ἐπανῆγε δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐς τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ τοῦ θείου, καὶ γὰρ πρὸς διάλεξιν ἐπιτηδείως εἶχε, καὶ ὡς σοφῷ γε εἶπε, "τί εὔχῃ προσιὼν τοῖς βωμοῖς;" "ἔγωγε," ἔφη, "δικαιοσύνην εἶναι, νόμους μὴ καταλύεσθαι, πένεσθαι τοὺς σοφούς, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους πλουτεῖν μέν, ἀδόλως δέ." "εἶτα," εἶπε, "τοσαῦτα αἰτῶν οἴει τεύξεσθαι;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπε, "ξυνείρω γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐς εὐχὴν μίαν καὶ προσιὼν τοῖς βωμοῖς ὧδε εὔχομαι· ὦ θεοί, δοίητέ μοι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα· εἰ μὲν δὴ τῶν χρηστῶν εἰμι ἀνθρώπων, τεύξομαι πλειόνων ἢ εἶπον, εἰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς φαύλοις με οἱ θεοὶ τάττουσι, τἀναντία μοι παρ' αὐτῶν ἥξει καὶ οὐ μέμψομαι τοὺς θεούς, εἰ κακῶν ἀξιοῦμαι μὴ χρηστὸς ὤν." ἐξεπέπληκτο μὲν δὴ ὁ Τελεσῖνος

garment made from no dead matter." "And what is your wisdom?" "An inspiration," answered Apollonius, "which teaches men how to pray and sacrifice to the gods." "And is there anyone, my philosopher, who does not know that already?" "Many," said the sage, "and if there is here and there a man who understands these matters aright, he will be very much improved by hearing from a man wiser than himself that, what he knows, he knows for a certainty." When Telesinus heard this, for he was a man fairly disposed to worship and religion, he recognised the sage from the rumours which he had long before heard about him; and though he did not think he need openly ask him his name, in case he wished to conceal his identity from anyone, he nevertheless led him on to talk afresh about religion, for he was himself an apt reasoner, and feeling that he was addressing a sage, he asked: "What do you pray for when you approach the altars?" "I," said Apollonius, "for my part pray that justice may prevail, that the laws may not be broken, that the wise may continue to be poor, but that others may be rich, as long as they are so without fraud." "Then," said the other, "when you ask for so much, do you think you will get it?" "Yes, by Zeus," said Apollonius, "for I string together all my petitions in a single prayer, and when I reach the altars this is how I pray: O ye gods, bestow on me whatever is due. If therefore I am of the number of worthy men, I shall obtain more than I have said; but if the gods rank me among the wicked, then they will send to me the opposite of what I ask; and I shall not blame the gods, because for my demerit I am judged worthy of evil." Telesinus then was greatly CHAP. XL

CAP. XL ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων τούτων, βουλόμενος δὲ αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι, "φοίτα," ἔφη, "ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ πάντα, καὶ γεγράψεται παρ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἱερωμένους δέχεσθαί σε καὶ διορθουμένῳ εἴκειν." "ἢν δὲ μὴ γράψῃς," ἔφη, "οὐ δέξονταί με;" "μὰ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ἐμὴ γάρ," ἔφη, "αὕτη ἀρχή." "χαίρω," ἔφη, "ὅτι γενναῖος ὢν μεγάλου ἄρχεις, βουλοίμην δ' ἂν σε κἀκεῖνο περὶ ἐμοῦ εἰδέναι· ἐγὼ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ μὴ βεβαίως κλειστὰ χαίρω οἰκῶν, καὶ παραιτεῖταί με οὐδεὶς τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ ποιοῦνται κοινωνὸν στέγης· ἀνείσθω δέ μοι καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ξυνεχώρουν αὐτό." καὶ ὁ Τελεσῖνος, "μέγα," ἔφη, "Ῥωμαίων ἐγκώμιον οἱ βάρβαροι προὔλαβον, τουτὶ γὰρ ἐβουλόμην ἂν καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν λέγεσθαι." ᾤκει μὲν δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἐναλλάττων αὐτὰ καὶ μεθιστάμενος ἐξ ἄλλου ἐς ἄλλο, αἰτίαν δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔχων, "οὐδὲ οἱ θεοί," ἔφη, "πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ οἰκοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ πορεύονται μὲν ἐς Αἰθιοπίαν, πορεύονται δὲ ἐς Ὄλυμπόν τε καὶ Ἄθω, καὶ οἶμαι ἄτοπον τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔθνη περινοστεῖν πάντα, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους μὴ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιφοιτᾶν πᾶσι. καίτοι δεσπόται μὲν ὑπερορῶντες δούλων οὔπω αἰτίαν ἕξουσιν, ἴσως γὰρ ἂν καταφρονοῖεν αὐτῶν, ὡς μὴ σπουδαίων, δοῦλοι δὲ μὴ πάντως τοὺς αὐτῶν δεσπότας θεραπεύοντες, ἀπόλοιντο ἂν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡς κατάρατοί τε καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὰ ἀνδράποδα."

struck by these words, and wishing to show him a favour, he said : "You may visit all the temples, and written instructions shall be sent by me to the priests who minister in them to admit you and adopt your reforms." "And supposing you did not write," said Apollonius, "would they not admit me?" "No, by Zeus," said he, "for that is my own office and prerogative." "I am glad," said Apollonius," that so generous a man as yourself holds such a high office, but I would like you to know this much too about me : I like to live in such temples as are not too closely shut up, and none of the gods object to my presence, for they invite me to share their habitation. So let this liberty too be accorded to me, inasmuch as even the barbarians always permitted it." And Telesinus said : "The barbarians have more to be proud of in this matter than the Romans, for I would that as much could be said of ourselves." Apollonius accordingly lived in the temples, though he changed them and passed from one to another ; and when he was blamed for doing so, he said : "Neither do the gods live all their time in heaven, but they take journeys to Ethiopia, as also to Olympus and to Athos, and I think it a pity that the gods should go roaming around all the nations of men, and yet that men should not be allowed to visit all the gods alike. What is more, though masters would incur no reproach for neglecting slaves, for whom they probably may feel a contempt because they are not good, yet the slaves who did not devote themselves wholly to their masters, would be destroyed by them as cursed wretches and chattels hateful to the gods." CHAP. XL

XLI

CAP. XLI Διαλεγομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ οἱ θεοὶ ἐθεραπεύοντο μᾶλλον, καὶ ξυνῄεσαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐς ταῦτα, ὡς τὰ ἀγαθὰ πλείω παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἕξοντες, καὶ οὔπω διεβάλλοντο αἱ ξυνουσίαι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διὰ τὸ σπουδάζεσθαί τε δημοσίᾳ λέγεσθαί τε ἐς πάντας, οὐδὲ γὰρ θύραις ἐπεπόλαζεν, οὐδὲ ἐτρίβετο περὶ τοὺς δυνατούς, ἀλλ' ἠσπάζετο μὲν ἐπιφοιτῶντας, διελέγετο δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁπόσα καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.

XLII

CAP. XLII Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος διατεθεὶς πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Κορινθιακοῖς λόγοις εἴρηκα, παραγενόμενος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὕστερον ἐθεράπευε μὲν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ἐπηφίει δ' αὐτὸν τῷ Νέρωνι, τέχνη ταῦτα ὑπωπτεύθη τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον αὐτὸς ἐδόκει καθεικέναι ἐς αὐτά, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον, ὁπότε γυμνάσιον μὲν ἐξεποιήθη τῷ Νέρωνι θαυμασιώτατον τῶν ἐκεῖ, λευκὴν δ' ἔθυον ἐν αὐτῷ ἡμέραν Νέρων τε αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ μεγάλη καὶ τὸ ἱππεῦον τῆς Ῥώμης, παρελθὼν δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ γυμνάσιον διεξῆλθε λόγον κατὰ τῶν λουμένων, ὡς ἐκλελυμένων τε καὶ αὐτοὺς χραινόντων, καὶ ἐδείκνυεν, ὅτι περιττὸν ἀνάλωμα εἴη τὰ

XLI

CHAP. XLI

Religious revival in Rome

The result of his discourses about religion was that the gods were worshipped with more zeal, and that men flocked to the temples where he was, in the belief that by doing so they would obtain an increase of divine blessings. And our sage's conversations were so far not objected to, because he held them in public and addressed himself to all men alike; for he did not hover about rich men's doors, nor hang about the mighty, though he welcomed them if they resorted to him, and he talked with them just as much as he did to the common people.

XLII

CHAP. XLII

Demetrius assails the public baths

Now Demetrius being attracted to Apollonius, as I have said above in my account of the events at Corinth, betook himself subsequently to Rome, and proceeded to court Apollonius, at the same time that he launched out against Nero. In consequence our sage's profession was looked at askance, and he was thought to have set Demetrius on to proceed thus, and the suspicion was increased on the occasion of Nero's completion of the most magnificent gymnasium in Rome; for the auspicious day was being celebrated therein by Nero himself and the great Senate and all the knights of Rome, when Demetrius made his way into the gymnasium itself and delivered himself of a philippic against people who bathed, declaring that they enfeebled and polluted themselves; and he showed that such institutions were a useless expense. He

CAP. XLII τοιαῦτα, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ξυνήρατο μὲν αὐτῷ τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτίκα τὸ τὸν Νέρωνα εὐφωνότατα ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ᾄδειν—ᾖδε δὲ ἐν καπηλείῳ πεποιημένῳ ἐς τὸ γυμνάσιον διάζωμα ἔχων γυμνός, ὥσπερ τῶν καπήλων οἱ ἀσελγέστατοι—οὐ μὴν διέφυγεν ὁ Δημήτριος τὸ ἐφ᾽ οἷς εἶπε κινδυνεῦσαι, Τιγελλῖνος γάρ, ὑφ᾽ ᾧ τὸ ξίφος ἦν τοῦ Νέρωνος, ἀπήλαυνεν αὐτὸν τῆς Ῥώμης, ὡς τὸ βαλανεῖον κατασκάψαντα οἷς εἶπε, τὸν δ᾽ Ἀπολλώνιον ἀφανῶς ἀνίχνευεν, ὁπότε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιλήψιμόν τι καὶ παραβεβλημένον εἴποι.

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CAP. XLIII Ὁ δ᾽ οὔτε καταγελῶν φανερὸς ἦν οὔτ᾽ αὖ πεφροντικώς, ὥσπερ οἱ φυλαττόμενοί τινα κίνδυνον, ἀλλ᾽ ἀποχρώντως περὶ τῶν προκειμένων διελέγετο, ξυμφιλοσοφοῦντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Τελεσίνου καὶ ἑτέρων ἀνδρῶν, οἳ καίτοι φιλοσοφίας ἐπικινδύνως πραττούσης οὐκ ἂν ᾤοντο κινδυνεῦσαι ξὺν ἐκείνῳ σπουδάζοντες. ὑπωπτεύετο δέ, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐφ᾽ οἷς καὶ περὶ τῆς διοσημίας εἶπε· γενομένης γάρ ποτε ἐκλείψεως ἡλίου καὶ βροντῆς ἐκδοθείσης, ὅπερ ἥκιστα ἐν ἐκλείψει δοκεῖ ξυμβαίνειν, ἀναβλέψας ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν,

was only saved from immediate death as the penalty of such language by the fact that Nero was in extra good voice when he sang on that day, and he sang in the tavern which adjoined the gymnasium, naked except for a girdle round his waist, like any low tapster. Demetrius, however, did not wholly escape the risk which he courted by his language; for Tigellinus, to whom Nero had committed the power of life and death, proceeded to banish him from Rome, on the plea that he had ruined and overthrown the bath by the words he used; and he began to dog the steps of Apollonius secretly, in the hope that he would catch him out too in some compromising utterance. CHAP. XLII

XLIII

CHAP. XLIII

Tigellinus dogs Apollonius

THE latter, however, showed no disposition to ridicule the government, nor on the other hand did he display any of the anxiety usually felt by those who are on their guard against some danger. He merely continued to discuss in simple and adequate terms the topics laid before him; and Telesinus and other persons continued to study philosophy in his company, for although philosophy was just then in a parlous condition, they did not dream that they would imperil themselves by associating themselves with his studies. Yet he was suspected as I have said, and the suspicion was intensified by words he uttered in connection with a prodigy. For presently when there was an eclipse of the sun and a clap of thunder was heard, a thing which very rarely occurs at the moment of an eclipse, he glanced up to heaven

CAP. XLIII "ἔσται τι," ἔφη, "μέγα καὶ οὐκ ἔσται." ξυμβαλεῖν μὲν δὴ τὸ εἰρημένον οὔπω εἶχον οἱ παρατυχόντες τῷ λόγῳ, τρίτῃ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκλείψεως ἡμέρᾳ ξυνῆκαν τοῦ λόγου πάντες· σιτουμένου γὰρ τοῦ Νέρωνος, ἐμπεσὼν τῇ τραπέζῃ σκηπτὸς διήλασε τῆς κύλικος ἐν χεροῖν οὔσης καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἀπεχούσης τοῦ στόματος· τὸ δὴ παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐλθεῖν τοῦ βληθῆναι αὐτὸν πεπράξεσθαί τι εἶπε καὶ μὴ πεπράξεσθαι. ἀκούσας δὲ Τιγελλῖνος τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἐς δέος ἀφίκετο τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς σοφοῦ τὰ δαιμόνια, καὶ ἐς ἐγκλήματα μὲν φανερὰ καθίστασθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν, ὡς μὴ κακόν τι ἀφανὲς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λάβοι, διαλεγόμενον δὲ καὶ σιωπῶντα καὶ καθήμενον καὶ βαδίζοντα καὶ ὅ τι φάγοι καὶ παρ' ὅτῳ καὶ εἰ ἔθυσεν ἢ μὴ ἔθυσε, περιήθρει πᾶσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς, ὁπόσοις ἡ ἀρχὴ βλέπει.

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CAP. XLIV Ἐμπεσόντος δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ νοσήματος, ὃ κατάρρουν οἱ ἰατροὶ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀνίστανται δὲ ἄρα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βῆχες καὶ ἡ φωνὴ τοῖς λαλοῦσι πονήρως ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ πλέα ἦν ἱκετευόντων τοὺς θεούς, ἐπεὶ διῳδήκει τὴν φάρυγγα Νέρων καὶ μελαίνῃ τῇ φωνῇ ἐχρῆτο· ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐρρήγνυτο μὲν πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἄνοιαν, ἐπέπληττε δὲ οὐδενί, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Μένιππον παροξυνόμενον

and said: "There shall be some great event and there shall not be." Now at the time those who heard these words were unable to comprehend their meaning; but on the third day after the eclipse, everyone understood what was meant; for while Nero sat at meat a thunderbolt fell on the table, and clove asunder the cup which was in his hands and was close to his lips. And the fact that he so narrowly escaped being struck was intended by the words that a great event should happen and yet should not happen. Tigellinus when he heard this story began to dread Apollonius as one who was wise in supernatural matters; and though he felt that he had better not prefer any open charges against him, lest he should incur at his hands some mysterious disaster, nevertheless he used all the eyes with which the government sees, to watch Apollonius, whether he was talking or holding his tongue, or sitting down or walking about, and to mark what he ate, and in whose houses, and whether he offered sacrifice or not. CHAP. XLIII

XLIV

CHAP. XLIV

Tigellinus arrests him

Just then a distemper broke out in Rome, called by the physicians influenza; and it was attended, it seems, by coughings, and the voice of speakers was affected by it. Now the temples were full of people supplicating the gods, because Nero had a swollen throat, and his voice was hoarse. But Apollonius vehemently denounced the folly of the crowd, though without rebuking anyone in particular; nay, he even restrained Menippus, who was irritated by such goings

CAP. XLIV ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἐσωφρόνιζέ τε καὶ κατεῖχε, ξυγγιγνώσκειν κελεύων τοῖς θεοῖς, εἰ μίμοις γελοίων χαίρουσιν. ἀπαγγελθέντος δὲ τῷ Τιγελλίνῳ τοῦ λόγου τούτου, πέμπει τοὺς ἄξοντας αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον, ὡς ἀπολογήσαιτο μὴ ἀσεβεῖν ἐς Νέρωνα, παρεσκεύαστο δὲ καὶ κατήγορος ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν πολλοὺς ἀπολωλεκὼς ἤδη καὶ τοιούτων Ὀλυμπιάδων μεστός, καί τι καὶ γραμματεῖον εἶχεν ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν γεγραμμένον τὸ ἔγκλημα, καὶ τοῦτο ὥσπερ ξίφος ἀνασείων ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἠκονῆσθαί τε αὐτὸ ἔλεγε καὶ ἀπολεῖν αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνελίττων Τιγελλῖνος τὸ γραμματεῖον γραμμῆς μὲν ἴχνος ἐν αὐτῷ οὐχ εὗρεν, ἀσήμῳ δέ τινι βιβλίῳ ἐνέτυχεν, ἐς ἔννοιαν ἀπηνέχθη δαίμονος. τουτὶ δὲ καὶ Δομετιανὸς ὕστερον πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγεται παθεῖν. ἀπολαβὼν οὖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἤνεγκεν ἐς τὸ ἀπόρρητον δικαστήριον, ἐν ᾧ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἡ ἀρχὴ αὕτη ἀφανῶς δικάζει, καὶ μεταστησάμενος πάντας ἐνέκειτο ἐρωτῶν, ὅστις εἴη, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος πατρός τε ἐμέμνητο καὶ πατρίδος καὶ ἐφ᾽ ὅ τι τῇ σοφίᾳ χρῷτο, ἔφασκέ τε αὐτῇ χρῆσθαι ἐπί τε τὸ θεοὺς γιγνώσκειν ἐπί τε τὸ ἀνθρώπων ξυνιέναι, τοῦ γὰρ ἑαυτὸν γνῶναι χαλεπώτερον εἶναι τὸ ἄλλον γνῶναι. "τοὺς δαίμονας," εἶπεν, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ τὰς τῶν εἰδώλων φαντασίας πῶς ἐλέγχεις;" "ὥς γε," ἔφη, "τοὺς μιαιφόνους τε καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἀνθρώπους." ταυτὶ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Τιγελλῖνον ἀποσκώπτων ἔλεγεν, ἐπειδὴ

CHAP. XLIV

on, and persuaded him to moderate his indignation, urging him to pardon the gods if they did show pleasure in the mimes of buffoons. This utterance was reported to Tigellinus, who immediately sent police to take him to prison, and summoned him to defend himself from the charge of impiety against Nero. And an accuser was retained against him who had already undone a great many people, and won a number of such Olympic victories. This accuser too held in his hands a scroll of paper on which the charge was written out, and he brandished it like a sword against the sage, and declared that it was so sharp that it would slay and ruin him. But when Tigellinus unrolled the scroll, and did not find upon it the trace of a single word or letter, and his eyes fell on a perfectly blank book, he came to the conclusion that he had to do with a demon; and this is said also subsequently to have been the feeling which Domitian entertained towards Apollonius. Tigellinus then took his victim apart into a secret tribunal, in which this class of magistrate tries in private the most important charges; and having ordered all to leave the court he plied him with questions, asking who he was. Apollonius gave his father's name and that of his country, and explained his motive in practising wisdom, declaring that the sole use he made of it was to gain a knowledge of the gods and an understanding of human affairs, for that the difficulty of knowing another man exceeded that of knowing oneself. "And about the demons," said Tigellinus, "and the apparitions of spectres, how, O Apollonius, do you exorcise them?" "In the same way," he answered, "as I should murderers and impious men." This was a sarcastic allusion to Tigellinus himself,

Interview with Tigellinus

CAP. XLIV πάσης ὠμότητός τε καὶ ἀσελγείας διδάσκαλος ἦν τῷ Νέρωνι. "μαντεύσαιο δ' ἄν," ἔφη, "δεηθέντι μοι;" "πῶς," εἶπεν, "ὅ γε μὴ μάντις ὤν;" "καὶ μὴν σέ," ἔφη, "φασὶν εἶναι τὸν εἰπόντα ἔσεσθαί τι μέγα καὶ οὐκ ἔσεσθαι." "ἀληθῶς," εἶπεν, "ἤκουσας, τοῦτο δὲ μὴ μαντικῇ προστίθει, σοφίᾳ δὲ μᾶλλον, ἣν θεὸς φαίνει σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν." "Νέρωνα δέ," ἔφη, "διὰ τί οὐ δέδοικας;" "ὅτι," εἶπεν, "ὁ θεὸς ὁ παρέχων ἐκείνῳ φοβερῷ δοκεῖν κἀμοὶ δέδωκεν ἀφόβῳ εἶναι." "φρονεῖς δὲ πῶς," εἶπε, "περὶ Νέρωνος;" ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "βέλτιον," εἶπεν, "ἢ ὑμεῖς· ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἡγεῖσθε αὐτὸν ἄξιον τοῦ ᾄδειν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄξιον τοῦ σιωπᾶν." ἐκπλαγεὶς οὖν ὁ Τιγελλῖνος, "ἄπιθι," ἔφη, "καταστήσας ἐγγυητὰς τοῦ σώματος." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "καὶ τίς," εἶπεν, "ἐγγυήσεται σῶμα, ὃ μηδεὶς δήσει;" ἔδοξε τῷ Τιγελλίνῳ ταῦτα δαιμόνιά τε εἶναι καὶ πρόσω ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ὥσπερ θεομαχεῖν φυλαττόμενος, "χώρει," ἔφη, "οἷ βούλει, σὺ γὰρ κρείττων ἢ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἄρχεσθαι."

XLV

CAP. XLV Κἀκεῖνο Ἀπολλωνίου θαῦμα· κόρη ἐν ὥρᾳ γάμου τεθνάναι ἐδόκει, καὶ ὁ νυμφίος ἠκολούθει τῇ κλίνῃ βοῶν ὁπόσα ἐπ' ἀτελεῖ γάμῳ, ξυνωλοφύρετο

CHAP. XLIV

for he taught and encouraged in Nero every excess of cruelty and wanton violence. "And," said the other, "could you prophesy, if I asked you to?" "How," said Apollonius, "can I, being no prophet?" "And yet," replied the other, "they say that it is you who predicted that some great event would come to pass and yet not come to pass." "Quite true," said Apollonius, "is what you heard; but you must not put this down to any prophetic gift, but rather to the wisdom which God reveals to wise men." "And," said the other, "why are you not afraid of Nero?" "Because," said Apollonius, "the same God who allows him to seem formidable, has also granted to me to feel no fear." "And what do you think," said the other, "about Nero?" And Apollonius answered: "Much better than you do; for you think it dignified for him to sing, but I think it dignified in him to keep silent." Tigellinus was astonished at this and said: "You may go, but you must give sureties for your person." And Apollonius answered: "And who can go surety for a body that no one can bind?" This answer struck Tigellinus as inspired and above the wit of man; and as he was careful not to fight with a god, he said: "You may go wherever you choose, for you are too powerful to be controlled by me."

XLV

CHAP. XLV

He raises a girl from the dead

Here too is a miracle which Apollonius worked: A girl had died just in the hour of her marriage, and the bridegroom was following her bier lamenting as was natural his marriage left unfulfilled, and the

CAP. XLV δὲ καὶ ἡ Ῥώμη, καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν οἰκίας ἡ κόρη τελούσης ἐς ὑπάτους. παρατυχὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ πάθει, "κατάθεσθε," ἔφη, "τὴν κλίνην, ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμᾶς τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ κόρῃ δακρύων παύσω." καὶ ἅμα ἤρετο, ὅ τι ὄνομα αὐτῇ εἴη. οἱ μὲν δὴ πολλοὶ ᾤοντο λόγον ἀγορεύσειν αὐτόν, οἷοι τῶν λόγων οἱ ἐπικήδειοί τε καὶ τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις ἐγείροντες, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ προσαψάμενος αὐτῆς καί τι ἀφανῶς ἐπειπών, ἀφύπνισε τὴν κόρην τοῦ δοκοῦντος θανάτου, καὶ φωνήν τε ἡ παῖς ἀφῆκεν, ἐπανῆλθέ τε ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ πατρός, ὥσπερ ἡ Ἄλκηστις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀναβιωθεῖσα. δωρουμένων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ξυγγενῶν τῆς κόρης μυριάδας δεκαπέντε φερνὴν ἔφη ἐπιδιδόναι αὐτὰς τῇ παιδί. καὶ εἴτε σπινθῆρα τῆς ψυχῆς εὗρεν ἐν αὐτῇ, ὃς ἐλελήθει τοὺς θεραπεύοντας—λέγεται γάρ, ὡς ψεκάζοι μὲν ὁ Ζεύς, ἡ δὲ ἀτμίζοι ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου—εἴτ' ἀπεσβηκυῖαν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνέθαλψέ τε καὶ ἀνέλαβεν, ἄρρητος ἡ κατάληψις τούτου γέγονεν οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παρατυχοῦσιν.

XLVI

Ἐτύγχανε δὲ περὶ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον καὶ Μουσώνιος κατειλημμένος ἐν τοῖς δεσμωτηρίοις τοῦ CAP. XLVI Νέρωνος, ὅν φασι τελεώτατα ἀνθρώπων φιλοσοφῆσαι, καὶ φανερῶς μὲν οὐ διελέγοντο ἀλλήλοις, παραιτησαμένου τοῦ Μουσωνίου τοῦτο, ὡς μὴ ἄμφω κινδυνεύσειαν, ἐπιστολιμαίους δὲ τὰς ξυνου-

whole of Rome was mourning with him, for the maiden belonged to a consular family. Apollonius then witnessing their grief, said: "Put down the bier, for I will stay the tears that you are shedding for this maiden." And withal he asked what was her name. The crowd accordingly thought that he was about to deliver such an oration as is commonly delivered as much to grace the funeral as to stir up lamentation; but he did nothing of the kind, but merely touching her and whispering in secret some spell over her, at once woke up the maiden from her seeming death; and the girl spoke out loud, and returned to her father's house, just as Alcestis did when she was brought back to life by Hercules. And the relations of the maiden wanted to present him with the sum of 150,000 sesterces, but he said that he would freely present the money to the young lady by way of a dowry. Now whether he detected some spark of life in her, which those who were nursing her had not noticed,—for it is said that although it was raining at the time, a vapour went up from her face—or whether life was really extinct, and he restored it by the warmth of his touch, is a mysterious problem which neither I myself nor those who were present could decide. CHAP. XLV

XLVI

CHAP. XLVI

Correspondence with Musonius

About this time Musonius lay confined in the dungeons of Nero, a man who they say was unsurpassed in philosophic ability by anyone. Now they did not openly converse with one another, because Musonius declined to do so, in order that both their lives might not be endangered; but they carried on

CAP. XLVI σίας ἐποιοῦντο, φοιτῶντος ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον τοῦ Μενίππου καὶ τοῦ Δάμιδος. τὰς δὲ οὐχ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων ἐπιστολὰς ἐάσαντες, τὰς ἀναγκαίας παραθησόμεθα κἀξ ὧν ὑπάρχει κατιδεῖν τι μέγα·

Ἀπολλώνιος Μουσωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

Βούλομαι παρὰ σὲ ἀφικόμενος κοινωνῆσαί σοι λόγου καὶ στέγης, ὥς τι ὀνήσαιμί σε· εἴ γε μὴ ἀπιστεῖς, ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ποτε Θησέα ἐξ Ἅιδου ἔλυσε, γράφε, τί βούλει. ἔρρωσο.

Μουσώνιος Ἀπολλωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

Ὧν μὲν ἐνενοήθης, ἀποκείσεταί σοι ἔπαινος, ἀνὴρ δὲ ὁ ὑπομείνας ἀπολογίαν καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἀδικεῖ δείξας ἑαυτόν. ἔρρωσο.

Ἀπολλώνιος Μουσωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ὑπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων λυθῆναι μὴ βουληθείς, παρῆλθε μὲν ἐς δικαστήριον, ἀπέθανε δέ. ἔρρωσο.

Μουσώνιος Ἀπολλωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

Σωκράτης ἀπέθανεν, ἐπεὶ μὴ παρεσκεύασεν ἐς ἀπολογίαν ἑαυτόν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογήσομαι. ἔρρωσο.

a correspondence through Menippus and Damis, who went to and fro the prison. Such of their letters as did not handle great themes I will take no notice of, and only set before my reader the indispensable ones in which we get glimpses of lofty topics: CHAP. XLVI

"Apollonius to Musonius the philosopher, greeting.

"I would fain come unto you, to share your conversation and your lodgings, in the hope of being some use to you; unless indeed you are disinclined to believe that Hercules once released Theseus from hell; write what you would like me to do. Farewell."

"Musonius to Apollonius the philosopher sends greeting.

"For your solicitude on my behalf, I shall never do anything but commend you: but he who has strength of mind to defend himself, and has proved that he has done no wrong, is a true man. Farewell."

"Apollonius to Musonius the philosopher sends greeting.

"Socrates of Athens, because he refused to be released by his own friends, went before the tribunal, and was put to death. Farewell."

"Musonius to Apollonius the philosopher sends greeting.

"Socrates was put to death, because he would not take the trouble to defend himself; but I shall defend myself. Farewell."

XLVII

CAP. XLVII ᾿Εξελαύνοντος δὲ ἐς τὴν ῾Ελλάδα τοῦ Νέρωνος, καὶ προκηρύξαντος δημοσίᾳ μηδένα ἐμφιλοσοφεῖν τῇ ῾Ρώμῃ, τρέπεται ὁ ᾿Απολλώνιος ἐπὶ τὰ ἑσπέρια τῆς γῆς, ἅ φασιν ὁρίζεσθαι ταῖς Στήλαις, τὰς ἀμπώτεις τοῦ ᾿Ωκεανοῦ ἐποψόμενος καὶ τὰ Γάδειρα. καὶ γάρ τι καὶ περὶ φιλοσοφίας τῶν ἐκείνῃ ἀνθρώπων ἤκουεν, ὡς ἐς πολὺ τοῦ θείου προηκόντων, ἠκολούθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ γνώριμοι πάντες ἐπαινοῦντες καὶ τὴν ἀποδημίαν καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα.

XLVII

CHAP. XLVII

Departs for Spain

When Nero took his departure for Greece, after issuing a proclamation that no one should teach philosophy in public at Rome, Apollonius turned his steps to the Western regions of the earth, which they say are bounded by the Pillars, because he wished to visit and behold the ebb and flow of the ocean, and the city of Gadeira. For he had heard something of the love of wisdom entertained by the inhabitants of that country, and of how great an advance they had made in religion; and he was accompanied by all his pupils, who approved no less of the expedition than they did of the sage.

BOOK V

Ε'

I

CAP. I Περὶ δὲ τῶν Στηλῶν, ἃς ὅρια τῆς γῆς τὸν Ἡρακλέα φασὶ πήξασθαι, τὰ μὲν μυθώδη ἐῶ, τὰ δ' ἀκοῆς τε καὶ λόγου ἄξια δηλώσω μᾶλλον· Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης ἄκραι σταδίων ἑξήκοντα πορθμὸν ἐπέχουσαι τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἐς τὰ ἔσω πελάγη φέρουσι, καὶ τὴν μὲν τῆς Λιβύης ἄκραν, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ Ἄβιννα, λέοντες ὑπερνέμονται περὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς τῶν ὀρῶν, ἃ ἔσω ὑπερφαίνεται, ξυνάπτουσαν πρὸς Γαιτούλους καὶ Τίγγας ἄμφω θηριώδη καὶ Λιβυκὰ ἔθνη, παρατείνει δὲ ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ὠκεανὸν μέχρι μὲν τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Σάληκος ἐννακόσια στάδια, τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν οὐκ ἂν ξυμβάλοι τις ὁπόσα, μετὰ γὰρ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἄβιος ἡ Λιβύη καὶ οὐκέτι ἄνθρωποι. τὸ δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀκρωτήριον, ὃ καλεῖται Κάλπις, δεξιὰ μὲν ἐπέχει τοῦ ἔσπλου, σταδίων ἑξακοσίων μῆκος, λήγει δὲ ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα Γάδειρα.

BOOK V

I

CHAP. I

Account of the Pillars of Hercules

Now in regard to the Pillars which they say Hercules fixed in the ground as limits of the earth, I shall omit mere fables, and confine myself to recording what is worthy of our hearing and of our narrating. The extremes of Europe and Libya border on a strait sixty stadia wide, through which the ocean is admitted into the inner seas. The extremity of Libya, which bears the name Abinna, furnishes a haunt to lions, who hunt their prey along the brows of the mountains which are to be seen rising inland, and it marches with the Gaetuli and Tingae, both of them wild Libyan tribes; and it extends as you sail into the ocean as far as the mouth of the river Salex, some nine hundred stadia, and beyond that point a further distance which no one can compute, because when you have passed this river Libya is a desert which no longer supports a population. But the promontory of Europe, known as Calpis, stretches along the inlet of the ocean on the right hand side a distance of six hundred stadia, and terminates in the ancient city of Gadeira.

II

CAP. II Τὰς δὲ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ τροπὰς καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν περὶ Κελτοὺς εἶδον, ὁποῖαι λέγονται, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἐπὶ πολλὰ εἰκάζων, δι' ἣν ἄπειρον οὕτω πέλαγος ἐπιχωρεῖ τε καὶ ἀνασπᾶται, δοκῶ μοι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐπεσκέφθαι τὸ ὄν. ἐν μιᾷ γὰρ τῶν πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς ἐπιστολῶν τὸν Ὠκεανόν φησιν ὑφύδροις ἐλαυνόμενον πνεύμασιν ἐκ πολλῶν χασμάτων, ἃ ὑπ' αὐτῷ τε καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἡ γῆ παρέχεται, χωρεῖν ἐς τὸ ἔξω καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν πάλιν, ἐπειδὰν ὥσπερ ἆσθμα ὑπονοστήσῃ τὸ πνεῦμα. πιστοῦται δὲ αὐτὸ κἀκ τῶν νοσούντων περὶ Γάδειρα· τὸν γὰρ χρόνον, ὃν πλημμυρεῖ τὸ ὕδωρ, οὐκ ἀπολείπουσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν ξυμβαίνειν, εἰ μὴ καὶ πνεῦμα τῇ γῇ ἐπεχώρει. ἃ δὲ περὶ τὴν σελήνην φασὶ φαίνεσθαι τικτομένην τε καὶ πληρουμένην καὶ φθίνουσαν, ταῦτα περὶ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν οἶδα, τὰ γὰρ ἐκείνης ἀνισοῖ μέτρα, ξυμμινύθων αὐτῇ καὶ ξυμπληρούμενος.

III

CAP. III Ἡμέρα δ' ἐκδέχεται νύκτα καὶ νὺξ τὴν ἡμέραν περὶ Κελτοὺς μὲν κατ' ὀλίγον ὑπαπιόντος τοῦ σκότους ἢ τοῦ φωτός, ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα, περὶ Γάδειρα δὲ καὶ Στήλας ἀθρόως λέγονται τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς

II

CHAP. II

Remarks the Tides

Now I myself have seen among the Celts the ocean tides just as they are described; and after making various conjectures about why so vast a bulk of waters recedes and advances, I have come to the conclusion that Apollonius discerned the real truth. For in one of his letters to the Indians he says that the ocean is driven by submarine influences or spirits out of several chasms which the earth affords both underneath and around it, to advance outwards, and to recede again, whenever the influence or spirit, like the breath of our bodies, gives way and recedes. And this theory is confirmed by the course run by diseases in Gadeira; for at the time of high water the souls of the dying do not quit their bodies, and this would hardly happen, he says, unless the influence or spirit I have spoken of was also advancing towards the land. They also tell you of certain phenomena of the ocean in connection with the phases of the moon, according as it is born and reaches fulness and wanes. These phenomena I verified, for the ocean exactly keeps pace with the size of the moon, decreasing and increasing with her.

III

CHAP. III

Suddenness of sunset and dawn in Gadeira

And whereas the day succeeds the night and night succeeds the day in the land of the Celts by a very slow diminution of the darkness and of the light respectively, as in this country; in the neighbourhood of Gadeira on the contrary and of the Pillars, it is said that the change bursts upon the eyes all at

CAP. III ἐμπίπτειν, ὥσπερ αἱ ἀστραπαί. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς Μακάρων νήσους ὁρίζεσθαι τῷ Λιβυκῷ τέρματι πρὸς τὸ ἀοίκητον ἀνεχούσας ἀκρωτήριον.

IV

CAP. IV Τὰ δὲ Γάδειρα κεῖται μὲν κατὰ τὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης τέρμα, περιττοὶ δέ εἰσι τὰ θεῖα· γήρως οὖν βωμὸν ἵδρυνται καὶ τὸν θάνατον μόνοι ἀνθρώπων παιωνίζονται, βωμοὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ καὶ πενίας καὶ τέχνης καὶ Ἡρακλέους Αἰγυπτίου καὶ ἕτεροι τοῦ Θηβαίου· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐγγὺς Ἐρύθειαν ἐλάσαι φασίν, ὅτε δὴ τὸν Γηρυόνην τε καὶ τὰς βοῦς ἑλεῖν, τὸν δὲ σοφίᾳ δόντα γῆν ἀναμετρήσασθαι πᾶσαν ἐς τέρμα. καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἑλληνικοὺς εἶναί φασι τὰ Γάδειρα καὶ παιδεύεσθαι τὸν ἡμεδαπὸν τρόπον· ἀσπάζεσθαι γοῦν Ἀθηναίους Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα, καὶ Μενεσθεῖ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ θύειν, καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ τὸν ναύμαχον σοφίας τε καὶ ἀνδρείας ἀγασθέντες χαλκοῦν ἵδρυνται ἔννουν καὶ ὥσπερ χρησμῷ ἐφιστάντα.

V

CAP. V Ἰδεῖν καὶ δένδρα φασὶν ἐνταῦθα, οἷα οὐχ ἑτέρωθι τῆς γῆς, καὶ Γηρυόνεια μὲν καλεῖσθαι αὐτά, δύο

once, like a flash of lightning. And they also say that the Islands of the Blessed are to be fixed by the limits of Libya where they rise towards the uninhabited promontory. CHAP. III

IV

CHAP. IV

Description of Gadeira

Now the city of Gadeira is situated at the extreme end of Europe, and its inhabitants are excessively given to religion; so much so that they have set up an altar to old age, and unlike any other race they sing hymns in honour of death; and altars are found there set up to poverty, and to art, and to Hercules of Egypt, and there are others in honour of Hercules the Theban. For they say that the latter advanced against the neighbouring city of Erythea, on which occasion he took captive Geryon and his cows; the other, they say, in his devotion to wisdom measured the whole earth up to its limits. They say moreover that there is a Hellenic culture at Gadeira, and that they educate themselves in our own fashion; anyhow, that they are fonder of the Athenians than of any other Hellenes, and they offer sacrifice to Menestheus the Athenian, and from admiration of Themistocles the naval commander, and to honour him for his wisdom and bravery, they have set up a brazen statue of him in a thoughtful attitude and, as it were, pondering an oracle.

Its Hellenism

V

CHAP. V

They say also that they saw trees here such as are not found elsewhere upon the earth; and that these

CAP. V δὲ εἶναι, φύεσθαι δὲ τοῦ σήματος, ὃ ἐπὶ τῷ Γηρυόνῃ ἕστηκε, παραλλάττοντα ἐκ πίτυός τε καὶ πεύκης ἐς εἶδος ἕτερον, λείβεσθαι δὲ αἵματι, καθάπερ τῷ χρυσῷ τὴν Ἡλιάδα αἴγειρον. ἡ δὲ νῆσος, ἐν ᾗ τὸ ἱερόν, ἔστι μὲν ὁπόση ὁ νεώς, πετρῶδες δὲ αὐτῆς οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ βαλβῖδι ξεστῇ εἴκασται. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τιμᾶσθαι μὲν ἄμφω τὼ Ἡρακλέε φασίν, ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτοῖν οὐκ εἶναι, βωμοὺς δὲ τοῦ μὲν Αἰγυπτίου δύο χαλκοῦς καὶ ἀσήμους, ἕνα δὲ τοῦ Θηβαίου—τὰς δὲ ὕδρας τε καὶ τὰς Διομήδους ἵππους καὶ τὰ δώδεκα Ἡρακλέους ἔργα ἐκτετυπῶσθαί φασι κἀνταῦθα—λίθου ὄντα. ἡ Πυγμαλίωνος δὲ ἐλαία ἡ χρυσῆ, ἀνάκειται δὲ κἀκείνη ἐς τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ἀξία μέν, ὥς φασι, καὶ τοῦ θαλλοῦ θαυμάζειν, ᾧ εἴκασται, θαυμάζεσθαι δ᾽ ἂν ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ μᾶλλον, βρύειν γὰρ αὐτὸν σμαράγδου λίθου. καὶ Τεύκρου τοῦ Τελαμωνίου ζωστῆρα χρυσοῦν φασι δείκνυσθαι, πῶς δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὠκεανὸν πλεύσαντος ἢ ἐφ᾽ ὅ τι, οὔτε αὐτὸς ὁ Δάμις ξυνιδεῖν φησιν οὔτε ἐκείνων ἀκοῦσαι. τὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ στήλας χρυσοῦ μὲν πεποιῆσθαι καὶ ἀργύρου ξυντετηκότοιν ἐς ἓν χρῶμα, εἶναι δὲ αὐτὰς ὑπὲρ πῆχυν τετραγώνου τέχνης, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄκμονες, ἐπιγεγράφθαι δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς οὔτε Αἰγυπτίοις οὔτε Ἰνδικοῖς γράμμασιν, οὔτε οἵοις ξυμβαλεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὡς οὐδὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἔφραζον, "οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ μοι," ἔφη, "ὁ

were called trees of Geryon. There were two of them, and they grew upon the mound raised over Geryon: they were a cross between the pitch tree and the pine, and formed a third species; and blood dripped from their bark, just as gold does from the Heliad poplar. Now the island on which the shrine is built is of exactly the same size as the temple, and there is not a rough stone to be found in it, for the whole of it has been given the form of a polished turning-post. In the shrine they say there is maintained a cult both of one and the other Hercules, though there are no images of them; altars however there are, namely, to the Egyptian Hercules two of bronze and perfectly plain, to the Theban, one of stone; on the latter they say are engraved in relief hydras and the mares of Diomede and the twelve labours of Hercules. And as to the golden olive of Pygmalion, it too is preserved in the temple of Hercules, and it excited their admiration by the clever way in which the branch work was imitated; and they were still more astonished at its fruit, for this teemed with emeralds. And they say that the girdle of Teucer of Telamon was also exhibited there of gold, but how he ever sailed as far as the ocean, or why he did so, neither Damis by his own admission could understand nor ascertain from the people of the place. But he says that the pillars in the temple were made of gold and silver smelted together so as to be of one colour, and they were over a cubit high, of square form, resembling anvils; and their capitals were inscribed with letters which were neither Egyptian nor Indian nor of any kind which he could decipher. But Apollonius, since the priests would tell him nothing, remarked: "Hercules

CHAP. V

The trees of Geryon

Altars of Hercules

Girdle of Teucer

CAP. V ‛Ηρακλῆς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος μὴ οὐ λέγειν, ὁπόσα οἶδα· Γῆς καὶ ’Ωκεανοῦ ξύνδεσμοι αἵδε αἱ στῆλαί εἰσιν, ἐπεγράψατο δὲ αὐτὰς ἐκεῖνος ἐν Μοιρῶν οἴκῳ, ὡς μήτε νεῖκος τοῖς στοιχείοις ἐγγένοιτο μήτε ἀτιμάσειαν τὴν φιλότητα, ἣν ἀλλήλων ἴσχουσιν.”

VI

CAP. VI Φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναπλῶσαι τὸν Βαῖτιν, ὃς δηλοῖ μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ ’Ωκεανοῦ φύσιν· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ πλημμύρῃ τὸ πέλαγος, ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς ὁ ποταμὸς παλίρρους ἵεται, πνεύματος δήπου ἀπωθουμένου αὐτὸν τῆς θαλάττης. τὴν δὲ ἤπειρον τὴν Βαιτικήν, ἧς ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος ὁμώνυμος, ἀρίστην ἠπείρων φασί, πόλεών τε γὰρ εὖ ἔχειν καὶ νομῶν, καὶ διῆχθαι τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἄστη πάντα, γεωργίας τε ξυμπάσης μεστὴν εἶναι καὶ ὡρῶν, οἷαι τῆς ’Αττικῆς αἱ μετοπώριναί τε καὶ μυστηριώτιδες.

VII

CAP. VII Διαλέξεις δὲ τῷ ’Απολλωνίῳ περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ παραπεσόντων ὁ Δάμις πλείους μὲν γενέσθαι φησίν, ἀξίας δὲ τοῦ ἀναγράψαι τάσδε· καθημένων ποτὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ ‛Ηράκλειον ἀναγελάσας ὁ Μένιππος, ἀναμέμνητο δὲ ἄρα τοῦ Νέρωνος, “τί,” ἔφη, “τὸν γενναῖον ἡγώμεθα; τίνας,” ἔφη, “ἐστεφανῶσθαι τῶν

of Egypt does not permit me not to tell all I know. These pillars are ties between earth and ocean, and they were inscribed by Hercules in the house of the Fates, to prevent any discord arising between the elements, and to save their mutual affection for one another from violation." CHAP. V Unknown Inscriptions

VI

THEY tell also of how they sailed up the river Baetis, which throws no little light upon the nature of the ocean. For whenever it is high tide, the river in its course remounts towards its sources, because apparently a current of air drives it away from the sea. And the mainland of Baetica, after which this river is called, is the best by their account of any continent; for it is well furnished with cities and pastures, and the river is brought by canals through all the towns, and it is very highly cultivated with all sorts of crops; and it enjoys a climate similar to that of Attica in the autumn season when the mysteries are celebrated. CHAP. VI Description of Baetica

VII

THE conversations which Apollonius held about things which met his eyes were, according to Damis, many in number, but the following he said deserve to be recorded. On one occasion they were sitting in the temple of Hercules and Menippus gave a laugh, for it happened that Nero had just come into his mind, "And what," he said, "are we to think of this splendid fellow? In which of the CHAP. VII Discussion of Nero and the Olympic games

CAP. VII ἀγώνων; τοὺς δὲ βελτίστους Ἕλληνας οὐ ξὺν ὅλῳ γέλωτι φοιτᾶν ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις;" ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὡς μὲν ἐγώ," ἔφη, "Τελεσίνου ἤκουον, δέδιεν ὁ χρηστὸς Νέρων τὰς Ἠλείων μάστιγας· παρακελευομένων γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν κολάκων νικᾶν τὰ Ὀλύμπια καὶ ἀνακηρύττειν τὴν Ῥώμην, "ἤν γε," ἔφη, "μὴ βασκήνωσιν Ἠλεῖοι, λέγονται γὰρ μαστιγοῦν καὶ φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐμέ," πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνοητότερα τούτων προανεφώνησεν. ἐγὼ δὲ νικήσειν μὲν Νέρωνα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ φημί, τίς γὰρ οὕτω θρασύς, ὡς ἐναντίαν θέσθαι; Ὀλύμπια δὲ οὐ νικήσειν, ἅτε μηδὲ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἄγουσι· πατρίου μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις τοῦ πέρυσιν ἐνιαυτοῦ ὄντος, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Ἠλείους Νέρων ἀναβαλέσθαι αὐτὰ ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιδημίαν, ὡς ἐκείνῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ Διὶ θύσοντας· τραγῳδίαν δ' ἐπαγγεῖλαι καὶ κιθαρῳδίαν ἀνδράσιν, οἷς μήτε θέατρόν ἐστι μήτε σκηνὴ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα, στάδιον δὲ αὐτοφυὲς καὶ γυμνὰ πάντα, τὸν δὲ νικᾶν, ἃ χρὴ ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι, καὶ τὴν Αὐγούστου τε καὶ Ἰουλίου σκευὴν ῥίψαντα μεταμφιέννυσθαι νῦν τὴν Ἀμοιβέως καὶ Τερπνοῦ, τί φήσεις; καὶ τὰ μὲν Κρέοντός τε καὶ Οἰδίποδος οὕτως ἐξακριβοῦν, ὡς δεδιέναι, μή πῃ λάθῃ ἁμαρτὼν θύρας ἢ στολῆς ἢ σκήπτρου, ἑαυτοῦ

contests has he won wreaths of late? Don't you think that self-respecting Hellenes must shake with laughter when they are on their way to the festivals?" And Apollonius replied: "As I have heard from Telesinus, the worthy Nero is afraid of the whips of the Eleans; for when his flatterers urged him to win at Olympia and to proclaim Rome as the victor, he answered: 'Yes, if the Eleans will only not depreciate me, for they are said to use whips and to look down upon me.' And many worse bits of nonsense than this forecast fell from his lips. I however admit that Nero will conquer *at* Olympia, for who is bold enough to enter the lists against him? But I deny that he will win at *the* Olympic festival, because they are not keeping it at the right season. For custom requires that this should have been held last year, but Nero has ordered the Eleans to put it off until his own visit, in order that they may sacrifice to him rather than to Zeus. And it is said that he has announced a tragedy and a performance on the harp for people who have neither a theatre nor a stage for such entertainments, but only the stadium which nature has provided, and races which are all run by athletes stripped of their clothes. He however is going to take the prize for performances which he ought to have hidden in the dark, for he has thrown off the robes of Augustus and Julius and has dressed himself up in the garb of an Amoebeus and a Terpnus. What can you say of such a record? And then he betrays such a meticulous care in playing the part of Creon and Oedipus, that he is afraid of falling into some error, of coming in by the wrong door, or of wearing the wrong dress, of using the wrong sceptre; but he has so entirely forgotten his own dignity and that of

CHAP. VII

CAP. VII δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων οὕτως ἐκπίπτειν, ὡς ἀντὶ τοῦ νομοθετεῖν νόμους ᾄδειν καὶ ἀγείρειν ἔξω θυρῶν, ὧν ἔσω χρὴ καθῆσθαι τὸν βασιλέα χρηματίζοντα ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης; εἰσίν, ὦ Μένιππε, τραγῳδοὶ πλείους, ἐς οὓς Νέρων ἑαυτὸν γράφει· τί οὖν; εἴ τις αὐτῶν μετὰ τὸν Οἰνόμαον ἢ τὸν Κρεσφόντην ἀπελθὼν τοῦ θεάτρου, μεστὸς οὕτω τοῦ προσωπείου γένοιτο, ὡς ἄρχειν μὲν ἑτέρων βούλεσθαι, τύραννον δὲ αὑτὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, τί καὶ φήσεις τοῦτον; ἆρ' οὐκ ἐλλεβόρου δεῖσθαι καὶ φαρμακοποσίας, ὁπόση τοὺς νοῦς ἐκκαθαίρει; εἰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ τυραννεύων ἐς τραγῳδοὺς καὶ τεχνίτας τὰ πράγματα ἑαυτοῦ ἄγοι, λεαίνων τὴν φωνὴν καὶ δεδιὼς τὸν Ἠλεῖον ἢ τὸν Δελφόν, ἢ μὴ δεδιὼς μέν, κακῶς δὲ οὕτως ὑποκρινόμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τέχνην, ὡς [μὴ] μαστιγώσεσθαι νομίζειν πρὸς τούτων, ὧν αὐτὸς ἄρχειν τέτακται, τί τοὺς κακοδαίμονας ἀνθρώπους ἐρεῖς ὑπὸ τοιούτῳ καθάρματι ζῶντας; τοῖς δὲ Ἕλλησι τίνα ἡγῇ, ὦ Μένιππε; πότερα Ξέρξην καταπιμπράντα ἢ Νέρωνα ᾄδοντα; εἰ γὰρ ἐνθυμηθείης τὴν ἀγοράν, ἣν ἐς τὰς ἐκείνου ᾠδὰς ξυμφέρουσι, καὶ ὡς ἐξωθοῦνται τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἔξεστι σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν ἢ σκεῦος ἢ ἀνδράποδον αὐτοῖς πεπᾶσθαι, περὶ γυναίοις τε καὶ παισὶν ὡς δεινὰ πείσονται τὰς ἐπιρρήτους ἡδονὰς ἐξ ἁπάσης οἰκίας ἐκλέγοντος τοῦ Νέρωνος, δίκαι τε ὡς πολλαὶ ἀναφύσονται, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἔα, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς θεάτροις καὶ ταῖς ᾠδαῖς· οὐκ ἦλθες ἀκροασόμενος Νέρωνος, ἢ παρῆσθα μέν, ῥᾳθύμως

the Romans, that instead of carrying on the work of making laws, he has taken to singing, and strolls like a player outside the gates within which the Emperor ought to take his seat on his throne, deciding the fate of land and sea. There are, O Menippus, several troupes in which Nero has inscribed himself as an actor. What next? Supposing any one of these actors quitted the theatre after playing Oenomaus or Cresphontes, so full of his part as to want to rule others, and imagine himself to be a tyrant, what would you say of him? Surely you would recommend a dose of hellebore and the taking of drugs of a kind to clear the intellect? Well, here is the man himself who wields absolute power, throwing in his lot with actors and artists, cultivating a soft voice and trembling before the people of Elis or of Delphi; or if he does not tremble, yet misrepresenting his art so thoroughly as [not] to anticipate he will be whipped by the people over whom he has been set to rule. What will you say of the unhappy people who have to live under such a scum? And in what light do you think the Hellenes regard him? Is it as a Xerxes burning their houses down or as a Nero singing songs? Think of the supplies they have to collect for his songs, and how they are thrust out of their houses and forbidden to own a decent bit of furniture or slave. Think of how Nero picks out of every other house women and children, to gratify his infamous desires, and of the horrors they will suffer over them, of the crop of prosecutions which will be brought, and without dwelling upon the rest, just fix your attention upon those which will arise out of his theatrical and singing ambitions. This is what you hear: 'You did not come to listen to Nero,' or: 'You were CHAP. VII

CAP. VII δὲ ἠκροῶ, ἐγέλας, οὐκ ἐκρότησας, οὐκ ἔθυσας ὑπὲρ τῆς φωνῆς, ἵνα Πυθῶδε λαμπροτέρα ἔλθοι· πολλαί σοι δόξουσι θεατῶν Ἰλιάδες περὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶναι. τὸ γὰρ τετμήσεσθαι τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἢ οὐ τετμήσεσθαι, τέμνεται δέ, ὥς φασι, νῦν, πάλαι προὔμαθον θεοῦ φήναντος." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Δάμις, "ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, τὸ περὶ τὴν τομὴν ἔργον ὑπερφωνεῖν δοκεῖ τὰ Νέρωνος πάντα, ἡ γὰρ διάνοια ὁρᾷς, ὡς μεγάλη." "δοκεῖ μέν," ἔφη, "κἀμοί, ὦ Δάμι, τὸ δὲ ἀτελὲς αὐτῆς διαβάλλει αὐτόν, ὡς ἀτελῆ μὲν ᾄδοντα, ἀτελῆ δὲ ὀρύττοντα. τά τοι Ξέρξου ἀναλεγόμενος ἐπαινῶ τὸν ἄνδρα, οὐχ ὅτι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔζευξεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι διέβη αὐτόν, Νέρωνα δὲ οὔτε πλευσούμενον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ὁρῶ οὔτε ἐς τέρμα τῆς ὀρυχῆς ἥξοντα, δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ φόβου μεστὸς ἀναχωρῆσαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, εἰ μὴ ἡ ἀλήθεια ἀπόλωλεν."

VIII

CAP. VIII Ἀφικομένου δέ τινος ἐς Γάδειρα μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν τοὺς ταχεῖς διαθεόντων δρόμους, καὶ κελεύοντος εὐαγγέλια θύειν τρισολυμπιονίκην Νέρωνα ᾄδοντας, τὰ μὲν Γάδειρα ξυνίει τῆς νίκης καὶ ὅτι ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ

CHAP. VII

present, but you listened to him without enthusiasm,' 'You laughed,' or 'You did not clap your hands,' or 'You have not offered a sacrifice in behalf of his voice nor prayed that it may be more splendid than ever at the Pythian festival.' You can imagine that the Greeks will endure whole Iliads of woe at these spectacles. For I have long ago learned by the revelation of heaven that the Isthmus will be cut through or will not be cut through, and just now, they say, it is being cut." Here Damis took him up and said: "As for myself, O Apollonius, I think this scheme of cutting through the Isthmus excels all other undertakings of Nero, for you yourself see how magnificent a project it is." "I admit," he said, "that it is, O Damis; but it will go against him that he never could complete it, that just as he never finished his songs, so he never finished his digging. When I review the career of Xerxes, I am disposed to praise him not because he bridged the Hellespont, but because he got across it; but as for Nero, I perceive that he will neither sail his ships through the Isthmus, nor ever come to an end of his digging; and I believe, unless truth has wholly departed from among men, that he has retired from Hellas in a fit of panic."

VIII

CHAP. VIII

Spanish impressions of Nero's Olympic victories

At this time a swift runner arrived at Gadeira, and ordered them to offer sacrifices for the good tidings, and to sing hymns in honour of Nero who had thrice won the prize at Olympia. In the city of Gadeira indeed they understood the meaning of the victory, and that there had been some famous contest in

CAP. VIII τις εἴη ἀγὼν εὐδόκιμος, ἐπειδή, ὡς εἶπον, ἐς τὰ Ἑλλήνων σπεύδουσιν, αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἱ πρόσοικοι τοῖς Γαδείροις οὔτε ἐγίγνωσκον ὅ τι εἴη τὰ Ὀλύμπια, οὐδ' ὅ τι ἀγωνία ἢ ἀγών, οὐδὲ ἐφ' ὅτῳ θύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπήγοντο ἐς γελοίους, δόξας πολέμου νίκην ἡγούμενοι ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι ὁ Νέρων ᾑρήκοι τινὰς ἀνθρώπους Ὀλυμπίους· οὐδὲ γὰρ τραγῳδίας ποτὲ ἢ κιθαρῳδίας θεαταὶ ἐγεγόνεσαν.

IX

CAP. IX Τοὺς γοῦν οἰκοῦντας τὰ Ἴπολα, πόλις δὲ κἀκείνη Βαιτική, φησὶν ὁ Δάμις παθεῖν τι πρὸς τραγῳδίας ὑποκριτήν, οὗ κἀμὲ ἄξιον ἐπιμνησθῆναι· θυουσῶν γὰρ τῶν πόλεων θαμὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἱ Πυθικαὶ ἤδη ἀπηγγέλλοντο, τραγῳδίας ὑποκριτὴς τῶν οὐκ ἀξιουμένων ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι τῷ Νέρωνι ἐπῄει τὰς ἑσπερίους πόλεις ἀγείρων, καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ χρώμενος ηὐδοκίμει παρὰ τοῖς ἧττον βαρβάροις, πρῶτον μὲν δι' αὐτὸ τὸ ἥκειν παρ' ἀνθρώπους, οἳ μήπω τραγῳδίας ἤκουσαν, εἶτ' ἐπειδὴ τὰς Νέρωνος μελῳδίας ἀκριβοῦν ἔφασκε. παρελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὰ Ἴπολα φοβερὸς μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο καὶ ὃν ἐσιώπα χρόνον ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς, καὶ ὁρῶντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι βαδίζοντα μὲν αὐτὸν μέγα, κεχηνότα δὲ τοσοῦτον, ἐφεστῶτα δὲ ὀκρί-

CHAP. VIII

Arcadia; for, as I said before, the people of Gadeira affect Hellenic civilisation. But the cities in the neighbourhood of Gadeira neither knew what the Olympic festival was, nor what a contest nor an arena meant; nor did they understand what they were sacrificing for, but they indulged in the most ridiculous suppositions, and imagined that it was a victory in war that Nero had won and that he had taken captive some men called Olympians; for they had never been spectators either of a tragedy or of a harp-playing performance.

IX

CHAP. IX

Effect of a tragic actor on the people of Ipola

Damis indeed speaks of the singular effect which a tragic actor produced upon the minds of the inhabitants of Ipola, which is a city of Baetica, and I think the story is worthy of being reproduced by me. The cities were multiplying their sacrifices in honour of the Emperor's victories, for those at the Pythian festival were already announced, when an actor of tragedy, who was one of those that had not ventured to contend for the prize against Nero, was on a strolling tour round the cities of the west, and by his histrionic talent he had won no small fame among the less barbarous of the populations, for two reasons, firstly because he found himself among people who had never before heard a tragedy, and secondly because he pretended exactly to reproduce the melodies of Nero. But when he appeared at Ipola, they showed some fear of him before he ever opened his lips upon the stage, and they shrank in dismay at his appearance when they

CAP. IX βασιν οὕτως ὑψηλοῖς τερατώδη τε τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐσθήματα, οὐκ ἄφοβοι ἦσαν τοῦ σχήματος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξάρας τὴν φωνὴν γεγωνὸν ἐφθέγξατο, φυγῇ οἱ πλεῖστοι ᾤχοντο, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ δαίμονος ἐμβοηθέντες. τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ ἤθη τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων καὶ οὕτως ἀρχαῖα.

X

CAP. X Σπουδὴν δὲ ποιουμένου τοῦ τὴν Βαιτικὴν ἐπιτροπεύοντος ἐς ξυνουσίαν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐλθεῖν, ὁ μὲν ἀηδεῖς ἔφη τὰς ξυνουσίας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ φαίνεσθαι τοῖς μὴ φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ προσέκειτο αἰτῶν τοῦτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ χρηστός τε εἶναι ἐλέγετο καὶ διαβεβλημένος πρὸς τοὺς Νέρωνος μίμους, γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἵν' ἐς τὰ Γάδειρα ἔλθοι, ὁ δὲ ἀφελὼν τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄγκον ξὺν ὀλίγοις καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις ἦλθεν. ἀσπασάμενοι δὲ ἀλλήλους καὶ μεταστησάμενοι τοὺς παρόντας, ὅ τι μὲν διελέχθησαν, οὐδεὶς οἶδε, τεκμαίρεται δὲ ὁ Δάμις ἐπὶ Νέρωνα ξυμβῆναι σφᾶς. τριῶν γὰρ ἡμερῶν ἰδίᾳ σπουδάσαντες, ὁ μὲν ἀπῄει περιβαλὼν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὁ δέ, "ἔρρωσο," ἔφη, "καὶ μέμνησο τοῦ Βίνδικος." τί δὲ τοῦτο ἦν; ἐπὶ Νέρωνα ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ ᾄδοντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἑσπέρια λέγεται κινῆσαι Βίνδιξ, ἀνὴρ οἷος ἐκτεμεῖν τὰς νευράς, ἃς Νέρων ἀμαθῶς ἔψαλλε, πρὸς γὰρ τὰ στρατόπεδα, οἷς ἐπετέτακτο, λόγον κατ' αὐτοῦ διῆλθεν, ὃν ἐκ πάνυ γενναίας φιλοσοφίας ἐπὶ τύραννον ἄν τις πνεύσειεν· ἔφη γὰρ

saw him striding across the stage, with his mouth all agape, mounted on buskins extra high, and clad in the most wonderful garments; but when he lifted up his voice and bellowed out loud, most of them took to their heels, as if they had a demon yelling at them. Such and so old-fashioned are the manners of the barbarians of that country. CHAP. IX

X

CHAP. X

Interview with the Governor of Baetica at Gadeira

THE governor of Baetica was very anxious to have a conversation with Apollonius, and though the latter said that his conversation must seem tedious to any but philosophers, the other insisted in his demand. And as he was said to be a worthy person and detested of the mimes of Nero, Apollonius wrote to him a letter asking him to come to Gadeira; and he, divesting himself of all the pomp of authority, came with a few of his most intimate friends. They greeted one another, and no one knows what they said to one another in an interview from which they excluded the rest of the company; but Damis hazards the opinion that they formed a plot together against Nero. For after three days spent in private conversations, the governor went away, after embracing Apollonius, while the latter said: "Farewell, and do not forget Vindex." Now what was the meaning of this? When Nero was singing in Achaea, Vindex is said to have stirred up against him the nations of the West, and he was a man quite capable of cutting out the strings which Nero so ignorantly twanged. For he addressed a speech, inspired by the loftiest sentiments which a man can feel against a tyrant, to the troops which he

CAP. X Νέρωνα εἶναι πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ κιθαρῳδὸν καὶ κιθαρῳδὸν μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλέα. προφέρειν δὲ αὐτῷ μανίαν μὲν καὶ φιλοχρηματίαν καὶ ὠμότητα καὶ ἀσέλγειαν πᾶσαν, τὸ δὲ ὠμότατον τῶν ἐκείνου μὴ προφέρειν αὐτῷ· τὴν γὰρ μητέρα ἐν δίκῃ ἀπεκτονέναι, ἐπειδὴ τοιοῦτον ἔτεκε. ταῦτ' οὖν ὡς ἔσται προγιγνώσκων ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ξυνέταττε τῷ Βίνδικι ὅμορον ἄρχοντα, μονονουχὶ ὅπλα ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥώμης τιθέμενος.

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CAP. XI Φλεγμαινόντων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν, τρέπονται τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ Λιβύην καὶ Τυρρηνούς, καὶ τὰ μὲν πεζῇ βαδίζοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ πλοίων πορευόμενοι κατίσχουσιν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, οὗ τὸ Λιλύβαιον. παραπλεύσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ Μεσσήνην τε καὶ πορθμόν, ἔνθα ὁ Τυρρηνὸς Ἀδρίᾳ ξυμβάλλων χαλεπὴν ἐργάζονται τὴν Χάρυβδιν, ἀκοῦσαί φασιν, ὡς Νέρων μὲν πεφεύγοι, τεθνήκοι δὲ Βίνδιξ, ἅπτοιντο δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς οἱ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς Ῥώμης, οἱ δὲ ὁπόθεν τύχοι τῶν ἐθνῶν. ἐρομένων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν ἑταίρων, οἷ προβήσοιτο ταῦτα καὶ ὅτου λοιπὸν ἡ ἀρχὴ ἔσοιτο, "πολλῶν," εἶπε, "Θηβαίων." τὴν γὰρ ἰσχύν, ᾗ πρὸς ὀλίγον Βιτέλιος τε καὶ Γάλβας καὶ Ὄθων ἐχρήσαντο, Θηβαίοις εἴκασεν, οἳ χρόνον κομιδῇ βραχὺν ἤχθησαν ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα.

CHAP. X

commanded, and he declared in it that Nero was anything rather than a harpist, and a harpist rather than a sovereign. And he taxed him with madness and avarice and cruelty and wantonness of every kind, though he omitted to tax him with the cruellest of his crimes; for he said that he had quite rightly put to death his mother, because she had born such a monster. Apollonius, forecasting how all this must be, had accordingly brought into line with Vindex the governor of a neighbouring province, and so all but took up arms himself in behalf of Rome.

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CHAP. XI

Predicts the short reigns of Vitellius, Galba, and Otho

But as matters in the west were in such an inflamed condition Apollonius and his friends returned thence towards Libya and the Tyrrhenian land; and, partly on foot and partly by sea, they made their way to Sicily, where they stopped at Lilybaeum. Then they coasted along to Messina and to the Straits, where the junction of the Tyrrhenian Sea with the Adriatic gives rise to the dangers of Charybdis. Here they say they heard that Nero had taken to flight, though Vindex was dead; and that various claimants were snatching at the throne, some from Rome itself, and others from various countries. Now when his companions asked him what would be the issue of these events, and who would get possession, in the end, of the throne, he answered: "Many Thebans will have it." For he compared the pretenders, namely, Vitellius and Galba and Otho, in view of the short lease of power which they enjoyed, to Thebans, for it was only during a very short time that they held dominion over the Hellenic world.

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CAP. XII

Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα δαιμονίᾳ κινήσει προεγίγνωσκε, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς γόητα τὸν ἄνδρα ἡγουμένοις οὐχ ὑγιαίνει ὁ λόγος, δηλοῖ μὲν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα, σκεψώμεθα δὲ κἀκεῖνα· οἱ γόητες, ἡγοῦμαι δ' αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ κακοδαιμονεστάτους ἀνθρώπων, οἱ μὲν ἐς βασάνους εἰδώλων χωροῦντες, οἱ δ' ἐς θυσίας βαρβάρους, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐπᾆσαί τι ἢ ἀλεῖψαι, μεταποιεῖν φασι τὰ εἱμαρμένα, καὶ πολλοὶ τούτων κατηγορίαις ὑπαχθέντες τὰ τοιαῦτα ὡμολόγησαν σοφοὶ εἶναι. ὁ δὲ εἵπετο μὲν τοῖς ἐκ Μοιρῶν, προὔλεγε δέ, ὡς ἀνάγκη γενέσθαι αὐτά, προεγίγνωσκε δὲ οὐ γοητεύων, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν οἱ θεοὶ ἔφαινον. ἰδὼν δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς τοὺς τρίποδας καὶ τοὺς οἰνοχόους καὶ ὅσα αὐτόματα ἐσφοιτᾶν εἶπον, οὔθ' ὅπως σοφίζοιντο αὐτά, ἤρετο, οὔτ' ἐδεήθη μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπῄνει μέν, ζηλοῦν δ' οὐκ ἠξίου.

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CAP. XIII

Ἀφικομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς Συρακούσας γυνὴ τῶν οὐκ ἀφανῶν τέρας ἀπεκύησεν, οἷον οὔπω ἐμαιεύθη· τρεῖς γὰρ τῷ βρέφει κεφαλαὶ ἦσαν ἐξ οἰκείας ἑκάστη δέρης, τὰ δὲ ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἑνὸς πάντα. οἱ μὲν δὴ παχέως ἐξηγούμενοι τὴν Σικελίαν ἔφασαν, τρινακρία γάρ, ἀπολεῖσθαι, εἰ μὴ ὁμονοήσειέ τε

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CHAP. XII

Apollonius no wizard because he foresaw the future

That he was enabled to make such forecasts by some divine impulse, and that it is no sound inference to infer, as some people do, that our hero was a wizard, is clear from what I have already said. But let us consider these facts also: wizards, whom for my part I reckon to be the most unfortunate of mankind, claim to alter the course of destiny, by having recourse either to the torture of lost spirits or to barbaric sacrifices, or to certain incantations or anointings; and many of them when accused of such practices have admitted that they were adepts in such practices. But Apollonius submitted himself to the decrees of the Fates, and only foretold that things must come to pass; and his foreknowledge was gained not by wizardry, but from what the gods revealed to him. And when among the Indians he beheld their tripods and their dumb waiters and other automata, which I described as entering the room of their own accord, he did not ask how they were contrived, nor did he ask to be informed; he only praised them, but did not aspire to imitate them.

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CHAP XIII

A three-headed child born in Syracuse portends the three Roman Pretenders

Now when they reached Syracuse a woman of a leading family was brought to bed of such a monster as never any woman was delivered of before; for her child had three heads, and each head had a neck of its own, but below them there was a single body. Of the vulgar and stupid interpretations of this prodigy, one was that it signified the impending ruin

CAP. XIII καὶ ξυμπνεύσειεν—ἐστασίαζον δὲ ἄρα πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων πρὸς ἑαυτάς τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ τὸ ἐν κόσμῳ ζῆν ἀπῆν τῆς νήσου—οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν τὸν Τυφῶ, πολυκέφαλον δὲ εἶναι, νεώτερα ἀπειλεῖν τῇ Σικελίᾳ, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἴθι," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, καὶ κάτιδε αὐτό, εἰ οὕτω ξύγκειται." ἐξέκειτο γὰρ δημοσίᾳ τοῖς τερατολογεῖν εἰδόσιν, ἀπαγγείλαντος δὲ τοῦ Δάμιδος, ὡς τρικέφαλον εἴη καὶ ἄρρεν, ξυναγαγὼν τοὺς ἑταίρους, "τρεῖς," ἔφη, "Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορες, οὓς ἐγὼ πρῴην Θηβαίους ἔφην, τελειώσει δὲ οὐδεὶς τὸ ἄρχειν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης, ὁ δὲ περὶ τὰ ὅμορα τῇ Ῥώμῃ δυνηθέντες ἀπολοῦνται, θᾶττον ἀποβαλόντες τὸ προσωπεῖον ἢ οἱ τῶν τραγῳδῶν τύραννοι." καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτίκα ἐς φῶς ἦλθε· Γάλβας μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης ἀπέθανεν ἁψάμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ Βιτέλιος ὀνειροπολήσας τὸ ἄρχειν, Ὄθων δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἑσπερίους Γαλάτας ἀποθανὼν οὐδὲ τάφου λαμπροῦ ἔτυχεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἰδιώτης κεῖται· διέπτη δὲ ἡ τύχη ταῦτα ἑνὶ ἔτει.

XIV

CAP. XIV Πορευθέντες δὲ ἐπὶ Κατάνης, οὗ τὸ ὄρος ἡ Αἴτνη, Καταναίων μὲν ἀκοῦσαί φασιν ἡγουμένων

of Sicily,—for it has three headlands,—unless the inhabitants composed their feuds and could live together in peace; for as a matter of fact several of the cities were at variance both with themselves and with one another, and such a thing as orderly life was unknown in the island. Another explanation was that Typho, a many-headed monster, was threatening Sicily with his violence. But Apollonius said: "Go, O Damis, and look if the child is really made up as they say." For the thing was exposed to public view for the miracle-mongers to exercise their ingenuity upon it. When Damis reported that it was a three-headed creature and of the male sex, Apollonius got together his companions and said: "It signifies three emperors of Rome, whom yesterday I called Thebans; and not one of them shall enjoy complete dominion, but two of them shall perish after holding sway in Rome itself, and the third after doing so in the countries bordering upon Rome; and they shall shuffle off their masks more quickly than if they were tragic actors playing the part of tyrant." And the truth of his statement was almost immediately revealed; for Galba died in Rome itself, just after he grasped the crown, and Vitellius died after only dreaming of the crown, and Otho died in Western Gaul, and was not even accorded a public funeral, but lies buried like any private person. And Fate's whole episode was past and over within a single year. CHAP XIII

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NEXT they came to Catana, where is Mount Etna; CHAP. XIV
and they say that they heard from the inhabitants of

CAP. XIV τὸν Τυφῶ δεδέσθαι ἐκεῖ καὶ πῦρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀνίστασθαι, ὃ τύφει τὴν Αἴτνην, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐς πιθανωτέρους ἀφικέσθαι λόγους καὶ προσήκοντας τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσιν. ἄρξαι δ' αὐτῶν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ὧδε ἐρόμενον τοὺς ἑταίρους, "ἔστι τι μυθολογία;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν ὁ Μένιππος, "ἥν γε οἱ ποιηταὶ ἐπαινοῦσι." "τὸν δὲ δὴ Αἴσωπον τί ἡγῇ;" "μυθολόγον," εἶπε, "καὶ λογοποιὸν πάντα." "πότεροι δὲ σοφοὶ τῶν μύθων;" "οἱ τῶν ποιητῶν," εἶπεν, "ἐπειδὴ ὡς γεγονότες ᾄδονται." "οἱ δὲ δὴ Αἰσώπου τί;" "βάτραχοι," ἔφη, "καὶ ὄνοι καὶ λῆροι γραυσὶν οἷοι μασᾶσθαι καὶ παιδίοις." "καὶ μήν," ἔφη, "ἐμοί," ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἐπιτηδειότεροι πρὸς σοφίαν οἱ τοῦ Αἰσώπου φαίνονται· οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς ἥρωας, ὧν ποιητικὴ πᾶσα ἔχεται, καὶ διαφθείρουσι τοὺς ἀκροωμένους, ἐπειδὴ ἔρωτάς τε ἀτόπους οἱ ποιηταὶ ἑρμηνεύουσι καὶ ἀδελφῶν γάμους καὶ διαβολὰς ἐς θεοὺς καὶ βρώσεις παίδων καὶ πανουργίας ἀνελευθέρους καὶ δίκας, καὶ τὸ ὡς γεγονὸς αὐτῶν ἄγει καὶ τὸν ἐρῶντα καὶ τὸν ζηλοτυποῦντα καὶ τὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντα πλουτεῖν ἢ τυραννεύειν ἐφ' ἅπερ οἱ μῦθοι, Αἴσωπος δὲ ὑπὸ σοφίας πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ταῦτα ᾀδόντων ἑαυτὸν κατέστησεν,

CHAP. XIV

A discussion of Aesop

the city a story about Typho being bound on the spot and about fire rising from him, and this fire sends up the smoke[1] of Etna; but they themselves came to more plausible conclusions and more in keeping with philosophy. And they say that Apollonius began the discussion by asking his companions: "Is there such a thing as mythology?" "Yes, by Zeus," answered Menippus, "and I mean by it that which furnishes poets with their themes." "What then do you think of Aesop?" "He is a mythologist and writer of fables and no more." "And which set of myths show any wisdom?" "Those of the poets," he answered, "because they are represented in the poems as having taken place." "And what then do you think of the stories of Aesop?" "Frogs," he answered, "and donkeys and nonsense only fit to be swallowed by old women and children." "And yet for my own part," said Apollonius, "I find them more conducive to wisdom than the others. For those others, of which all poetry is so fond, and which deal with heroes, positively destroy the souls of their hearers, because the poet relates stories of outlandish passion and of incestuous marriages, and repeats calumnies against the gods, of how they ate their own children, and committed crimes of meanness, and quarrelled with one another; and the affectation and pretence of reality leads passionate and jealous people and miserlike and ambitious persons to imitate the stories. Aesop on the other hand had in the first place the wisdom never to identify himself with those who put such stories into verse, but took a line

[1] There is a pun in the Greek between Typhô = Typhon and typho = to smoke.

CAP. XIV ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῦ τινα ὁδὸν ἐτράπετο, εἶτα, ὥσπερ οἱ τοῖς εὐτελεστέροις βρώμασι καλῶς ἑστιῶντες, ἀπὸ σμικρῶν πραγμάτων διδάσκει μεγάλα, καὶ προθέμενος τὸν λόγον ἐπάγει αὐτῷ τὸ πρᾶττε ἢ μὴ πρᾶττε, εἶτα τοῦ φιλαλήθους μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ ποιηταὶ ἥψατο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ βιάζονται πιθανοὺς φαίνεσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν λόγους, ὁ δ' ἐπαγγέλλων λόγον, ὃς ἐστι ψευδής, πᾶς οἶδεν ὅτι, αὐτὸ τὸ μὴ περὶ ἀληθινῶν ἐρεῖν ἀληθεύει. καὶ ὁ μὲν ποιητὴς εἰπὼν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον καταλείπει τῷ ὑγιαίνοντι ἀκροατῇ βασανίζειν αὐτόν, εἰ ἐγένετο, ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν μὲν ψευδῆ λόγον, ἐπαγαγὼν δὲ νουθεσίαν, ὥσπερ ὁ Αἴσωπος, δείκνυσιν ὡς ἐς τὸ χρήσιμον τῆς ἀκροάσεως τῷ ψεύδει κέχρηται. χαρίεν δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ καὶ τὰ ἄλογα ἡδίω ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξια τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἐκ παίδων γὰρ τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις ξυγγενόμενοι καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκνηπιωθέντες, δόξας ἀναλαμβάνομεν περὶ ἑκάστου τῶν ζῴων, τὰ μὲν ὡς βασιλικὰ εἴη, τὰ δὲ ὡς εὐήθη, τὰ δὲ ὡς κομψά, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἀκέραια, καὶ ὁ μὲν ποιητὴς εἰπὼν

πολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων[1]

ἢ τοιοῦτό τι ἐπιχορεύσας ἀπῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ Αἴσωπος ἐπιχρησμῳδήσας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον καταλύει τὴν ξυνουσίαν ἐς ὃ προὔθετο.

[1] Eurip. *Alcestis*, last line.

CHAP. XIV

of his own; and in the second, like those who can dine well off the plainest dishes, he made use of humble incidents to teach great truths, and after serving up a story he adds to it the advice to do a thing or not to do it. Then, too, he was really more attached to truth than the poets are; for the latter do violence to their own stories in order to make them probable; but he by announcing a story which everyone knows not to be true, told the truth by the very fact that he did not claim to be relating real events. And the poet, after telling his story, leaves a healthy-minded reader cudgelling his brains to know whether it really happened; whereas one who, like Aesop, tells a story which is false and does not pretend to be anything else, merely investing it with a good moral, shows that he has made use of the falsehood merely for its utility to his audience. And there is another charm about him, namely, that he puts animals in a pleasing light and makes them interesting to mankind. For after being brought up from childhood with these stories, and after being as it were nursed by them from babyhood, we acquire certain opinions of the several animals and think of some of them as royal animals, of others as silly, of others as witty, of others as innocent. And whereas the poet, after telling us that there are 'many forms of heavenly visitation' or something of the kind, dismisses his chorus and departs, Aesop adds an oracle to his story, and dismisses his hearers just as they reach the conclusion he wished to lead them up to.

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CAP. XV

"'Εμὲ δέ, ὦ Μένιππε, καὶ μῦθον περὶ τῆς Αἰσώπου σοφίας ἐδιδάξατο ἡ μήτηρ κομιδῇ νήπιον, ὡς εἴη μέν ποτε ποιμὴν ὁ Αἴσωπος, νέμοι δὲ πρὸς ἱερῷ Ἑρμοῦ, σοφίας δὲ ἐρῴη καὶ εὔχοιτο αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τούτου, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι ταὐτὸν αἰτοῦντες ἐπιφοιτῷεν τῷ Ἑρμῇ, ὁ μὲν χρυσόν, ὁ δ' ἄργυρον, ὁ δὲ κηρύκειον ἐλεφάντινον, ὁ δὲ τῶν οὕτω τι λαμπρῶν ἀνάπτων, ὁ δ' Αἴσωπος ἔχοι μὲν οὕτως, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἔχειν, φείδοιτο δὲ καὶ ὧν εἶχε, γάλακτος δὲ αὐτῷ σπένδοι, ὅσον ὄις ἀμελχθεῖσα ἐδίδου καὶ κηρίον ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν φέροι, ὅσον τὴν χεῖρα ἐμπλῆσαι, ἑστιᾶν δ' αὐτὸν καὶ μύρτοις ᾤετο καὶ παραθεὶς ἂν τῶν ῥόδων ἢ τῶν ἴων κομιδῇ ὀλίγα. "τί γὰρ δεῖ, ὦ Ἑρμῆ," ἔλεγε, "στεφάνους πλέκειν καὶ ἀμελεῖν τῶν προβάτων;" ὡς δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐς ῥητὴν ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς σοφίας διανομήν, ὁ μέν Ἑρμῆς ἅτε λόγιος καὶ κερδῷος, "σὺ μέν," ἔφη, "φιλοσοφίαν ἔχε," τῷ πλεῖστα δήπουθεν ἀναθέντι, "σὺ δὲ ἐς ῥητόρων ἤθη χώρει," τῷ δεύτερά που χαρισαμένῳ, "σοὶ δὲ ἀστρονομεῖν χώρα, σοὶ δὲ εἶναι μουσικῷ, σοὶ δὲ ἡρῴου ποιητῇ μέτρου, σοὶ δὲ ἰαμβείου." ἐπεὶ δὲ

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CHAP. XV

A legend of Aesop and Hermes

"And as for myself, O Menippus, my mother taught me a story about the wisdom of Aesop when I was a mere child, and told me that he was once a shepherd, and was tending his flocks hard by a temple of Hermes, and that he was a passionate lover of wisdom and prayed to Hermes that he might receive it. Many other people, she said, also resorted to the temple of Hermes asking for the same gift, and one of them would hang on the altar gold, another silver, another a herald's wand of ivory, and others other rich presents of the kind. Now Aesop, she said, was not in a position to own any of these things; but he saved up what he had, and poured a libation of as much milk as a sheep would give at one milking in honour of Hermes, and brought a honeycomb and laid it on the altar, big enough to fill the hand, and he thought too of regaling the god with myrtle berries, or perhaps by laying just a few roses or violets at the altar. 'For,' said he, 'would you, O Hermes, have me weave crowns for you and neglect my sheep?' Now when on the appointed day they arrived for the distribution of the gifts of wisdom, Hermes as the god of wisdom and eloquence and also of gain and profit, said to him who, as you may well suppose, had made the biggest offering: 'Here is philosophy for you'; and to him who had made the next handsomest present, he said: 'Do you take your place among the orators'; and to others he said: 'You shall have the gift of astronomy or you shall be a musician, or you shall be an epic poet and write in heroic metre, or you shall

CAP. XV καίτοι λογιώτατος ὤν, κατανάλωσεν ἄκων ἅπαντα τὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρη, καὶ ἔλαθεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκπεσὼν τοῦ Αἰσώπου, ἐνθυμεῖται τὰς Ὥρας, ὑφ᾽ ὧν αὐτὸς ἐν κορυφαῖς τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ἐτράφη, ὡς ἐν σπαργάνοις ποτὲ αὐτῷ ὄντι μῦθον διελθοῦσαι περὶ τῆς βοός, ὃν διελέχθη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἡ βοῦς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῆς τε καὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐς ἔρωτα αὐτὸν τῶν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος βοῶν κατέστησαν, καὶ δίδωσιν ἐντεῦθεν τὴν μυθολογίαν τῷ Αἰσώπῳ, λοιπὴν ἐν σοφίας οἴκῳ οὖσαν, "ἔχε," εἰπών, "ἃ πρῶτα ἔμαθον." αἱ μὲν δὴ πολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῆς τέχνης ἐνθένδε ἀφίκοντο τῷ Αἰσώπῳ, καὶ τοιόνδε ἀπέβη τὸ τῆς μυθολογίας πρᾶγμα.

XVI.

CAP. XVI "Ἴσως δ᾽ ἀνόητον ἔπαθον· ἐπιστρέψαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς διανοηθεὶς ἐς λόγους φυσικωτέρους τε καὶ ἀληθεστέρους ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ περὶ τῆς Αἴτνης ᾄδουσιν, αὐτὸς ἐς ἔπαινον μύθων ἀπηνέχθην, οὐ μὴν ἄχαρις ἡ ἐκβολὴ τοῦ λόγου γέγονεν· ὁ γὰρ μῦθος, ὃν παραιτούμεθα, οὐ τῶν Αἰσώπου λόγων ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τῶν δραματικωτέρων καὶ ὧν οἱ ποιηταὶ θρυλοῦσιν· ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ Τυφῶ τινα ἢ Ἐγκέλαδον δεδέσθαι φασὶν ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει καὶ δυσθανατοῦντα ἀσθμαίνειν τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο, ἐγὼ δὲ γίγαντας

be a writer of iambics.' Now although he was a most wise and accomplished god he exhausted, not meaning to do so, all the various departments of wisdom, and then found that he had quite forgotten Aesop. Thereupon he remembered the Hours, by whom he himself had been nurtured on the peaks of Olympus, and bethought him of how once, when he was still in swaddling clothes, they had told him a story about the cow, which had a conversation with the man about herself and about the earth, and so set him aflame after the cows of Apollo. Accordingly he forthwith bestowed upon Aesop the art of fable called mythology, for that was all that was left in the house of wisdom, and said: 'Do you keep what was the first thing I learnt myself.' Aesop then acquired the various forms of his art from that source, and the issue was such as we see in the matter of mythology. CHAP. XV

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"Perhaps I have done a foolish thing," went on Apollonius, "for it was my intention to recall you to more scientific and truer explanations than the poetical myths given by the vulgar of Etna; and I have let myself be drawn into a eulogy of myths. However, the digression has not been without a charm of its own, for the myth which we repudiate is not one of Aesop's stories, but belongs to the class of dramatic stories which fill the mouths of our poets. For they say that a certain Typho or Enceladus lies bound under the mountain, and in his death agony breathes out this fire that we see. Now I admit that CHAP. XVI The myth of Etna

CAP. XVI μὲν γεγονέναι φημί, καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῆς γῆς ἀναδείκνυσθαι τοιαυτὶ σώματα ῥαγέντων τῶν τάφων, οὐ μὴν ἐς ἀγῶνα ἐλθεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλ᾿ ὑβρίσαι μὲν τάχα ἐς τοὺς νεὼς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἕδη, οὐρανῷ δὲ ἐπιπηδῆσαι καὶ μὴ ξυγχωρεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπ᾿ αὐτοῦ εἶναι, μανία μὲν λέγειν, μανία δὲ οἴεσθαι. καὶ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνος ὁ λόγος καίτοι δοκῶν εὐφημότερος εἶναι τιμάσθω, ὡς Ἡφαίστῳ μέλει τοῦ χαλκεύειν ἐν τῇ Αἴτνῃ, καὶ κτυπεῖταί τις ἐνταῦθα ὑπ᾿ αὐτοῦ ἄκμων, πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα ὄρη πολλαχοῦ τῆς γῆς ἔμπυρα καὶ οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιμεν ἐπιφημίζοντες αὐτοῖς γίγαντας καὶ Ἡφαίστους.

XVII

CAP. XVII "Τίς οὖν ἡ τῶν τοιῶνδε ὀρῶν αἰτία; γῆ κρᾶσιν ἀσφάλτου καὶ θείου παρεχομένη τύφεται μὲν καὶ παρ᾿ ἑαυτῆς φύσει, πῦρ δ᾿ οὔπω ἐκδίδωσιν, εἰ δὲ σηραγγώδης τύχοι καὶ ὑποδράμοι αὐτὴν πνεῦμα, φρυκτὸν ἤδη αἴρει. πλεονεκτήσασα δὲ ἡ φλόξ, ὥσπερ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀπορρεῖ τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ ἐς τὰ πεδία ἐκχεῖται, χωρεῖ τε ἐπὶ θάλατταν πῦρ ἀθρόον ἐκβολὰς ποιούμενον, οἷαι τῶν ποταμῶν εἰσι. χῶρος δ᾿ Εὐσεβῶν, περὶ οὓς τὸ πῦρ ἐρρύη, λεγέσθω μὲν κἀνταῦθά τις, ἡγώμεθα δὲ τοῖς ὅσια πράττουσι

giants have existed, and that gigantic bodies are revealed all over earth when tombs are broken open; nevertheless I deny that they ever came into conflict with the gods; at the most they violated their temples and statues, and to suppose that they scaled the heaven and chased away the gods therefrom,—this it is madness to relate and madness to believe. Nor can I any more respect that other story, though it is more reverent in its tone, to the effect that Hephaestus attends to his forge in Etna, and that there is there an anvil on which he smites with his hammer; for there are many other mountains all over the earth that are on fire, and yet we should never be done with it if we assigned to them giants and gods like Hephaestus. CHAP. XVI

XVII

CHAP. XVII

Explanation of volcanoes

"What then is the explanation of such mountains? It is this: the earth by affording a mixture of asphalt and sulphur, begins to smoke of its own nature, but it does not yet belch out fire; if however it be cavernous and hollow and there be a spirit or force circulating underneath it, it at once lifts up into the air as it were a beacon-fire; this flame gathers force, and gets hold of all around, and then like water it streams off the mountains and flows out into the plains, and the mass of fire reaches the sea, forming mouths, out of which it issues, like the mouths of rivers. And as for the place of the Pious Ones, around whom the fire flowed, we will allow that such exists even here; but at the same time let us not forget that the whole earth affords secure ground

CAP. XVII γῆν μὲν πᾶσαν ἀσφαλῆ χῶρον εἶναι, θάλατταν δ' εὔπορον οὐ πλέουσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεῖν πειρωμένοις." ἀεὶ γὰρ τοὺς λόγους ἀνέπαυεν ἐς τὰ χρηστὰ τῶν παραγγελμάτων.

XVIII

CAP. XVIII Ἐμφιλοσοφήσας δὲ τῇ Σικελίᾳ χρόνον, ὃς ἀποχρῶσαν αὐτῷ σπουδὴν εἶχεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκομίζετο περὶ ἀρκτούρου ἐπιτολάς. ἀλύπου δὲ τοῦ πλοῦ γενομένου κατασχὼν ἐς Λευκάδα, "ἀποβῶμεν," ἔφη, "τῆς νεὼς ταύτης, οὐ γὰρ λῷον αὐτῇ ἐς Ἀχαίαν πλεῦσαι." προσέχοντος δὲ οὐδενὸς τῷ λόγῳ πλὴν τῶν γιγνωσκόντων τὸν ἄνδρα, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ Λευκαδίας νεὼς ὁμοῦ τοῖς βουλομένοις ξυμπλεῖν ἐς Λέχαιον κατέσχεν, ἡ δὲ ναῦς ἡ Συρακουσία κατέδυ ἐσπλέουσα τὸν Κρισαῖον κόλπον.

XIX

CAP. XIX Μυηθεὶς δ' Ἀθήνησιν, ἐμυει δ' αὐτὸν ἱεροφάντης, ὃν αὐτὸς τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπεμαντεύσατο, ἐνέτυχε καὶ Δημητρίῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, μετὰ γὰρ τὸ Νέρωνος βαλανεῖον καὶ ἃ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶπε, διῃτᾶτο Ἀθήνησιν ὁ Δημήτριος οὕτω γενναίως, ὡς μηδὲ τὸν χρόνον, ὃν Νέρων περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ὕβριζεν, ἐξελθεῖν τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἐκεῖνος καὶ Μουσωνίῳ ἔφασκεν ἐντετυχηκέναι περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν δεδεμένῳ τε καὶ κεκε-

for the doers of holiness, and that the sea is safely traversed not only by people in ships but even by people attempting to swim." For in this way he continually ended up his discourses with useful and pious exhortations. CHAP. XVII

XVIII

CHAP. XVIII

A presentiment of shipwreck

He stayed in Sicily and taught philosophy there as long as he had sufficient interest in doing so, and then repaired to Greece about the rising of Arcturus. After a pleasant sail he arrived at Leucas, where he said: "Let us get out of this ship, for it is better not to continue in it our voyage to Achaea." No one took any notice of the utterance except those who knew the sage well, but he himself together with those who desired to make the voyage with him embarked on a Leucadian ship, and reached the port of Lechaeum; meanwhile the Syracusan ship sank as it entered the Crisaean Gulf.

XIX

CHAP. XIX

At Athens he was initiated and by the same hierophant of whom he had delivered a prophecy to his predecessor; here he met Demetrius the philosopher, for after the episode of Nero's bath and of his speech about it, Demetrius continued to live at Athens, with such noble courage that he did not quit Greece even during the period when Nero was outraging Greece over the games. Demetrius said that he had fallen in with Musonius at the Isthmus,

CAP. XIX λευσμένῳ ὀρύττειν, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπευφημῆσαι τὰ εἰκότα, τὸν δὲ ἔχεσθαι τῆς σμινύης καὶ ἐρρωμένως τῇ γῇ ἐμβάλλειν, ἀνακύψαντα δέ, "λυπῶ σε," φάναι, "ὦ Δημήτριε, τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ὀρύττων τῇ Ἑλλάδι; εἰ δὲ καὶ κιθαρῳδοῦντά με εἶδες, ὥσπερ Νέρωνα, τί ἂν ἔπαθες;" καὶ ἐάσθω τὰ Μουσωνίου πλείω ὄντα καὶ θαυμασιώτερα, ὡς μὴ δοκοίην θρασύνεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἀμελῶς αὐτὰ εἰπόντα.

XX

CAP. XX Χειμάσας δ' ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἱεροῖς πᾶσιν εἴχετο τῆς ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ὁδοῦ περὶ ἔαρ, πολλὰ μὲν ἐπιπλήξας, πολλὰ δὲ συμβουλεύσας ταῖς πόλεσι, πολλῶν δὲ ἐς ἔπαινον καταστάς, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπαίνου ἀπείχετο, ὁπότε τι ὑγιῶς πράσσοιτο, καταβὰς δὲ ἐς Πειραιᾶ ναῦς μέν τις ὥρμει πρὸς ἱστίοις οὖσα καὶ ἐς Ἰωνίαν ἀφήσουσα, ὁ δ' ἔμπορος οὐ ξυνεχώρει ἐμβαίνειν, ἰδιόστολον γὰρ αὐτὴν ἄγειν. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, "τίς ὁ φόρτος;" "θεῶν," ἔφη, "ἀγάλματα ἀπάγω ἐς Ἰωνίαν, τὰ μὲν χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου, τὰ δὲ ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ." "ἱδρυσόμενος ἢ τί;" "ἀποδωσόμενος," ἔφη, "τοῖς βουλομένοις ἱδρύεσθαι." "δέδιας οὖν, ὦ λῷστε, μὴ συλήσωμεν τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ νηί;" "οὐ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "δέδια, τὸ

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where he was fettered and under orders to dig; and that he addressed to him such consolations as he could, but Musonius took his spade and stoutly dug it into the earth, and then looking up, said: "You are distressed, Demetrius, to see me digging through the Isthmus for Greece; but if you saw me playing the harp like Nero, what would you feel then?" But I must pass over the fortunes of Musonius, though they were many and remarkable, else I shall seem impertinent like one who has carelessly repeated them.

XX

CHAP. XX

Rebukes the export of gods

Apollonius spent the winter in various Hellenic temples, and towards spring he embarked on the road for Egypt, after administering many rebukes indeed, yet giving much good counsel to the cities, many of which won his approval, for he never refused praise when anything was done in a right and sensible way. When he descended to the Piraeus, he found a ship riding there with its sails set, just about to start for Ionia; but the owner would not allow him to embark, for he wished to go on a private cruise. Apollonius asked him what his freight consisted of. "Of gods," he replied, "whose images I am exporting to Ionia, some made of gold and stone, and others of ivory and gold." "And are you going to dedicate them or what?" "I am going to sell them," he replied, "to those who desire to dedicate them." "Then you are afraid, my most excellent man, lest we should steal your images on board ship?" "I am not afraid of that," he answered, "but I do not think

CAP. XX δὲ πλείοσι ξυμπλεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ ὁμιλίας ἀναπίμπλασθαι φαύλου διαίτης τε, ὁπόση ναυτική, δεινὸν ἡγοῦμαι." "καὶ μήν, ὦ βέλτιστε," εἶπε, "δόκεις γάρ μοί τις Ἀθηναῖος εἶναι, τὰς ναῦς, αἷς ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐχρήσασθε, καίτοι ναυτικῆς ἀταξίας ἐμπεπλησμένας, ἐνέβαινον οἱ θεοὶ ξὺν ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ᾤοντο ὑφ' ὑμῶν χραίνεσθαι, σὺ δὲ ἀμαθῶς οὕτως ἀπωθῇ τῆς νεὼς φιλοσόφους ἄνδρας, οἷς μάλιστα οἱ θεοὶ χαίρουσι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐμπορίαν τοὺς θεοὺς πεποιημένος; ἡ δὲ ἀγαλματοποιία ἡ ἀρχαία οὐ τοῦτο ἔπραττεν, οὐδὲ περιῄεσαν τὰς πόλεις ἀποδιδόμενοι τοὺς θεούς, ἀλλ' ἀπάγοντες μόνον τὰς αὑτῶν χεῖρας καὶ ὄργανα λιθουργὰ καὶ ἐλεφαντουργά, ὕλην τε παρατιθέμενοι ἀργόν, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἱεροῖς τὰς δημιουργίας ἐποιοῦντο, σὺ δ' ὥσπερ τὰ Ὑρκανικά τε καὶ Σκυθικά, ἀπείη δὲ εἰπεῖν τίνα, οὕτω τοὺς θεοὺς ἐς τοὺς λιμένας τε καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἄγων οὐδὲν οἴει ἀσεβὲς πράττειν; καὶ μὴν καὶ σπερμολογοῦσιν ἔνιοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐξαψάμενοί τι Δήμητρος ἢ Διονύσου ἄγαλμα, καὶ τρέφεσθαί φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν οὓς φέρουσι, τὸ δ' αὐτοὺς σιτεῖσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ μηδ' ἐμπίπλασθαι τούτου, δεινῆς ἐμπορίας, εἴποιμι δ' ἂν καὶ ἀνοίας, εἰ μηδὲν ἐκ τούτου δέδοικας." τοιαῦτα ἐπιπλήξας ἐπὶ νεὼς ἑτέρας ἔπλει.

it proper that they should have to share the voyage with so many people and be defiled by such bad company as you get on board ship." "And may I remind you, most worthy man," answered Apollonius, "for you appear to me to be an Athenian, that on the ships which your countrynen employed against the barbarians, although they were full of a disorderly naval crowd, the gods embarked along with them, yet had no suspicion of being polluted thereby; you however in your gross ignorance drive men who are lovers of wisdom out of your ship, in whose company as in that of none others the gods delight, and this although you are trafficking in the gods? But the image-makers of old behaved not in this way, nor did they go round the cities selling their gods. All they did was to export their own hands and their tools for working stone and ivory; others provided the raw materials, while they plied their handicraft in the temples themselves; but you are leading the gods into harbours and market places just as if they were wares [1] of the Hyrcanians and of the Scythians —far be it from me to name these—and do you think you are doing no impiety? It is true that there are babbling buffoons who hang upon their persons images of Demeter or Dionysus, and pretend that they are nurtured by the gods they carry; but as for feeding on the gods themselves as you do, without ever being surfeited on this diet, that is a horrible commerce and one, I should say, savouring of lunacy, even if you have no misgivings of your own about the consequences." Having administered this rebuke he took his passage on another ship. CHAP. XX

[1] Probably temple slaves or prostitutes.

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CAP. XXI

Καταπλεύσας δὲ ἐς τὴν Χίον, καὶ μηδὲ τὸν πόδα ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐρείσας μετεπήδησεν ἐς τὴν ναῦν τὴν πλησίον—ἐκήρυττε δ' ἡ ναῦς ἐς Ῥόδον—καὶ οἱ ἑταῖροι δὲ μετεπήδων οὐδὲν εἰπόντες, ἐφιλοσοφεῖτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς μάλιστα τὸ ἕπεσθαι λέγοντί τε καὶ πράττοντι. εὐφόρῳ δὲ περαιωθεὶς πνεύματι τάδε ἐσπούδασεν ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ· προσιόντα αὐτὸν τῷ τοῦ Κολοσσοῦ ἀγάλματι ἤρετο ὁ Δάμις, τί ἡγοῖτο ἐκείνου μεῖζον; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· "ἄνδρα φιλοσοφοῦντα ὑγιῶς τε καὶ ἀδόλως." ἐπεχωρίαζε τότε τῇ Ῥόδῳ Κάνος αὐλητής, ὃς ἄριστα δὴ ἀνθρώπων ἐδόκει αὐλεῖν. καλέσας οὖν αὐτόν, "τί," ἔφη, "ὁ αὐλητὴς ἐργάζεται;" "πᾶν," εἶπεν, "ὅπερ ἂν ὁ ἀκροατὴς βούληται." "καὶ μὴν πολλοί," ἔφη, "τῶν ἀκροωμένων πλουτεῖν βούλονται μᾶλλον ἢ αὐλοῦ ἀκούειν· πλουσίους οὖν ἀποφαίνεις, οὓς ἂν ἐπιθυμοῦντας τούτου αἴσθῃ;" "οὐδαμῶς," εἶπεν, "ὡς ἐβουλόμην ἄν." "τί δ'; εὐειδεῖς ἐργάζῃ τοὺς νεοὺς τῶν ἀκροατῶν; ἐπειδὴ καλοὶ βούλονται δοκεῖν πάντες, περὶ οὓς νεότης ἐστίν." "οὐδὲ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "καίτοι πλεῖστον ἀφροδίτης ἔχων ἐν τῷ αὐλῷ." "τί οὖν ἐστιν," εἶπεν, "ὃ τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἡγῇ βούλεσθαι;" "τί δὲ ἄλλο γε," ἦ δ' ὁ Κάνος,

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CHAP. XXI

Reaches Rhodes. Discussion of flute-playing

AND when he had sailed as far as Chios, without even setting foot on the shore, he leapt across into another ship hard by, which was advertised to go to Rhodes; and without a word his companions jumped after him, for it was an essential part of their philosophic discipline to imitate his every word and action. With a favourable wind he made the passage and held the following conversation in Rhodes. As he approached the image of the Colossus, Damis asked him, if he thought anything could be greater than that; and he replied: "Yes, a man who loves wisdom in a sound and innocent spirit." At that time Canus was living in Rhodes, who was esteemed to be the best of all flute-players of his age. He therefore called him and said: "What is the business of a flute-player?" "To do," replied the other, "everything which his audience wants him to." "Well, but many," replied Apollonius, "in the audience want to be rich rather than to hear a flute played; I gather then that when you find them desiring this, namely to be rich, you turn them into rich men." "Not at all," replied the other, "though I would like to do so." "Well, then, perhaps you make the young people in your audience good-looking? For all who are still enjoying youth wish to be handsome." "Nor that either," replied the other, "although I can play many an air of Aphrodite on my instrument." "What then is it," said Apollonius, "which you think your audience want?" "Why, what else," replied Canus, "except that the mourner

CAP. XXI "ἢ τὸν λυπούμενον μὲν κοιμίζεσθαι αὐτῷ τὴν λύπην ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐλοῦ, τὸν δὲ χαίροντα ἱλαρώτερον ἑαυτοῦ γίγνεσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἐρῶντα θερμότερον, τὸν δὲ φιλοθύτην ἐνθεώτερόν τε καὶ ὑμνώδη;" "τοῦτο οὖν," ἔφη, "ὦ Κάνε, πότερον αὐτὸς ἐργάζεται ὁ αὐλὸς διὰ τὸ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ὀρειχάλκου καὶ ἐλάφων κνήμης ξυγκεῖσθαι, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὄνων, ἢ ἕτερόν ἐστιν, ὃ ταῦτα δύναται;" "ἕτερον," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε· ἡ γὰρ μουσικὴ καὶ οἱ τρόποι καὶ τὸ ἀναμὶξ καὶ τὸ εὐμετάβολον τῆς αὐλήσεως καὶ τὰ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν ἤθη, ταῦτα τοὺς ἀκροωμένους ἁρμόττει καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐργάζεται σφῶν, ὁποίας βούλονται." "ξυνῆκα," ἔφη, "ὦ Κάνε, ὅ τι σοι ἡ τέχνη πράττει· τὸ γὰρ ποικίλον αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ἐς πάντας τρόπους, τοῦτο ἐξασκεῖς τε καὶ παρέχεις τοῖς παρὰ σὲ φοιτῶσιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ εἰρημένοις καὶ ἑτέρων δοκεῖ ὁ αὐλὸς δεῖσθαι· τῆς τε εὐπνοίας καὶ τῆς εὐστομίας καὶ τοῦ εὔχειρα εἶναι τὸν αὐλοῦντα, ἔστι δὲ εὔπνοια μέν, ἢν τορὸν καὶ λευκὸν ᾖ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ μὴ ἐπικτυπῇ ἡ φάρυγξ, τουτὶ γὰρ ἔοικε φθόγγῳ ἀμούσῳ, εὐστομία δέ, ἢν τὰ χείλη ἐνθέμενα τὴν τοῦ αὐλοῦ γλῶτταν μὴ πιμπραμένου τοῦ προσώπου αὐλῇ, τὸν δὲ εὔχειρα αὐλητὴν πολλοῦ ἡγοῦμαι ἄξιον, ἢν μήτε ὁ καρπὸς ἀπαγορεύῃ ἀνακλώμενος μήτε οἱ δάκτυλοι βραδεῖς ὦσιν ἐπιπέτεσθαι τοῖς φθόγγοις, καὶ γὰρ τὸ ταχέως μεταβάλλειν ἐκ τρόπου ἐς τρόπον περὶ τοὺς εὔχειράς ἐστι μᾶλλον. εἰ δὴ ταῦτα πάντα

may have his sorrow lulled to sleep by the flute, and that they that rejoice may have their cheerfulness enhanced, and the lover may wax warmer in his passion, and that the lover of sacrifice may become more inspired and full of sacred song?" "This then," he said, "O Canus, would you allow to be the effect of the flute itself, because it is constructed of gold or brass and of the shin of a stag, or perhaps of the shin of a donkey, or is it something else which has these effects?" "It is something else," he replied, "O Apollonius; for the music and the modes and the blending of strains and the easy variations of the flute and the characters of the harmonies, it is all this that composes the souls of listeners and brings them to such a state of contentment as they want." "I understand," he replied, "O Canus, what it is that your art performs; for you cultivate and exhibit to those who come to learn of you the changefulness of your music and the variety of its modes. But as for myself, I think that your flute wants other resources in addition to those you have mentioned, namely reserves of breath, and a right use of the lips, and manual skill on the part of the player; and facility of breath consists in its being clear and distinct, unmarred by any husky click in the throat, for that would rob the sound of its musical character. And facility with the lips consists in their taking in the reed of the flute and playing without blowing out the cheeks; and manual skill I consider very important, for the wrist must not weary from being bent, nor must the fingers be slow in fluttering over the notes, and manual skill is especially shown in the swift transition from mode to mode. If then you have

CHAP. XXI

CAP. XXI παρέχεις, θαρρῶν αὔλει, ὦ Κάνε, μετὰ σοῦ γὰρ ἡ Εὐτέρπη ἔσται."

XXII

CAP. XXII Ἐτύγχανέ τι καὶ μειράκιον νεόπλουτόν τε καὶ ἀπαίδευτον οἰκοδομούμενον οἰκίαν τινὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ, καὶ ξυμφέρον ἐς αὐτὴν γραφάς τε ποικίλας καὶ λίθους ἐξ ἁπάντων ἐθνῶν. ἤρετο οὖν αὐτό, ὁπόσα χρήματα εἴη ἐς διδασκάλους τε καὶ παιδείαν ἀνηλωκός· ὁ δέ, "οὐδὲ δραχμήν," εἶπεν. "ἐς δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν πόσα;" "δώδεκα," ἔφη, "τάλαντα, προσαναλώσαιμι δ' ἂν καὶ ἕτερα τοσαῦτα." "τί δ'," εἶπεν, "ἡ οἰκία βούλεταί σοι;" "δίαιτα," ἔφη, "λαμπρὰ ἔσται τῷ σώματι, καὶ γὰρ δρόμοι ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἄλση καὶ ὀλίγα ἐς ἀγορὰν βαδιοῦμαι, καὶ προσεροῦσί με οἱ ἐσιόντες ἥδιον, ὥσπερ ἐς ἱερὸν φοιτῶντες." "ζηλωτότεροι δέ," εἶπεν, "οἱ ἄνθρωποι πότερον δι' αὐτούς εἰσιν ἢ διὰ τὰ περὶ αὐτοὺς ὄντα;" "διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον," εἶπε, "τὰ γὰρ χρήματα πλεῖστον ἰσχύει." "χρημάτων δ'," ἔφη, "ὦ μειράκιον, ἀμείνων φύλαξ πότερον ὁ πεπαιδευμένος ἔσται ἢ ὁ ἀπαίδευτος;" ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐσιώπησε, "δοκεῖς μοι," εἶπε, "μειράκιον, οὐ σὺ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἀλλὰ σὲ ἡ οἰκία κεκτῆσθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐς ἱερὸν παρελθὼν πολλῷ ἂν ἥδιον ἐν αὐτῷ μικρῷ ὄντι ἄγαλμα ἐλέφαντός τε καὶ χρυσοῦ ἴδοιμι ἢ ἐν μεγάλῳ κεραμεοῦν τε καὶ φαῦλον."

all these facilities, you may play with confidence, O Canus, for the Muse Euterpe will be with you." CHAP. XXI

XXII

CHAP. XXII

Rebukes rich upstart

It happened also that a young man was building a house in Rhodes who was a *nouveau riche* without any education, and he collected in his house rare pictures and gems from different countries. Apollonius then asked him how much money he had spent upon teachers and on education. "Not a farthing," he replied. "And how much upon your house?" "Twelve talents," he replied, "and I mean to spend as much again upon it." "And what," said the other, "is the good of your house to you?" "Why, as a residence, it is splendidly suited to my bodily training, for there are colonnades in it and groves, and I shall seldom need to walk out into the market place, but people will come in and talk to me with all the more pleasure, just as if they were visiting a temple." "And," said Apollonius, "are men to be valued more for themselves or for their belongings?" "For their wealth," said the other, "for wealth has the most influence." "And," said Apollonius, "my good youth, which is the best able to keep his money, an educated person or an uneducated?" And as the other made no answer, he added: "My good boy, it seems to me that it is not you that own the house, but the house that owns you. As for myself I would far rather enter a temple, no matter how small, and behold in it a statue of ivory and gold, than behold one of pottery and bad workmanship in a vastly larger one."

XXIII

CAP. XXIII Νεανίαν δὲ ἰδὼν πίονα καὶ φρονοῦντα ἐπὶ τῷ πλεῖστα μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἐσθίειν, πλεῖστον δὲ οἶνον πίνειν, "ἀλλ' ἦ σύ," ἔφη, "τυγχάνεις ὢν ὁ γαστριζόμενος;" "καὶ θύω γε," εἶπεν, "ὑπὲρ τούτου." "τί οὖν," ἔφη, "ἀπολέλαυκας τῆς βορᾶς ταύτης;" "τὸ θαυμάζεσθαί με καὶ ἀποβλέπεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἴσως ἀκούεις, ὡς καὶ τὰ σιτία αὐτοῦ παραπλησίως τοῖς ἄθλοις ᾔδετο." "Ἡρακλέους," ἔφη, "ὄντος· σοῦ δὲ τίς, ὦ κάθαρμα, ἀρετή; τὸ γὰρ περίβλεπτον ἐν μόνῳ λείπεταί σοι τῷ ῥαγῆναι."

XXIV

CAP. XXIV Τοιάδε μὲν αὐτῷ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ, τα δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ἐσέπλευσεν· ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια καὶ ἀπόντος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἤρα, καὶ ἐπόθουν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὡς εἷς ἕνα, καὶ ἡ Αἴγυπτος δὲ ἡ ἄνω μεστοὶ θεολογίας ὄντες καὶ φοιτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ ἤθη τὰ αὑτῶν ηὔχοντο, ἅτε γὰρ πολλῶν ἀφικνουμένων μὲν ἐνθένδε ἐς Αἴγυπτον, πολλῶν δὲ ἐπιμιγνύντων δεῦρο ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, ᾔδετό τε παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ τὰ ὦτα ἐς αὐτὸν Αἰγυπτίοις ὀρθὰ ἦν· προϊόντα γέ τοι ἀπὸ τῆς νεὼς ἐς τὸ ἄστυ θεῷ ἴσα ἀπέβλεπον καὶ διεχώρουν τῶν στενωπῶν,

XXIII

CHAP. XXIII

Rebukes a glutton

And meeting a young man who was young and fat and who prided himself upon eating more than anybody else, and on drinking more wine than others, he remarked: "Then you, it seems, are the glutton." "Yes, and I sacrifice to the gods out of gratitude for the same." "And what pleasure," said Apollonius, "do you get by gorging yourself in this way?" "Why, everyone admires me and stares at me; for you have probably heard of Hercules, how people took as much pains to celebrate what he ate as what labours he performed." "Yes, for he was Hercules," said Apollonius; "but as for yourself, you scum, what good points are there about you? There is nothing left for you but to burst, if you want to be stared at."

XXIV

CHAP. XXIV

His reception in Alexandria

Such were his experiences in Rhodes, and others ensued in Alexandria, so soon as his voyage ended there. Even before he arrived Alexandria was in love with him, and its inhabitants longed to see Apollonius with the unique devotion of one friend for another; and as the people of Upper Egypt are intensely religious they too prayed him to visit their several societies. For owing to the fact that so many come hither and mix with us from Egypt, while an equal number pass hence to visit Egypt, Apollonius was already celebrated among them and the ears of the Egyptians were literally pricked up to hear him. It is no exaggeration to say that, as he advanced from

CAP. XXIV ὥσπερ τοῖς φέρουσι τὰ ἱερά. παραπεμπομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμόνες, ἄνδρες ἤγοντο τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ δώδεκα λῃσταὶ τὴν αἰτίαν, ὁ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἰδών, "οὐ πάντες," εἶπεν, "ὁ δεῖνα γὰρ καταψευσθεὶς ἄπεισι." καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δημίους, ὑφ' ὧν ἤγοντο, "ὑφεῖναι," ἔφη, "κελεύω τοῦ δρόμου καὶ σχολαιότερον ἥκειν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, ὕστατόν τε ἀποκτεῖναι τοῦτον, μετέχει γὰρ οὐδὲν τῆς αἰτιάσεως, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς γε ὅσι' ἂν πράττοιτε φειδόμενοι τούτων βραχὺ μέρος ἡμέρας, οὓς λῷον ἦν μηδ' ἀποκτείνειν·" καὶ ἅμα ἐνδιέτριβεν οἷς ἔλεγεν, οὐκ εἰωθὸς ἑαυτῷ ἀποτείνων μῆκος. τί δ' αὐτῷ ἐνόει τοῦτο, αὐτίκα ἐδείχθη· ὀκτὼ γὰρ ἤδη ἀποτετμημένων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἱππεὺς ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, "Φαρίωνος," ἐβόα, "φείσασθε," μὴ γὰρ εἶναι λῃστὴν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῦ μὲν καταψεύσασθαι δέει τοῦ στρεβλώσεσθαι, βασανισθέντων δὲ ἑτέρων χρηστὸν ὡμολογῆσθαι ἄνδρα. ἐῶ τὸ πήδημα τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ ὅσον ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκρότησαν καὶ ἄλλως θαυμαστικοὶ ὄντες.

XXV

CAP. XXV Ἀνελθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ὁ μὲν κόσμος ὁ περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ λόγος θεῖός τε ἐφαί-

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the ship into the city, they gazed upon him as if he was a god, and made way for him in the alleys, as they would for priests carrying the sacraments. As he was being thus escorted with more pomp than if he had been a governor of the country, he met twelve men who were being led to execution on the charge of being bandits; he looked at them and said: "They are not all guilty, for this one," and he gave his name, "has been falsely accused and will escape." And to the executioners by whom they were being led, he said: "I order you to relax your pace and bring them to the ditch a little more leisurely, and to put this one to death last of all, for he is guiltless of the charge; but you would anyhow act with more piety, if you spared them for a brief portion of the day, since it were better not to slay them at all." And withal he dwelt upon this theme at what was for him unusual length. And the reason for his doing so was immediately shown; for when eight of them had had their heads cut off, a man on horseback rode up to the ditch, and shouted: "Spare Pharion; for," he added, "he is no robber, but he gave false evidence against himself from fear of being racked, and others of them in their examination under torture have acknowledged that he is guiltless." I need not describe the exultation of Egypt, nor how the people, who were anyhow ready to admire him, applauded him for this action.

Predicts the acquittal of a bandit

XXV

CHAP. XXV

AND when he had gone up into the temple, he was struck by the orderliness of its arrangements, and

CAP. XXV νετο καὶ κατὰ σοφίαν ξυντεθείς, τὸ δὲ τῶν ταύρων αἷμα καὶ οἱ χῆνες καὶ ὁπόσα ἐθύετο, οὐκ ἐπῄνει τὰ τοιάδε, οὐδὲ ἐς δαῖτας θεῶν ἦγεν· ἐρομένου δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ ἱερέως, τί μαθὼν οὐχ οὕτω θύοι, "σὺ μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἀπόκριναί μοι μᾶλλον, τί μαθὼν οὕτω θύεις;" εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ ἱερέως, "καὶ τίς οὕτω δεινός, ὡς διορθοῦσθαι τὰ Αἰγυπτίων;" "πᾶς," ἔφη, "σοφός, ἢν ἀπ' Ἰνδῶν ἥκῃ. καὶ βοῦν," ἔφη, "ἀπανθρακιῶ τήμερον καὶ κοινώνει τοῦ καπνοῦ ἡμῖν, οὐ γὰρ ἀχθέσῃ περὶ τῆς μοίρας, εἰ κἀκείνην οἱ θεοὶ δαίσονται." τηκομένου δὲ τοῦ πλάσματος, "ὅρα," ἔφη, "τὰ ἱερά." "ποῖα;" εἶπεν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, "ὁρῶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐνθάδε." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "οἱ δὲ Ἰαμίδαι," εἶπε, "καὶ οἱ Τελλιάδαι καὶ οἱ Κλυτιάδαι καὶ τὸ τῶν Μελαμποδιδῶν μαντεῖον ἐλήρησαν, ὦ λῷστε, τοσαῦτα μὲν περὶ πυρὸς εἰπόντες, τοσαύτας δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ξυλλεξάμενοι φήμας; ἢ τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πεύκης πῦρ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς κέδρου μαντικὸν ἡγῇ καὶ ἱκανὸν δηλῶσαί τι, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πιοτάτου τε καὶ καθαρωτάτου δακρύου καόμενον οὐ πολλῷ αἱρετώτερον; εἰ δ' ἐμπύρου σοφίας ἦσθα εὐξύνετος, εἶδες ἂν καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλῳ πολλὰ δηλούμενα, ὁπότε ἀνίσχει."

CHAP. XXV

Condemns blood offerings

thought the reason given for everything thoroughly religious and wisely framed. But as for the blood of bulls and the sacrifices of geese and other animals, he disapproved of them nor would he bring them to repasts of the gods. And when a priest asked him what induced him not to sacrifice like the rest: "Nay, you," he replied, "should rather answer me what induces you to sacrifice in this way." The priest replied: "And who is so clever that he can make corrections in the rites of the Egyptians?" "Anyone," he answered, "with a little wisdom, if only he comes from India." "And," he added, "I will roast a bull to ashes this very day, and you shall hold communion with us in the smoke it makes; for you cannot complain, if you only get the same portion which is thought enough of a repast for the gods." And as his image[1] was being melted in the fire he said: "Look at the sacrifice." "What sacrifice," said the Egyptian, "for I do not see anything there." And Apollonius said: "The Iamidae and the Telliadae and the Clytiadae and the oracle of the black-footed ones, have they talked a lot of nonsense, most excellent priest, when they went on at such length about fire, and pretended to gather so many oracles from it? For as to the fire from pine wood and from the cedar, do you think it is really fraught with prophecy and capable of revealing anything, and yet not esteem a fire lit from the richest and purest gum to be much preferable? If then you had really any acquaintance with the lore of fire worship, you would see that many things are revealed in the disc of the sun at the moment of its rising."

[1] A frankincense model of a bull.

XXVI

CAP. XXVI Τούτοις ἐπέκοπτε τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ὡς ἀμαθῆ τῶν θείων. προσκειμένης δὲ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἵπποις καὶ ξυμφοιτώσης μὲν ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἐπὶ τῇ θέᾳ ταύτῃ, μιαιφονούντων δὲ ἀλλήλους, ἐπίπληξιν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν, "ποῖ," ἔφη, "παρατενεῖτε ἀποθνήσκοντες οὐχ ὑπὲρ τέκνων οὐδὲ ἱερῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς χραίνοιτε μὲν τὰ ἱερὰ λύθρου μεστοὶ ἐς ταῦτα ἥκοντες, φθείροισθε δὲ ἔσω τείχους; καὶ Τροίαν μέν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἵππος εἷς διεπόρθησεν, ὃν ἐσοφίσαντο οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τότε, ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δὲ ἅρματα ἔζευκται καὶ ἵπποι, δι' οὓς οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν εὐηνίως ζῆν· ἀπόλλυσθε γοῦν οὐχ ὑπὸ Ἀτρειδῶν, οὐδ' ὑπὸ Αἰακιδῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων, ὃ μηδ' οἱ Τρῶες ἐν τῇ μέθῃ. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν, οὗ πάλης καὶ πυγμῆς καὶ τοῦ παγκρατιάζειν ἆθλα, οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ ἀθλητῶν ἀπέθανεν, ἴσως καὶ ξυγγνώμης ὑπαρχούσης, εἴ τις ὑπερσπουδάζοι περὶ τὸ ὁμόφυλον, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἵππων ἐνταῦθα γυμνὰ μὲν ὑμῖν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ξίφη, βολαὶ δὲ ἕτοιμοι λίθων. ἴτω[1] δὲ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὴν τοιαύτην πόλιν, ἔνθα οἰμωγή τε καὶ ὕβρις

ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων, ῥέει δ' αἵματι γαῖα.

αἰδέσθητε τὸν κοινὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου κρατῆρα

[1] Adding ἴτω with Phillimore.

XXVI

CHAP. XXVI

Condemns horse-racing factions

With these words he rebuked and silenced the Egyptian, showing that he was ignorant of religion. But because the Alexandrians are devoted to horses, and flock into the racecourse to see the spectacle, and murder one another in their partisanship, he therefore administered a grave rebuke to them over these matters, and entering the temple, he said: "How long will you persist in meeting your deaths, not in behalf of your families or of your shrines, but because you are determined to pollute the sacred precincts by entering them reeking with gore and to slaughter one another within the walls? And Troy it seems was ravaged and destroyed by a single horse, which the Achaeans of that day had contrived; but your chariots and horses are yoked to your own despite and leave you no chance of living in submission to the reins of law. You are being destroyed therefore not by the sons of Atreus nor by the sons of Ajax, but by one another, a thing that the Trojans would not have done even when they were drunk. At Olympia, however, where there are prizes for wrestling and boxing and for the mixed athletic contests, no one is slain in behalf of the athletes, though it were quite excusable if one should show an excess of zeal in the rivalry of human beings like himself. But here I see you rushing at one another with drawn swords, and ready to hurl stones, all over a horse race. I would like to call down fire upon such a city as this, where amidst the groans and insulting shouts 'of the destroyers and the destroyed the earth runs with blood.' Can you not Iliad 4. 451

CAP. XXVI Νεῖλον. ἀλλὰ τί Νείλου μνημονεύω πρὸς ἀνθρώπους αἵματος ἀναβάσεις διαμετροῦντας μᾶλλον ἢ ὕδατος;" καὶ πλείω ἐς τὴν ἐπίπληξιν ταύτην διελέχθη ἕτερα, ὡς διδάσκει ὁ Δάμις.

XXVII

CAP. XXVII Οὐεσπασιανοῦ δὲ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν περινοοῦντος περὶ τὰ ὅμορα τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἔθνη, καὶ προχωροῦντος ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, Δίωνες μὲν καὶ Εὐφρᾶται, περὶ ὧν μικρὸν ὕστερον εἰρήσεται, χαίρειν παρεκελεύοντο· μετὰ γὰρ τὸν πρῶτον αὐτοκράτορα, ὑφ' οὗ τὰ Ῥωμαίων διεκοσμήθη, τυραννίδες οὕτω χαλεπαὶ ἴσχυσαν ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτη, ὡς μηδὲ Κλαύδιον τὰ μέσα τούτων τρισκαίδεκα ἄρξαντα χρηστὸν δόξαι· καίτοι πεντηκοντούτης μὲν ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν παρῆλθεν, ὅτε νοῦς μάλιστα ὑγιαίνει ἀνθρώπων, παιδείας δὲ ξυμπάσης ἐδόκει ἐρᾶν· ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνος τηλικόσδε ὢν πολλὰ μειρακιώδη ἔπαθε καὶ μηλόβοτον γυναίοις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνῆκεν, ὑφ' ὧν οὕτω ῥᾳθύμως ἀπέθανεν, ὡς καίτοι προγιγνώσκων, ἃ ἔμελλε πείσεσθαι, μηδ' ἃ προῄδει, φυλάξασθαι. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ παραπλησίως μὲν Εὐφράτῃ καὶ Δίωνι περὶ τούτων ἔχαιρε, μελέτην δ' αὐτὰ οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο ἐς πάντας, ῥητορικωτέραν ἡγούμενος τὴν

feel reverence for the Nile, the common mixing bowl of Egypt? But why mention the Nile to men whose gauges measure a rising tide of blood rather than of water?" And many other rebukes of the same kind he addressed to them, as Damis informs us.

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CHAP. XXVII

Vespasian's arrival at Alexandria

VESPASIAN was harbouring thoughts of seizing the absolute power, and was at this time in the countries bordering upon Egypt; and when he advanced as far as Egypt, people like Dion and Euphrates, of whom I shall have something to say lower down, urged that a welcome should be given to him. For the first autocrat, by whom the Roman state was organised, was succeeded for the space of fifty years by tyrants so harsh and cruel, that not even Claudius, who reigned thirteen years in the interval between them, could be regarded as a good ruler, and that, although he was fifty years of age when he succeeded to the throne, an age when a man's judgment is most likely to be sane, and though he had the reputation of being fond of culture of all kinds; nevertheless he too in spite of his advanced age committed many youthful follies, and gave up the empire to be devoured, as sheep devour a pasture, by silly women, who murdered him, because he was so indolent that, though he knew beforehand what was in store for him, he would not be on his guard even against what he foresaw. Apollonius no less than Euphrates and Dion rejoiced in the new turn of events; but he did not make use of them as a theme in his public utterances,

CAP. XXVII τοιάνδε ἰδέαν τοῦ λόγου, προσιόντι δὲ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ πρὸ πυλῶν ἀπήντα καὶ τὰ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τέλη καὶ οἱ νομοί, καθ' οὓς Αἴγυπτος τέτμηται, φιλόσοφοί τε ὡσαύτως καὶ σοφία πᾶσα, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος οὐδὲν ἐπολυπραγμόνει τούτων, ἀλλὰ ἐσπούδαζεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ. διαλεχθεὶς δὲ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ γενναῖά τε καὶ ἥμερα, καὶ διελθὼν λόγον οὐ μακρόν, "ἐπιδημεῖ," ἔφη, "ὁ Τυανεύς;" "ναί," ἔφασαν, "βελτίους γε ἡμᾶς ἐργασάμενος." "πῶς ἂν οὖν ξυγγένοιτο ἡμῖν;" ἔφη, "σφόδρα γὰρ δέομαι τοῦ ἀνδρός." "ἐντεύξεταί σοι περὶ τὸ ἱερόν," ὁ Δίων εἶπε, "πρὸς ἐμὲ γὰρ δεῦρο ἥκοντα ὡμολόγει ταῦτα." "ἴωμεν," ἔφη ὁ βασιλεύς, "προσευξόμενοι μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς, ξυνεσόμενοι δὲ ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ." ἐντεῦθεν ἀνέφυ λόγος, ὡς ἐνθύμιος μὲν αὐτῷ ἡ ἀρχὴ γένοιτο πολιορκοῦντι τὰ Σόλυμα, μεταπέμποιτο δὲ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ὑπὲρ βουλῆς τούτων, ὁ δὲ παραιτοῖτο ἥκειν ἐς γῆν, ἣν ἐμίαναν οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοῦντες οἷς τε ἔδρασαν οἷς τε ἔπαθον· ὅθεν αὐτὸς ἐλθεῖν ἐς Αἴγυπτον τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν κεκτημένος, διαλεξόμενος δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ὁπόσα δηλώσω.

XXVIII

CAP. XXVIII Θύσας γὰρ καὶ οὔπω χρηματίσας κατ' ἀξίαν ταῖς πόλεσι προσεῖπε τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ ὥσπερ

because he considered such an argument too much in the style of a rhetor. When the autocrat approached the city, the priests met him before the gates, together with the magistrates of Egypt and the representatives of the different provinces into which Egypt is divided. The philosophers also were present and all their schools. Apollonius however did not put himself forward in this way, but remained conversing in the temple. The autocrat delivered himself of noble and gentle sentiments, and after making a short speech, said: "Is the man of Tyana living here?" "Yes," they replied, "and he has much improved us thereby." "Can he then be induced to give us an interview?" said the emperor, "For I am very much in want of him." "He will meet you," said Dion, "at the temple, for he admitted as much to me when I was on my way here." "Let us go on," said the king, "at once to offer our prayers to the gods, and to meet so noble a man." This is how the story grew up, that it was during his conduct of the siege of Jerusalem that the idea of making himself emperor suggested itself to him; and that he sent for Apollonius to ask his advice on the point; but that the latter declined to enter a country which its inhabitants polluted both by what they did and by what they suffered, which was the reason why Vespasian came in person to Egypt, as well because he now had possession of the throne, as in order to hold with our sage the conversations which I shall relate. CHAP. XXVII

XXVIII

FOR after he had sacrificed, and before he gave official audiences to the cities, he addressed himself CHAP. XXVIII

CAP. XXVIII εὐχόμενος αὐτῷ, “ποίησόν με,” ἔφη, “βασιλέα.” ὁ δέ, “ἐποίησα,” εἶπεν, “ἤδη γὰρ εὐξάμενος βασιλέα δίκαιόν τε καὶ γενναῖον καὶ σώφρονα καὶ πολιᾷ κεκοσμημένον καὶ πατέρα παίδων γνησίων, σὲ δήπου παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ᾔτουν ἐγώ.” ὑπερησθεὶς δὲ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ γὰρ ἐβόησε τὸ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πλῆθος ξυντιθέμενοι τῷ λόγῳ, “τί σοι,” ἔφη, “Νέρωνος ἀρχὴ ἐφαίνετο;” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “Νέρων,” εἶπε, “κιθάραν μὲν ἴσως ᾔδει ἁρμόττεσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ᾔσχυνεν ἀνέσει καὶ ἐπιτάσει.” “ξύμμετρον οὖν,” ἔφη, “κελεύεις εἶναι τὸν ἄρχοντα;” “οὐκ ἐγώ,” εἶπε, “θεὸς δὲ τὴν ἰσότητα μεσότητα ὁρισάμενος. ἀγαθοὶ δὲ τούτων ξύμβουλοι καὶ οἵδε οἱ ἄνδρες,” τὸν Δίωνα δείξας καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην μήπω αὐτῷ ἐς διαφορὰν ἥκοντα. τότε δὴ ἀνασχὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς χεῖρας, “ὦ Ζεῦ,” ἔφη, “σοφῶν μὲν ἐγὼ ἄρχοιμι, σοφοὶ δὲ ἐμοῦ.” καὶ ἐπιστρέψας ἑαυτὸν ἐς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, “ἀρύσασθε,” εἶπεν, “ὡς Νείλου καὶ ἐμοῦ.”

XXIX

CAP. XXIX Ἡ μὲν δὴ Αἴγυπτος ὧδε ἀνέσχεν, ἀπειρηκότες ἤδη δι' ἃ ἐπιέζοντο. κατιὼν δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ξυνῆψε τῷ

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He converses with Apollonius about kingship

to Apollonius, and, as if making prayer he said to him: "Do thou make me king." And he answered: "I have done so already, for I have already offered a prayer for a king who should be just and noble and temperate, endowed with the wisdom of grey hairs, and the father of legitimate sons; and surely in my prayer I was asking from the gods for none other but thyself." The emperor was delighted with this answer, for the crowd too in the temple shouted their agreement with it. "What then," said the emperor, "did you think of the reign of Nero?" And Apollonius answered: "Nero perhaps understood how to tune a lyre, but he disgraced the empire both by letting the strings go too slack and by drawing them too tight." "Then," said the other, "you would like a ruler to observe the mean?" "Not I," said Apollonius, "but God himself, who has defined equity as consisting in the mean. And these gentlemen here, they too are good advisers in this matter," he added, pointing to Dion and Euphrates, for the latter had not yet quarrelled with him. Thereupon the king held up his hand and said: "O Zeus, may I hold sway over wise men, and wise men hold sway over me." And turning himself round towards the Egyptians he said: "You shall draw as liberally upon me as you do upon the Nile."

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The result then was that the Egyptians regained their prosperity, for they were already exhausted by the oppressions they suffered; but as he went down

CAP. XXIX 'Απολλωνίῳ τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ παραγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια, "ἴσως," ἔφη, "μειρακιώδης ἐνίοις δοκῶ βασιλείας ἁπτόμενος περὶ ἔτος ἑξηκοστὸν τοῦ βίου· δώσω οὖν ἀπολογίαν, ὡς ἀπολογοῖο ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις· ἐγὼ γὰρ πλούτου μὲν ἡττηθεὶς οὐδὲ ἐν μειρακίῳ ποτὲ οἶδα, τὰς δὲ ἀρχάς τε καὶ λαμπρότητας, ὁπόσαι τῇ 'Ρωμαίων ἀρχῇ προσήκουσιν, οὕτω σωφρόνως καὶ μετρίως διεθέμην, ὡς μήτε ὑπέρφρων μήτ' αὖ κατεπτηχὼς δόξαι, νεώτερα δὲ οὐδ' ἐπὶ Νέρωνα ἐνεθυμήθην, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατὰ νόμους, παρ' ἀνδρὸς γοῦν αὐτοκράτορος παραλαβὼν εἶχεν, ὑφιέμην αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν Κλαύδιον, ὃς ὕπατόν τε ἀπέδειξέ με καὶ ξύμβουλον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ νὴ τὴν 'Αθηνᾶν, ὁπότε Νέρωνα ἴδοιμι ἀσχημονοῦντα, δάκρυά μοι ἐξέπιπτεν ἐνθυμουμένῳ τὸν Κλαύδιον, ὑφ' οἵου καθάρματος τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκληρονομήθη. ὁρῶν δὲ μηδ' ὁπότε Νέρων ἐκποδὼν γέγονεν ἐπὶ τὸ λῷον μεθιστάμενα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀτίμως τὴν ἀρχὴν πράττουσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ Βιτελίῳ κεῖσθαι, θαρρῶν ἤδη ἐπ' αὐτὴν εἶμι, πρῶτον μέν, ἐπειδὴ βούλομαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρασχεῖν ἐμαυτὸν πολλοῦ ἄξιον, εἶτα, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται κραιπαλῶντα· Βιτέλιος γὰρ μύρῳ μὲν λοῦται πλεῖον ἢ ἐγὼ ὕδατι, δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ ξίφει πληγεὶς μύρον ἐκδώσειν μᾶλλον ἢ αἷμα, οἴνῳ δὲ οἶνον ξυνάπτων μαίνεται, καὶ κυβεύει μὲν δεδιὼς μή τι αὐτὸν οἱ πεττοὶ

CHAP. XXIX

And reviews the reigns of his predecessors

from the temple he grasped the hand of Apollonius, and taking him with him into the palace, said: "Perhaps some will think me young and foolish because I assume the reins of kingship nigh on the sixtieth year of my life. I will then communicate to you my reasons for doing so, in order that you may justify my actions to others. For I was never the slave of wealth that I know of, even in my youth; and in the matter of the magistracies and honours in the gift of the Roman sovereign, I bore myself with so much soberness and moderation as to avoid being thought either overbearing or, on the other hand, craven and cowardly. Nor did I cherish any but loyal feelings towards Nero; but, inasmuch as he had received the crown, if not in strict accordance with the law, at any rate from an autocrat, I submitted to him for the sake of Claudius, who made me consul and sharer of his counsels. And, by Athene, I never saw Nero demeaning himself without shedding tears, when I thought of Claudius, and contrasted with him the wretch who had inherited the greatest of his possessions. And now when I see that even the disappearance from the scene of Nero has brought no change for the better in the fortunes of humanity, and that the throne has fallen into such dishonour as to be assigned to Vitellius, I boldly advance to take it myself; firstly, because I wish to endear myself to men and win their esteem, and secondly, because the man I have to contend with is a mere drunkard. For Vitellius uses more ointment in his bath than I do water, and I believe that if you ran a sword into him, more ointment would issue from the wound than blood; and his continuous bouts of drinking have made him mad, and one who were he

CAP. XXIX σφήλωσιν, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἀρχῆς ἀναρριπτεῖ παίζων, ἑταίραις δὲ ὑποκείμενος ἐπιθόρνυται ταῖς γεγαμημέναις, ἡδίω φάσκων τὰ μετὰ κινδύνων ἐρωτικά. ἐῶ τὰ ἀσελγέστερα, ὡς μὴ τοιαῦτα ἐπὶ σοῦ λέγοιμι· μὴ δὴ περιίδοιμι Ῥωμαίους ὑπὸ τοιούτου ἀρχθέντας, ἀλλ' ἡγεμόνας ποιούμενος τοὺς θεοὺς ἀνὴρ γιγνοίμην ἐμαυτῷ ὅμοιος· ὅθεν ἐκ σοῦ, Ἀπολλώνιε, πεῖσμα ἐγὼ βάλλομαι, φασὶ γὰρ πλεῖστά σε τῶν θεῶν αἰσθάνεσθαι, καὶ ξύμβουλον ποιοῦμαί σε φροντίδων, ἐφ' αἷς ἐστι γῆ καὶ θάλαττα, ἵν' εἰ μὲν εὐμενῆ τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν φαίνοιτο, πράττοιμι ταῦτα, εἰ δὲ ἐναντία καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἐμοῦ μηδὲ Ῥωμαίων, μὴ ἐνοχλοίην τοὺς θεοὺς ἄκοντας."

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CAP. XXX Ἐπιθειάσας δ' ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ λόγῳ, "Ζεῦ," ἔφη, "Καπιτώλιε, σὲ γὰρ τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων βραβευτὴν οἶδα, φύλαττε σεαυτὸν μὲν τούτῳ, σεαυτῷ δὲ τοῦτον· τὸν γὰρ νεών, ὃν χθὲς ἄδικοι χεῖρες ἐνέπρησαν, τόνδε σοὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀναστῆσαι πέπρωται." θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν λόγον, "αὐτά," εἶπεν, "αὐτὰ δηλώσει

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diceing would be full of apprehension lest the pieces should play him false, is yet hazarding the empire in play; and though he is the slave of mistresses, he nevertheless insults married women, and says that he likes to spice his amours with a little danger. His worst excesses I will not mention for I would rather not allude to such matters in your presence. May I then never submit tamely, while the Romans are ruled by such a man as he; let me rather ask the gods to guide me so that I may be true to myself. And this, Apollonius, is why I, as it were, make fast my cable to yourself, for they say that you have the amplest insight into the will of the gods, and why I ask you to share with me in my anxieties and aid me in plans on which rests the safety of sea and land; to the end that, supposing the good-will of heaven show itself on my side, I may fulfill my task; but if heaven opposes and favours neither myself nor the Romans, that I may not trouble the gods against their wills."

XXX

CHAP. XXX

An example of Apollonius' gift of second sight

Apollonius clinched his words with an appeal to heaven: "O Zeus," said he, "of the Capitol, for thou art he whom I know to be the arbiter of the present issue, do thou preserve thyself for this man and this man for thyself. For this man who stands before thee is destined to raise afresh unto thee the temple which only yesterday the hands of malefactors set on fire." And on the emperor expressing astonishment at his words: "The facts themselves," he said, "will reveal, so do thou ask nothing of me; but continue and

CAP. XXX καὶ μηδὲν ἐμοῦ δέου, πέραινε δέ, ἃ ὀρθῶς ἐβουλεύσω." ξυμβεβήκει δὲ ἄρα κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην Δομετιανὸν μὲν τὸν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ παῖδα παρατετάχθαι πρὸς τὸν Βιτέλιον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ πατρός, πολιορκίας δ' αὐτὸν περισχούσης ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, τὸν μὲν διαπεφευγέναι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας, τὸν νεὼν δ' ἐμπεπρῆσθαι, καὶ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ φαίνεσθαι πολλῷ θᾶττον ἢ εἰ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἐπράττετο. τοσαῦτα σπουδάσαντες ὁ μὲν ἀπῆλθε τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰπὼν μὴ ξυγχωρεῖν αὐτῷ τὰ Ἰνδῶν πάτρια κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἄλλο τι παρ' ἃ ἐκεῖνοι πράττουσι πράττειν, ὁ δὲ ἀνέλαμπέ τε ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ οὐ ξυνεχώρει τοῖς πράγμασι διαφεύγειν ἑαυτόν, ἀλλ' ὡς βεβαίων τε καὶ αὐτῷ καθωμολογημένων εἴχετο δι' ἃ ἤκουσεν.

XXXI

CAP. XXXI Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ περὶ ὄρθρον ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἥκων ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἤρετο τοὺς δορυφόρους, ὅ τι βασιλεὺς πράττοι, οἱ δὲ ἐγρηγορέναι τε αὐτὸν πάλαι ἔφασαν καὶ πρὸς ἐπιστολαῖς εἶναι. καὶ ἀκούσας τοῦτο ἀπῆλθεν εἰπὼν πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν "ὁ ἀνὴρ ἄρξει." ἐπανελθὼν δὲ περὶ ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα Δίωνα μὲν καὶ Εὐφράτην ἐπὶ θύραις εὗρε, καὶ περὶ τῆς ξυνουσίας φιλοτίμως ἐρωτῶσι διῆλθε τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἣν τοῦ βασιλέως ἤκουσε, τὰς δὲ αὐτοῦ δόξας ἀπεσιώπησεν. ἐσκληθεὶς δὲ

complete that which thou hast so rightly purposed." CHAP. XXX Now it happened just then as a matter of fact that in Rome Domitian, the son of Vespasian, was matched with Vitellius in the struggle to gain the empire for his father, and was besieged in the Capitol, with the result that although he escaped the fury of the besiegers, the temple was burnt down; and all this was revealed to Apollonius more quickly than if it had taken place in Egypt. When they had held their conversation, he left the emperor's presence, saying that it was not permitted him by the religion of the Indians to proceed at midday in any other way than the Indians do themselves; at the same time the emperor brightened up, and with fresh enthusiasm, instead of allowing matters to slip through his hands, persevered in his policy, convinced by Apollonius' words that his future was stable and assured to him by heaven.

XXXI

CHAP. XXXI

Apollonius wins an audience for Dion and Euphrates

Next day at dawn Apollonius came to the palace and asked the guards what the emperor was doing; from whom learning that he had long risen and was engaged on his correspondence, he went off and remarked to Damis: "This man shall be sovereign." About sunrise he returned to find Dion and Euphrates already at the door, in return to whose eager enquiries concerning the interview, he repeated the defence of his policy which he had heard from the emperor, though at the same time he let no word escape him of his own opinions. But on being summoned to enter in advance of them, he

CAP. XXXI πρῶτος, "ὦ βασιλεῦ," εἶπεν, "Εὐφράτης καὶ Δίων πάλαι σοι γνώριμοι ὄντες πρὸς θύραις εἰσὶν οὐκ ἀφρόντιδες τῶν σῶν· κάλει δὴ κἀκείνους ἐς κοινὸν λόγον, σοφὼ γὰρ τὼ ἄνδρε." "ἀκλείστους," ἔφη, "θύρας παρέχω σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι, σοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ στέρνα ἀνεῷχθαι δοκεῖ τἀμά."

XXXII

CAP. XXXII Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐσεκλήθησαν, "ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ διανοίας," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀπολελόγημαι, χθὲς Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ γενναίῳ." "ἠκούσαμεν," ἦ δ' ὁ Δίων, "τῆς ἀπολογίας, καὶ νοῦν εἶχε." "τήμερον δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ φίλε Δίων, ξυμφιλοσοφήσωμεν ὑπὲρ τῶν βεβουλευμένων, ἵν' ὡς κάλλιστα καὶ κατὰ σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πάντα πράττοιμι· ἐννοῶν γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Τιβέριον, ὡς ἐς τὸ ἀπάνθρωπόν τε καὶ ὠμὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν μετέστησεν, εἶτα τὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ Γάιον, ὡς διονυσομανῶν καὶ λυδίζων τὴν στολὴν καὶ πολέμους νικῶν οὐκ ὄντας ἐς πάντα τὰ Ῥωμαίων αἰσχρῶς ἐβάκχευσεν, εἶτα τὸν χρηστὸν Κλαύδιον, ὡς ὑπὸ γυναίων ἡττηθεὶς ἐπελάθετο τοῦ ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ζῆν, ἀπέθανε γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὥς φασι, Νέρωνος δὲ τί ἂν καθαπτοίμην, εἰπόντος Ἀπολλωνίου βραχὺν καὶ ἀθρόον λόγον περὶ ἀνέσεώς τε καὶ ἐπιτάσεως, αἷς Νέρων τὴν ἀρχὴν ᾔσχυνε; τί δ' ἂν περὶ ὧν Γάλβας ξυνέταττεν, εἴποιμι, ὃς ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς μέσης ἀπέθανεν

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said: "O King, Euphrates and Dion, long your acquaintances, are at your door, being highly anxious for your welfare. I pray you, call them in also to join in our conversation, for they are both of them wise men." "I throw my doors open," he replied, "to wise men; but to you I purpose to open my breast as well."

XXXII

CHAP. XXXII

Vespasian's retrospect

When they had been called in, he continued: "In defence of my own plans, I said, gentlemen, what I had to say, yesterday to Apollonius our esteemed friend." "We have heard that defence," said Dion, "and it was most reasonable." "Well, to-day," he went on, "my dear Dion, let us concert some wise conclusions in support of the counsels adopted by me, of a kind to ensure my general policy being both honourable and salutary to mankind. For I cannot forget how Tiberius was the first to degrade the government into an inhuman and cruel system, of how he was followed by Gaius, who filled with Bacchic frenzy, dressed in Lydian fashion, won sham fights and by his disgraceful revels violated all Roman institutions. There followed the worthy Claudius, and I remember that he was so much the thrall of women as to lose all sense of sovereignty, nay even of self-preservation; for they say he was murdered by them. Nero I hardly need assail, for Apollonius in brief and terse remarks has exposed the faults of over-indulgence and undue severity by which he disgraced his reign. Nor need I dwell on the system of Galba, who was slain in the middle of the forum in the act of adopting those

CAP. XXXII ἠταιρημένους ἐσποιῶν ἑαυτῷ παῖδας τὸν Ὄθωνα καὶ τὸν Πείσωνα; εἰ δὲ καὶ Βιτελίῳ τῷ πάντων ἀσελγεστάτῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραδοίημεν, ἀναβιῴη Νέρων· ὁρῶν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὑφ᾽ ὧν εἶπον τυραννίδων διαβεβλημένον τὸ ἄρχειν, ξυμβούλους ὑμᾶς ποιοῦμαι, πῶς ἂν διαθείμην αὐτὸ προσκεκρουκὸς ἤδη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις." πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "αὐλητής," ἔφη, "τῶν πάνυ σοφῶν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητὰς παρὰ τοὺς φαυλοτέρους τῶν αὐλητῶν ἔπεμπε μαθησομένους, πῶς δεῖ μὴ αὐλεῖν· τὸ μὲν δή, πῶς δεῖ μὴ ἄρχειν, μεμάθηκας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, παρὰ τούτων, οἳ πονηρῶς ἦρξαν, τὸ δ᾽, ὅπως δεῖ ἄρχειν, σπουδάσωμεν."

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CAP. XXXIII Ὁ δ᾽ Εὐφράτης ἀφανῶς μὲν ἤδη ἐβάσκαινε τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, προσκείμενον αὐτῷ τὸν βασιλέα ὁρῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς χρηστηρίοις τοὺς ἐς αὐτὰ ἥκοντας, ἀνοιδήσας δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον τότε καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἐπάρας παρ᾽ ὃ εἰώθει, "οὐ χρή," ἔφη, "κολακεύειν τὰς ὁρμάς, οὐδὲ ἀνοήτως συνεκφέρεσθαι τοῖς παρὰ τὴν ἡνίαν τι πράττουσι, καταρρυθμίζειν δὲ αὐτούς, εἴπερ φιλοσοφοῦμεν· ἃ γὰρ εἰ προσήκει πράττειν, ἔδει βουλευομένους φαίνεσθαι, ταῦθ᾽ ὃν πεπράξεται τρόπον κελεύεις λέγειν οὔπω μαθών, εἰ ὑπὲρ πρα-

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strumpet sons of his Otho and Piso. As for Vitellius, we had rather Nero should come to life again than surrender the empire to him, the most dissolute of all. Perceiving then, my friends, that the throne has fallen into hatred and contempt by reason of the tyrants I have enumerated, I would fain have you advise me how best I can restore it, so that it should not remain what it has become, namely, a stumbling block to mankind." Apollonius replied as follows: "There was a first-rate flute-player, it is said, who used to send his pupils to much worse artists than himself, that they might learn how not to pipe. As then you, my sovereign, have learned from these your good-for-nothing predecessors, how not to rule, let us, then, now turn our attention to the problem, how a sovereign ought to rule."

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Speech of Euphrates, in favour of restoring a Roman republic

While Apollonius spoke, Euphrates concealed the jealousy he already felt of one whose utterances clearly interested the emperor hardly less than those of an oracular shrine interest those who repair to it for guidance. But now at last his feelings overcame him, and, raising his voice above its usual pitch, he cried: "We must not flatter men's impulses, nor allow ourselves to be carried away against our better judgment by men of unbridled ambition; but we should rather, if we are enamoured of wisdom, recall them to the sober facts of life. Here is a policy about the very expediency of which we should first calmly deliberate, and yet you would have us prescribe a way of executing it, before you know if the measures under discussion are desirable. For myself, I quite

CAP. XXXIII κτέων οἱ λόγοι. ἐγὼ δὲ Βιτέλιον μὲν καταλυθῆναι κελεύω, μιαρὸν γὰρ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οἶδα καὶ μεθύοντα ἀσελγείᾳ πάσῃ, σὲ δ' ἄνδρα εἰδὼς ἀγαθὸν καὶ γενναιότητι προὔχοντα, οὔ φημι χρῆναι τὰ μὲν Βιτελίου διορθοῦσθαι, τὰ σεαυτοῦ δὲ μήπω εἰδέναι. ὅσα μὲν δὴ αἱ μοναρχίαι ὑβρίζουσιν, οὐκ ἐμοῦ χρὴ μανθάνειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς εἴρηκας, γιγνώσκοις δ' ἄν, ὡς νεότης μὲν ἐπὶ τυραννίδα πηδῶσα προσήκοντα ἑαυτῇ που πράττει, τὸ γὰρ τυραννεύειν οὕτως ἔοικε νέοις, ὡς τὸ μεθύειν, ὡς τὸ ἐρᾶν, καὶ νέος μὲν τυραννεύσας οὔπω κακός, ἢν μὴ[1] μιαιφόνος παρὰ τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ ὠμὸς καὶ ἀσελγὴς δόξῃ, γέροντος δὲ ἐπὶ τυραννίδα ἥκοντος, πρώτη αἰτία τὸ τοιαῦτα βούλεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἢν φιλάνθρωπος φαίνηται καὶ κεκοσμημένος, οὐκ ἐκείνου ταῦτα νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ τοῦ κατηρτυκέναι, δόξει δὲ καὶ πάλαι τούτου καὶ νέος ἔτι ἐπιθυμήσας ἁμαρτεῖν, αἱ δὲ τοιαῦται ἁμαρτίαι πρόσκεινται μὲν δυστυχίᾳ, πρόσκεινται δὲ δειλίᾳ· δοκεῖ γάρ τις ἢ καταγνοὺς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τύχης τὸ ἐν νῷ τυραννεῦσαι παρεῖναι, ἢ τυραννησείοντι ἐκστῆναι ἑτέρῳ δείσας δήπου αὐτὸν ὡς ἄνδρα. τὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς δυστυχίας ἐάσθω, τὸ δὲ τῆς δειλίας πῶς παραιτήσῃ, καὶ ταῦτα Νέρωνα δοκῶν δεῖσαι τὸν δειλότατόν τε καὶ

[1] Kayser omits μή, which the sense requires.

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approve of the deposition of Vitellius, whom I know to be a ruffian drunk with every sort of profligacy; nevertheless, although I know you to be a worthy man and of pre-eminent nobility of character, I deny that you ought to undertake the correction of Vitellius without first establishing an ideal for yourself. I need not instruct you in the excesses chargeable to monarchy as such, for you have yourself described them; but this I would have you recognise, that whereas youth leaping into the tyrant's saddle does but obey its own instincts,—for playing the tyrant comes as natural to young men as wine or women, and we cannot reproach a young man merely for making himself a tyrant, unless in pursuit of his rôle he shows himself a murderer, a ruffian and a debauchee,—on the other hand when an old man makes himself a tyrant, the first thing we blame in him is that he ever nursed such an ambition. It is no use his shewing himself an example of humanity and moderation, for of these qualities we shall give the credit not to himself, but to his age and mature training. And men will believe that he nursed the ambition long before, when he was still a stripling, only that he failed to realise it; and such failures are attributed partly to ill luck, partly to pusillanimity. I mean that he will be thought to have renounced his dream of becoming a tyrant, because he distrusted his own star, or that he stood aside and made way for another who entertained the same ambition and whose superior manliness he dreaded. As for the count of ill luck, I may dismiss it; but as for that of cowardice, how can you avoid it? How escape the reproach of having been afraid of Nero, the most

CAP. XXXIII ῥᾳθυμότατον; ἃ γὰρ ἐνεθυμήθη Βίνδιξ ἐπ' αὐτόν, σέ, νὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ἐκάλει πρῶτον. καὶ γὰρ στρατιὰν εἶχες, καὶ ἡ δύναμις, ἣν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἦγες, ἐπιτηδειοτέρα ἦν τιμωρεῖσθαι Νέρωνα· ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ πάλαι ἀφεστᾶσιν οὐ μόνον Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων· οἱ γὰρ βίον ἄμικτον εὑρόντες καὶ οἷς μήτε κοινὴ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τράπεζα μήτε σπονδαὶ μήτε εὐχαὶ μήτε θυσίαι, πλέον ἀφεστᾶσιν ἡμῶν ἢ Σοῦσα καὶ Βάκτρα καὶ οἱ ὑπὲρ ταῦτα Ἰνδοί· οὐκοῦν οὐδ' εἰκὸς ἦν τιμωρεῖσθαι τούτους ἀφισταμένους, οὓς βέλτιον ἦν μηδὲ κτᾶσθαι. Νέρωνα δὲ τίς οὐκ ἂν ηὔξατο τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ ἀποκτεῖναι, μονονοὺ πίνοντα τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων αἷμα καὶ ἐν μέσοις τοῖς φόνοις ᾄδοντα; καίτοι ἐμοῦ τὰ ὦτα ὀρθὰ ἦν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ σοῦ λόγους, καὶ ὁπότε τις ἐκεῖθεν ἀφίκοιτο τρισμυρίους Ἰουδαίων ἀπολωλέναι φάσκων ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ πεντακισμυρίους κατὰ τὴν ἐφεξῆς μάχην, ἀπολαμβάνων τὸν ἥκοντα ξυμμέτρως ἠρώτων, τί δ' ὁ ἀνήρ; μὴ μεῖζόν τι τούτων; ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Βιτέλλιον εἴδωλον πεποιημένος τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατεύεις, ἃ μὲν βεβούλευσαι, πρᾶττε, καλὰ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὧδε ἐχέτω· Ῥωμαίοις τὸ δημοκρατεῖσθαι πολλοῦ ἄξιον, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ὄντων αὐτοῖς ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς πολιτείας ἐκτήθη· παῦε μοναρχίαν, περὶ ἧς

cowardly and supine of rulers? Look at the revolt against him planned by Vindex, you surely were the man of the hour, its natural leader, and not he! For you had an army at your back, and the forces you were leading against the Jews, would they not have been more suitably employed in chastising Nero? For the Jews have long been in revolt not only against the Romans, but against humanity; and a race that has made its own a life apart and irreconcilable, that cannot share with the rest of mankind in the pleasures of the table nor join in their libations or prayers or sacrifices, are separated from ourselves by a greater gulf than divides us from Susa or Bactra or the more distant Indies. What sense then or reason was there in chastising them for revolting from us, whom we had better have never annexed? As for Nero, who would not have prayed with his own hand to slay a man well-nigh drunk with human blood, singing as he sat amidst the hecatombs of his victims? I confess that I ever pricked up my ears when any messenger from yonder brought tidings of yourself, and told us how in one battle you had slain thirty thousand Jews and in the next fifty thousand. In such cases I would take the courier aside and quietly ask him: 'But what of the great man? Will he not rise to higher things than this?' Since then you have discovered in Vitellius an image and ape of Nero, and are turning your arms against him, persist in the policy you have embraced, for it too is a noble one, only let its sequel be noble too. You know how dear to the Romans are popular institutions, and how nearly all their conquests were won under a free polity. Put then an end to monarchy, of which you have repeated to us so evil a record; and bestow CHAP. XXXIII

CAP. XXXIII τοιαῦτα εἴρηκας, καὶ δίδου Ῥωμαίοις μὲν τὸ τοῦ δήμου κράτος, σαυτῷ δὲ τὸ ἐλευθερίας αὐτοῖς ἄρξαι."

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CAP. XXXIV Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Εὐφράτου εἰπόντος ὁρῶν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὸν Δίωνα προστιθέμενον τῇ γνώμῃ, τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ τῷ νεύματι ἐπεδήλου καὶ οἷς ἐπῄνει λέγοντα, "μή τι," ἔφη, "Δίων, τοῖς εἰρημένοις προστίθης;" "νὴ Δί᾽," εἶπε, "πὴ μὲν ὅμοια, πὴ δὲ ἀνόμοια· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὡς πολλῷ βελτίων ἂν ἦν Νέρωνα καταλύων μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων διορθούμενος, ἡγοῦμαι κἀμοὶ πρὸς σὲ εἰρῆσθαι, σὺ δὲ ἐῴκεις ἀγῶνα ποιουμένῳ μὴ καταλυθῆναί ποτε αὐτόν· ὁ γὰρ τὴν ταραχὴν τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων εὖ τιθέμενος, ἐρρώννυέ που τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ πάντας, οὓς κακῶς ἔρρωτο. τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Βιτέλιον ὁρμὴν ἐπαινῶ· τοῦ γὰρ τυραννίδα καθεστηκυῖαν παῦσαι μεῖζον ἡγοῦμαι τὸ μηδὲ ἐᾶσαι φῦναι. δημοκρατίαν δὲ ἀσπάζομαι μέν—καὶ γὰρ εἰ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἥττων ἥδε ἡ πολιτεία, ἀλλὰ τυραννίδων τε καὶ ὀλιγαρχιῶν αἱρετωτέρα τοῖς σώφροσι—δέδια δέ, μὴ χειροήθεις ἤδη Ῥωμαίους αὗται αἱ τυραννίδες πεποιηκυῖαι χαλεπὴν ἐργάσωνται τὴν μεταβολήν, καὶ μὴ δύνωνται μήτε

upon Romans a popular government, and on yourself the glory of inaugurating for them a reign of liberty."[1]

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Dion doubts the practicability of such a restoration

THROUGHOUT Euphrates' long speech, Apollonius noticed that Dion shared his sentiments, for he manifested his approval both by gestures and the applause with which he hailed his words; so he asked him if he could not add some remarks of his own to what he had just heard. "By Heaven, I can," answered Dion, "and I should agree in part and in part disagree with his remarks; for I think I have myself told you that you would have been much better employed deposing Nero than setting Jewry to rights. But your anxiety appeared to be never to have him deposed, for anyone who composed the disorder of his affairs merely strengthened the fellow against all the victims of his power. I approve however of the campaign against Vitellius; for I consider it a greater achievement to prevent a tyranny from ever growing up, than to put an end to it when it is established. And while I welcome the idea of a democracy—for though this form of polity is inferior to an aristocracy, nevertheless moderate men will prefer it to tyrannies and oligarchies,—I fear lest the servility to which these successive tyrannies have reduced the Romans will render any change difficult to effect; I doubt if they are able to comport themselves as free men or even to lift their

[1] Cp. Tacitus, Hist. i. 16: dignus eram a quo respublica inciperet.

CAP. XXXIV ἐλευθεριάζειν μήτε πρὸς δημοκρατίαν ἀναβλέπειν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐκ σκότους ἐς ἀθρόον φῶς βλέψαντες· ὅθεν φημὶ δεῖν τὸν μὲν Βιτέλιον ἐξωθεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ ὡς τάχιστά γε καὶ ἄριστα τοῦτο ἔσται, γιγνέσθω, δοκεῖ δέ μοι παρασκευάζεσθαι μὲν ὡς πολεμήσοντα, πόλεμον δὲ αὐτῷ μὴ προκηρύττειν, ἀλλὰ τιμωρίαν, εἰ μὴ μεθεῖτο τῆς ἀρχῆς, κἂν ἕλῃς αὐτόν, τουτὶ δ᾽ ὑπάρξειν ἡγοῦμαί σοι μηδὲ πονήσαντι, δίδου Ῥωμαίοις αἵρεσιν τῆς αὐτῶν πολιτείας, κἂν μὲν αἱρῶνται δημοκρατίαν, ξυγχώρει· τουτὶ γάρ σοι πολλῶν μὲν τυραννίδων, πολλῶν δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδων μεῖζον, καὶ πανταχοῦ μὲν γεγράψῃ τῆς πόλεως, πανταχοῦ δὲ ἑστήξεις χαλκοῦς, ἡμῖν δ᾽ ἀφορμὰς παραδώσεις λόγων, αἷς οὔτε Ἁρμόδιος οὔτε Ἀριστογείτων παραβεβλήσεταί τις. εἰ δὲ μοναρχίαν προσδέχοιντο, τίνι λοιπὸν ἀλλ᾽ ἢ σοὶ ψηφίσασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν πάντας; ἃ γὰρ ἔχων ἤδη τῷ κοινῷ παρήσεις, σοὶ δήπου μᾶλλον ἢ ἑτέρῳ δώσουσιν."

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CAP. XXXV Σιωπὴ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγῶνα ἐπεδήλου τῆς γνώμης, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ᾽ ὥσπερ αὐτοκράτωρ χρηματίζων τε καὶ πράττων ἀπάγεσθαι ἐδόκει τῆς βουλῆς ταύτης, καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "δοκεῖτέ μοι," εἶπεν, "ἁμαρ-

eyes to a democracy, any more than people who have been kept in the dark are able to look on a sudden blaze of light. I conclude that Vitellius ought to be driven from power, and would fain see this effected as quickly and as well as can be; I think however that though you should be prepared for war, yet you yourself instead of declaring war against him, ought rather to threaten him with condign punishment, in case he refuses to abdicate; and in case you capture him, as I believe you will easily do, then I would fain see you give the people of Rome the right to choose their own polity, and, if they choose a democracy, allow it them. For this will bring you greater glory than many tyrannies and many victories at Olympia. Your name will be inscribed all over the city, and brazen statues of you be erected everywhere; and you will furnish us with a theme for harangues in which neither Harmodius nor Aristogeiton will bear comparison with you. If however they accept monarchy, to whom can they all possibly decree the throne except yourself? For what you already possess, and are about to resign into the hands of the public, they will surely rather confer on yourself than on another." CHAP. XXXIV

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Apollonius encourages Vespasian to make himself emperor

THERE followed a spell of silence during which the emperor's countenance betrayed contending emotions; for though he was an absolute ruler both in title and in fact, it looked as if they were trying to divert him from his resolution to remain such; and accordingly Apollonius remarked:

CAP. XXXV τάνειν ἀναλύοντες βασιλέα περὶ πραγμάτων ἤδη βεβουλευμένων, ἐς ἀδολεσχίαν καθιστάμενοι μειρακιώδη καὶ ἀργοτέραν τοῦ καιροῦ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ κεκτημένῳ δύναμιν, ὁπόσην οὗτος, καὶ βουλευομένῳ, τί δρῴην ἂν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀγαθόν, ξύμβουλοι τῶν τοιούτων ἐγίγνεσθε, προὔβαινεν ἂν ὁ λόγος ὑμῖν—αἱ γὰρ φιλόσοφοι γνῶμαι τοὺς φιλοσόφους τῶν ἀκροατῶν διορθοῦνται—ἀνδρὶ δὲ ξυμβουλεύοντας ὑπάτῳ καὶ ἄρχειν εἰθισμένῳ, καὶ ᾧ ἕτοιμον, ἐπειδὰν ἐκπέσῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀπολωλέναι, τί δεῖ ἐπιπλήττειν, εἰ μὴ διωθεῖται τὰ παρὰ τῆς τύχης, ἀλλὰ δέχεται μὲν αὐτὰ ἥκοντα, βουλεύεται δέ, ὅπως χρήσεται σωφρόνως οἷς ἔχει; ὥσπερ οὖν, εἰ ἀθλητὴν ὁρῶντες εὐψυχίᾳ τε κατεσκευασμένον καὶ μήκει καὶ τὴν ἁρμονίαν τοῦ σώματος ἐπιτήδειον, ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν βαδίζοντα δι' Ἀρκαδίας, ἤδη προσελθόντες ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἐρρώννυμεν, ἐκελεύομεν δὲ αὐτόν, ἐπειδὰν νικήσῃ τὰ Ὀλύμπια, μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τῆς νίκης, μηδὲ ὑπέχειν τὴν κεφαλὴν τῷ κοτίνῳ, ληρεῖν ἂν ἐδόξαμεν ἢ παίζειν ἐς τοὺς ἑτέρων πόνους, οὕτως ἐνθυμούμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ὁπόση μὲν αἰχμὴ περὶ αὐτόν, ὁπόσος δὲ χαλκὸς ἀστράπτει, πλῆθος δὲ ἵππων ὅσον, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς γενναῖός τε καὶ σώφρων καὶ πρέπων κατασχεῖν ἃ διανοεῖται, πέμπωμεν ἐφ' ἃ ὥρμηκεν αἴσια μὲν φθεγγόμενοι πρὸς αὐτόν, εὐφημότερα δὲ

"It seems to me you are mistaken in trying to cancel a monarchical policy when it is already a foregone conclusion; and that you indulge a garrulity as childish as it is in such a crisis idle. Were it I that had stepped into such a position of influence as he has, and were I, when taking counsel about what good I could do to the world, treated to such advice as you now give, your arguments would carry some force, for philosophic aphorisms might amend the philosophically-minded of your listeners; but as it is a consul and a man accustomed to rule, whom you pretend to advise, one moreover over whom ruin impends, if he fall from power, need we carp, if instead of rejecting the gifts of fortune, he welcomes them when they come, and only deliberates how to make a discreet use of what is his own? Let us take a similar case. Suppose we saw an athlete well endowed with courage and stature, and by his well-knit frame marked out as a winner in the Olympic contest, suppose we approached him when he was already on his way thither through Arcadia, and, while encouraging him to face his rivals, yet insisted that, in the event of his winning the prize, he must not allow himself to be proclaimed the victor, nor consent to wear the wreath of wild olive,—should we not be set down as imbeciles, mocking at another's labours? Similarly when we regard the eminent man before us, and think of the enormous army at his disposal, of the glint of their brazen arms, of his clouds of cavalry, of his own personal qualities, of his generosity, self-restraint; of his fitness to attain his objects,—ought we not to send him forward on the path that leads to his goal, with favouring encouragement, and with more auspicious

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CAP. XXXV τούτων παρεγγυῶντες. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνο ἐνεθυμήθητε, ὅτι δυοῖν παίδοιν πατὴρ οὗτος, οἳ στρατοπέδων ἤδη ἄρχουσιν, οἷς εἰ μὴ παραδώσει τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐχθίστοις χρήσεται, καὶ τί λοιπόν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκπεπολεμῆσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον; τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ὑποδεξάμενος θεραπεύσεται μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παίδων, στηρίξεται δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ παῖδες, δορυφόροις δὲ αὐτοῦ χρήσεται, μὰ Δί', οὐ μεμισθωμένοις, οὐδ' ἠναγκασμένοις, οὐδὲ πλαττομένοις εὔνουν πρόσωπον, ἀλλ' ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις τε καὶ φιλτάτοις.

Ἐμοὶ πολιτείας μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς μέλει, ζῶ γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῖς θεοῖς, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγέλην οὐκ ἀξιῶ φθείρεσθαι χήτει βουκόλου δικαίου τε καὶ σώφρονος. ὥσπερ γὰρ εἷς ἀρετῇ προὔχων μεθίστησι τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐς τὸ ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀρχὴν φαίνεσθαι, οὕτως ἡ ἑνὸς ἀρχὴ πάντα ἐς τὸ ξυμφέρον τοῦ κοινοῦ προορῶσα δῆμός ἐστιν. οὐ κατέλυσας, φησί, Νέρωνα. σὺ δέ, Εὐφρᾶτα; Δίων δέ; ἐγὼ δέ; ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν ἐπιπλήττει τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἡγεῖται δειλούς, εἰ φιλοσόφων ἀνδρῶν μυρίας ἤδη καθελόντων τυραννίδας, ἀπελείφθημεν ἡμεῖς τοῦ δόξαι ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας τι πράττειν. καίτοι τό γε ἐπ' ἐμοὶ καὶ παρετατόμην πρὸς Νέρωνα, πολλὰ μὲν κακοήθως διελεγχθεὶς[1] καὶ τὸν ὠμότατον Τιγελλῖνον ἐπικόψας ἀκούοντα, ἃ δὲ περὶ τὰ ἑσπέρια τῶν χωρίων ὠφέλουν Βίνδικα, Νέρωνι

[1] Kayser reads διαλεχθείς against the sense.

pledges for his future than these you have recorded? For there is another thing you have forgotten, that he is the father of two sons who are already in command of armies, and whose deepest enmity he will incur if he does not bequeath the empire to them. Is he not confronted by the alternative of embroiling himself in hostilities with his own family? If however he accepts the throne, he will have the devoted service of his own children, they will lean on him and he on them, using them as his body-guard, and, by Zeus, as a bodyguard not hired by money, nor levied by force nor feigning loyalty with their faces only, but attached to him by bonds of natural instinct and true affection. CHAP. XXXV

"For myself I care little about constitutions, seeing that my life is governed by the Gods; but I do not like to see the human flock perish for want of a shepherd at once just and moderate. For just as a single man pre-eminent in virtue transforms a democracy into the guise of a government of a single man who is the best; so the government of one man, if it provides all round for the welfare of the community, is popular government. You did not, we are told, help to depose Nero. And did you, Euphrates, or you, Dion? Did I myself? However, no one finds fault with us for that, nor regards us as cowardly, because, after philosophers have destroyed a thousand tyrannies, we have missed the glory of striking a blow for liberty. Not but that, as regards myself, I did take the field against Nero, and in response to several malignant accusations assailed his cut-throat Tigellinus to his face; and the aid I rendered to Vindex in the western half of the empire was, I hardly need say, in the nature of a redoubt raised

CAP. XXXV δήπου ἐπετείχιζον. ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐμαυτὸν διὰ ταῦτα φήσω καθῃρηκέναι τὸν τύραννον, οὔτε ὑμᾶς, ἐπεὶ μὴ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετε, μαλακωτέρους ἡγήσομαι τοῦ φιλοσοφίᾳ προσήκοντος. ἀνδρὶ μὲν οὖν φιλοσόφῳ τὸ ἐπὶ νοῦν ἐλθὸν εἰρήσεται, ποιήσεται δέ, οἶμαι, λόγον τοῦ μή τι ἀνοήτως ἢ μανικῶς εἰπεῖν· ὑπάτῳ δ' ἐνθυμουμένῳ καταλῦσαι τύραννον πρῶτον μὲν δεῖ βουλῆς πλείονος, ἵν' ἐξ ἀφανοῦς προσβαίη τοῖς πράγμασιν, εἶτ' ἐπιτηδείου σχήματος ἐς τὸ μὴ παρορκεῖν δοκεῖν. εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὃς ἀπέφηνεν αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ ᾧ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλεύσειν τε καὶ πράξειν ὤμοσε, μέλλοι χρήσεσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἀπολογεῖσθαι δήπου τοῖς θεοῖς δεῖ πρότερον, ὡς ξὺν ὁσίᾳ ἐπιορκοῦντα, φίλων τε δεῖ πλειόνων, οὐ γὰρ ἀχαρακώτους γε, οὐδὲ ἀφράκτους χρὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, καὶ χρημάτων ὡς πλείστων, ἵν' ὑποποιήσαιτο τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιτιθέμενος ἀνθρώπῳ τὰ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ κεκτημένῳ. τριβὴ δὲ ὅση περὶ ταῦτα, ὅσοι δὲ χρόνοι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκδέχεσθε, ὅπῃ βούλεσθε, μὴ γὰρ ἐς ἔλεγχον ἴωμεν ὧν ἐνεθυμήθη μέν, ὡς εἰκός, οὗτος, ἡ τύχη δὲ οὐδὲ ἀγωνισαμένῳ ξυνέλαβε· πρὸς δὲ ἐκεῖνο τί ἐρεῖτε; τὸν γὰρ χθὲς ἄρχοντα καὶ στεφανούμενον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἐν τοῖς δεῦρο ἱεροῖς, χρηματίζοντα δὲ λαμπρῶς καὶ ἀφθόνως,

against Nero. But I should not on that account claim for myself the honour of having pulled down that tyrant, any more than I should regard yourselves as falling short of the philosopher's ideal of courage and constancy, because you did nothing of the sort. For a man then of philosophic habit it is enough that he should say what he really thinks; but he will, I imagine, take care not to talk like a fool or a madman. For a consul, on the other hand, who designs to depose a tyrant, the first requisite is plenty of deliberation, with a view to conceal his plans till they are ripe for action; and the second is a suitable pretence to save him from the reproach of breaking his oath. For before he dreams of resorting to arms against the man who appointed him general and whose welfare he swore to safeguard in the council chamber and on the field, he must surely in self-defence furnish heaven with proof that he perjures himself in the cause of religion. He will also need many friends, if he is not to approach the enterprise unfenced and unfortified, and also all the money he can get so as to be able to win over the men in power, the more so as he attacks a man who commands the resources of the entire earth. All this demands no end of care, no end of time. And you may take all this as you like, for we are not called upon to sit in judgment on ambitions which he may possibly have entertained, but in which fortune resolved to second him, ere ever he came to fight for them. What answer, however, will you make to the following proposition? Here is one who yesterday assumed the throne, who accepted the crown offered by the cities here in the temples around us, whose rescripts are as brilliant as they are ungrudging: do you bid him

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CAP. XXXV τοῦτον κελεύετε δημοσίᾳ κηρύττειν τήμερον, ὡς ἰδιώτης μὲν εἴη λοιπόν, παρανοῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἦλθεν; ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐπιτελῶν τὰ δεδογμένα προθύμους δορυφόρους, οἷς πιστεύων ταῦτ' ἐνεθυμήθη, παραστήσεται, οὕτως ἐς τὸ μεθίστασθαι τῶν δοξάντων ἥκων πολεμίῳ τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπιστουμένῳ χρήσεται."

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CAP. XXXVI "Ασμενος τούτων ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεύς, "εἰ τὴν ψυχήν," ἔφη, "τὴν ἐμὴν ᾤκεις, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω σαφῶς, ἃ ἐνεθυμήθην, ἀπήγγειλας· ἕπομαι δή σοι, θεῖον γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τὸ ἐκ σοῦ πᾶν, καὶ ὁπόσα χρὴ τὸν ἀγαθὸν βασιλέα πράττειν δίδασκε." καὶ ὁ 'Απολλώνιος, "οὐ διδακτά με," ἔφη, "ἐρωτᾷς· βασιλεία γὰρ μέγιστον μὲν τῶν κατ' ἀνθρώπους, ἀδίδακτον δέ. ὁπόσα δ' οὖν μοι δοκεῖς πράττων ὑγιῶς ἂν πρᾶξαι, καὶ δὴ φράσω· πλοῦτον ἡγοῦ μὴ τὸν ἀπόθετον—τί γὰρ βελτίων οὗτος τῆς ὁποθενδὴ ξυνενεχθείσης ψάμμου;—μηδὲ τὸν φοιτῶντα παρ' ἀνθρώπων, οἳ τὰς ἐσφορὰς ὀλοφύρονται, κίβδηλον γὰρ ὁ χρυσὸς καὶ μέλαν, ἢν ἐκ δακρύων ἥκῃ· πλούτῳ δ' ἂν ἄριστα βασιλέων χρῷο τοῖς μὲν δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, τοῖς δὲ πολλὰ κεκτημένοις παρέχων ἀσφαλῆ τὸν πλοῦτον. τὸ ἐξεῖναί σοι πᾶν, ὅ τι βούλει, δέδιθι, σωφρονέστερον γὰρ αὐτῷ

issue a proclamation to-day to the effect that for the future he retires into private life, and only assumed the reigns of government in an access of madness? As, if he carries through the policy on which he is resolved, he will confirm the loyalty of the guards relying on whom he first entertained it; so, if he falters and departs from it, he will find an enemy in everyone whom from that moment he must mistrust." CHAP. XXXV

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Vespasian is pleased with the discourse.

THE emperor listened gladly to the above and remarked: "If you were the tenant of my breast, you could not more accurately report my inmost thoughts. 'Tis yourself then I will follow, for every word which falls from your lips I regard as inspired; therefore instruct me, I pray, in all the duties of a good king." Apollonius answered: "You ask of me a lore which cannot be imparted by any teacher; for kingship is at once the greatest of human attainments, and not to be taught. However, I will mention you all the things which, if you do them, you will in my opinion do wisely. Look not on that which is laid by as wealth,—for how is it better than so much sand drifted no matter from whence,—nor on what flows into your coffers from populations racked by the taxgatherer, for gold lacks lustre and is mere dross, if it be wrung from men's tears; you will make better use of your wealth than ever sovereign did, if you employ it in succouring the poor, at the same time that you render their wealth secure for the rich. Tremble before the very absoluteness of your prerogative, for so you will exercise it with the greater moderation. Mow

The Sage's view of kingship.

CAP. XXXVI χρήσῃ. μὴ τέμνε τῶν ἀσταχύων τοὺς ὑψηλούς τε καὶ ὑπεραίροντας, ἄδικος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους λόγος, ἀλλὰ τὸ δύσνουν ἐξαίρει μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ τὰς ἀκάνθας τῶν ληίων, καὶ φοβερὸς δόκει τοῖς νεώτερα πράττουσι μὴ ἐν τῷ τιμωρεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ τιμωρήσεσθαι. νόμος, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ σοῦ ἀρχέτω· σωφρονέστερον γὰρ νομοθετήσεις, ἢν μὴ ὑπερορᾷς τῶν νόμων. θεοὺς θεράπευε μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον· μεγάλα μὲν γὰρ παρ' αὐτῶν εἴληφας, ὑπὲρ μεγάλων δὲ εὔχῃ. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα, ὡς βασιλεὺς πρᾶττε, τὰ δὲ τῷ σώματι, ὡς ἰδιώτης. περὶ δὲ κύβων καὶ μέθης καὶ ἐρώτων καὶ τοῦ διαβεβλῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα τί ἄν σοι παραινοίην, ὅν φασι μηδὲ ἐφ' ἡλικίας ταῦτα ἐπαινέσαι; παῖδές εἰσί σοι, βασιλεῦ, δύο καὶ γενναῖοι, ὥς φασιν. ἄρχε τούτων μάλιστα, τὰ γὰρ ἐκείνοις ἁμαρτηθέντα σὲ δήπου διαβαλεῖ. ἔστω δέ σοι καὶ ἀπειλὴ πρὸς αὐτούς, ὡς οὐ παραδώσεις τὴν ἀρχήν σφισιν, εἰ μή που καλοί τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ μείνωσιν, ἵνα μὴ κληρονομίαν ἡγῶνται τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς ἆθλα. τὰς δὲ ἐμπολιτευομένας ἡδονὰς τῇ Ῥώμῃ, πολλαὶ δὲ αὗται, δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ξυμμέτρως παύειν, χαλεπὸν γὰρ μεταβαλεῖν δῆμον ἐς τὸ ἀθρόως σῶφρον, ἀλλὰ δεῖ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐμποιεῖν ῥυθμὸν ταῖς γνώμαις, τὰ μὲν φανερῶς, τὰ δὲ ἀφανῶς διορθούμενον. ἀπελευθέρων τε καὶ δούλων, οὓς ἡ ἀρχή σοι δίδωσιν, ἀνέλωμεν τρυφὴν

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not down the loftier stalks which overtop the rest, for this maxim of Aristotle's is unjust; but try rather to pluck disaffection out of men's hearts, as you would tares out of your cornfields; and inspire awe of yourself in revolutionists less by actual punishment than by shewing them that they will not go unpunished. Let the law govern you as well as them, O king; for you will be all the wiser as a legislator for so holding the laws in respect. Reverence the gods more than ever before, for you have received great blessings at their hands and have still great ones to pray for. In what appertains to your prerogative, act as a sovereign; in what to your own person, as a private citizen. About dice and drink and dissipation and the necessity of abhorring these vices, why need I tender you any advice, who, they say, never approved of them even in youth. You have, my sovereign, two sons, both, they say, of generous disposition. Let them before all obey your authority, for their faults will be charged to your account. Let your disciplining of them even proceed to the length of threatening not to bequeath them your throne, unless they remain good men and honest; otherwise they will be prone to regard it not as a reward of excellence so much as a mere heritage. As for the pleasures which have made of Rome their home and residence, and they are many, I would advise you, my sovereign, to use much discretion in suppressing them; for it is not easy to convert an entire people on a sudden to a wisdom and temperance; but you must feel your way and instil order and rhythm in their characters step by step, partly by open, partly by secret correction. Let us put an end to pride and luxury on the part of the freedmen and slaves whom

CAP. XXXVI τοσούτῳ ταπεινότερον αὐτοὺς ἐθίσαντες φρονεῖν, ὅσῳ μείζονος δεσπότου εἰσίν. τί λοιπὸν ἀλλ' ἢ περὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων εἰπεῖν, οἳ ἐς τὰ ἔθνη φοιτῶσιν, οὐ περὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ἐκπέμψεις, ἀριστίνδην γάρ που τὰς ἀρχὰς δώσεις, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν κληρωσομένων τὸ ἄρχειν· τούτων γὰρ τοὺς μὲν προσφόρους τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἃ διέλαχον, φημὶ δεῖν πέμπειν, ὡς ὁ κλῆρος, ἑλληνίζοντας μὲν Ἑλληνικῶν ἄρχειν, ῥωμαΐζοντας δὲ ὁμογλώττων καὶ ξυμφώνων. ὅθεν δὲ τοῦτ' ἐνεθυμήθην, λέξω· κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ διῃτώμην, ἡγεῖτο τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄνθρωπος οὐκ εἰδὼς τὰ Ἑλλήνων, καὶ οὐδ' οἱ Ἕλληνές τι ἐκείνου ξυνίεσαν. ἔσφηλεν οὖν καὶ ἐσφάλη τὰ πλεῖστα, οἱ γὰρ ξύνεδροί τε καὶ κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις γνώμης ἐκαπήλευον τὰς δίκας διαλαβόντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα, ὥσπερ ἀνδράποδον. ταῦτά μοι, βασιλεῦ, παρέστη τήμερον, εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἕτερον ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔλθοι, πάλιν ξυνελευσόμεθα. νυνὶ δὲ τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ πρᾶττε, μὴ ἀργότερος τοῖς ὑπηκόοις δόξῃς."

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CAP. XXXVII Ὁ δὲ Εὐφράτης, "τοῖς μὲν δεδογμένοις ξυγχωρῶ," ἔφη, "τί γὰρ ἂν πλέον μεταδιδάσκων πράτ-

your high position assigns to you, by accustoming them to think all the more humbly of themselves, because their master is so powerful. There remains only one topic to address you on; it concerns the governors sent out to rule the provinces. Of those you will yourself select, I need say nothing, for I am sure you will assign commands by merit; I only refer to those who will acquire them by lot. In their case too, I maintain, those only should be sent out to the various provinces so obtained who are in sympathy, so far as the system of appointing by lot allows of it, with the populations they will rule. I mean, that over Hellenes should be set men who can speak Greek, and Romans over those who speak that language or dialects allied to it. I will tell you what made me think of this. During the period in which I lived in the Peloponnese Hellas was governed by a man who knew as little of the Hellenes and their tongue as they understood of his. What was the result? He was in his mistakes as much sinned against as sinner, for his assessors and those who shared with him judicial authority trafficked in justice, and abused his authority as if he had been not their governor but their slave. This, my sovereign, is all that occurs to me to-day; but if anything else should come into my mind, we can hold another interview. So now apply yourself to the duties of your throne, lest your subjects accuse you of indolence." CHAP. XXXVI

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EUPHRATES declared his assent to all these conclusions, "For," said he, "what can I gain by CHAP. XXXVII

CAP. XXXVII τοιμι; φιλοσοφίαν δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τουτὶ γὰρ λοιπὸν προσειρήσει, τὴν μὲν κατὰ φύσιν ἐπαίνει καὶ ἀσπάζου, τὴν δὲ θεοκλυτεῖν φάσκουσαν παραιτοῦ, καταψευδόμενοι γὰρ τοῦ θείου πολλὰ καὶ ἀνόητα ἡμᾶς ἐπαίρουσιν." ταυτὶ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον αὐτῷ ἐλέγετο, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπιστραφεὶς ἀπῄει μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γνωρίμων, διανύσας τὴν σπουδήν· βουλομένου δὲ τοῦ Εὐφράτου θρασύτερόν τι περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν, ξυνῆκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ διακρουόμενος αὐτόν, "ἐσκαλεῖτε," ἔφη, "τοὺς δεομένους τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀπολαβέτω ἡ βουλὴ τὸ ἑαυτῆς σχῆμα."

Οὕτω μὲν δὴ ὁ Εὐφράτης ἔλαθε διαβαλὼν ἑαυτόν, καὶ γὰρ βάσκανός τε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὑβριστὴς ἔδοξε, καὶ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας οὐχ ὡς ἐγίγνωσκεν εἰρηκώς, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀντιλογίαν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου δι' ἃ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνῳ ἐδόκει· οὐ μὴν ἀπερρίπτει αὐτόν, οὐδὲ ἐπεδήλου τι ὀργῆς πρὸς ταῦτα. καὶ τὸν Δίωνα οὐκ ἐπῄνει μὲν ξυναράμενον αὐτῷ τῆς γνώμης, οὐ μὴν ἐπαύσατο ἀγαπῶν· ἐπίχαρίς τε γὰρ τὰς διαλέξεις ἐδόκει καὶ τὰς ἔριδας παρῃτεῖτο, ὥραν τε ἐπέφαινε τοῖς λόγοις, οἷα τοῦ πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀτμοῦ ἐκπνεῖ, προσῆν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἀποσχεδιάζειν ἄριστα ἀνθρώπων. τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἠγάπα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπέκειτο αὐτῷ διιόντι μὲν τὰ ἀρχαῖα, διηγουμένῳ

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continuing to oppose such teaching? But, O my sovereign, as henceforth we must address you, I have only one thing left to say, and that is that while you approve and countenance that philosophy which accords with nature, you should have nothing to do with that which affects a secret intercourse with the gods, for we are easily puffed up by the many absurdities this lying philosophy falsely ascribes to providence." The above remark was aimed at Apollonius, who, however, without paying any attention to it, departed with his companions as soon as he had ended his discourse. And Euphrates would have taken further liberties with his character, only the emperor noticed it and put him aside by saying, "Call in those who have business with the government, and let my council resume its usual form."

Euphrates seeks to prejudice Vespasian against Apollonius

Thus Euphrates failed to see that he only prejudiced himself, and gained with the emperor the reputation of being a jealous and insolent fellow, who aired these sentiments in favour of democracy, not because he really entertained them, but only by way of contradicting the opinions Apollonius held in regard to the empire. Notwithstanding, the emperor did not cast him off or shew any resentment at his opinions. As for Dion, he did not cease to be fond of him, though he regretted his seconding the opinions of Euphrates. For Dion was a delightful conversationalist and always declined to quarrel. He moreover imparted to his discourses that sort of charm which exhales from the perfumes at a sacrifice; and he had also, better than any living man, the talent of extempore oratory. Apollonius the emperor not merely loved for his own sake, but was ever ready to listen to his accounts of antiquity,

Description of Dion

The emperor's love of Apollonius

CAP. XXXVII δὲ τὸν Ἰνδὸν Φραώτην, ποταμούς τε ἀναγράφοντι καὶ θηρία, ὑφ' ὧν ἡ Ἰνδικὴ οἰκεῖται, προλέγοντι δὲ καὶ ὁπόσα οἱ θεοὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔφαινον. ἐξελαύνων δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ξυνῳκισμένης τε καὶ νεαζούσης, κοινωνὸν μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐποιεῖτο, τῷ δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκει ταῦτα· Αἴγυπτόν τε γάρ, ὁπόση ἐστίν, οὔπω ἑωρακέναι, τοῖς τε Γυμνοῖς, οὔπω ἀφῖχθαι ἐς λόγον, μάλα ἐσπουδακὼς σοφίᾳ Ἰνδικῇ ἀντικρῖναι Αἰγυπτίαν. "οὐδὲ Νείλου," ἔφη, "ἔπιον, ὅθεν ἄρχεται." ξυνεὶς οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς, ὅτι ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίαν στέλλεται, "ἡμῶν δέ," ἔφη, "οὐ μεμνήσῃ;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ἢν βασιλεὺς ἀγαθὸς μένῃς καὶ σεαυτοῦ μνημονεύῃς."

XXXVIII

CAP. XXXVIII Μετὰ ταῦτα θύσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ δωρεὰς ἐπήγγειλεν αὐτῷ δημοσίᾳ. ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ αἰτήσων, "τίνας δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, δωρεὰς δώσεις;" "δέκα," ἔφη, "νῦν, ἀφικομένῳ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην τἀμὰ πάντα." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "φείδεσθαί με χρὴ τῶν σῶν ὡς ἐμῶν καὶ μὴ σπαθᾶν αὐτὰ νῦν ἀποκεισόμενά μοι ἀθρόα· ἀλλ' ἐπιμελήθητι τούτων, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μᾶλλον, ἐοίκασι γὰρ δεομένοις." ἐδείκνυε δὲ ἄρα τοὺς περὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην. ὁ μὲν δὴ βασιλεὺς

to his descriptions of the Indian Phraotes, and to his graphic stories of the rivers of India, and of the animals that inhabit it; above all to the forecasts and revelations imparted to him by the gods concerning the future of the empire. On quitting Egypt, after settling and rejuvenating the country, he invited Apollonius to share his voyage; but the latter declined, on the ground that he had not yet seen the whole extent of Egypt, and had not yet visited or conversed with the naked sages of that land, whose wisdom he was very anxious to compare with that of India. "Nor," he added, "have I drunk of the sources of the Nile." The emperor understood that he was about to set out for Ethiopia and said: "Will you not bear me in mind?" "I will indeed," replied the sage, "if you continue to be a good sovereign and mindful of yourself."

CHAP. XXXVII

XXXVIII

CHAP. XXXVIII

The Emperor's gifts to Euphrates and Dion

Thereafter the emperor offered his sacrifice in the temple and publicly promised him presents. But Apollonius, as if he had a favour to ask, said: "And what presents, O king, will you give me?" "Ten," he replied, "now; and when you come to Rome everything I have." And Apollonius answered: "Then I must husband your riches as if they were my own, and not squander in the present what is hereafter to be reserved to me in its entirety. But I pray you, O king, to attend rather to these gentlemen here, for they look as if they wanted something." And suiting his words, he pointed to Euphrates

CAP. XXXVIII ἐκέλευσεν αἰτεῖν θαρροῦντας, ἐρυθριάσας δὲ ὁ Δίων, "διάλλαξόν με, βασιλεῦ," εἶπε, "πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν διδάσκαλον ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀντιλέγειν αὐτῷ ἔδοξα, μήπω πρότερον ἀντειπὼν τῷ ἀνδρί." ἐπαινέσας οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς, "χθές," ἔφη, "τοῦτο ἐγὼ ᾔτησα καὶ ὑπάρχει· ἀλλ' αἴτει ὑπὲρ δωρεᾶς." καὶ ὁ Δίων, "Λασθένης," ἔφη, "ἐστὶ μὲν ἐξ Ἀπαμείας τῆς ἐν τῷ Βιθυνῶν ἔθνει, ξυμφιλοσοφῶν δέ μοι χλαμύδος ἠράσθη καὶ στρατιώτου βίου· τοῦτον, ἐπειδὴ τρίβωνος πάλιν ἐρᾶν φησιν, ἄνες τῆς στρατείας, δεῖται δὲ αὐτὸς ταῦτα. χαριεῖ δὲ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀποφῆναι αὐτὸν ἄνδρα ἀγαθόν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ζῆν, ὡς βούλεται." "ἀνείσθω," ἔφη, "δίδωμι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων, ἐπειδὴ σοφίας ἐρᾷ καὶ σοῦ." καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἐς τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐπεστράφη, τῷ δὲ ἐπιστολὴ ξυνετέτακτο περὶ ὧν ᾔτει. τὴν μὲν δὴ ἐπιστολὴν ὤρεγεν, ὡς ἀναγνωσομένῳ καθ' ἑαυτόν, βουληθεὶς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς παραδοῦναί τινα κατ' αὐτοῦ λόγον ἀνέγνω δημοσίᾳ πᾶσιν· αἰτῶν δὲ ἐφαίνετο τὰ μὲν ἑαυτῷ, τὰ δὲ ἑτέροις, καὶ τῶν δωρεῶν αἱ μὲν χρήματα ἦσαν, αἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ χρημάτων. γελάσας οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "εἶτα ὑπὲρ δημοκρατίας," ἔφη, "ξυνεβούλευες τοσαῦτα μέλλων αἰτήσειν βασιλέα;"

CHAP. XXXVIII

and his friends. The emperor accordingly pressed them to ask boldly what they desired, whereupon Dion with a blush said: "Reconcile me, O king, with Apollonius my teacher for that I lately ventured to oppose him in argument; for never till now have I ventured to contradict him." The emperor, approving, said: "As long ago as yesterday I asked for this favour, and it is already granted. But do you ask for some gift." "Lasthenes," replied Dion, "of Apamea, a Bithynian city, who was my companion in philosophy, fell in love with the uniform and took to a soldier's life. Now, he says, he longs afresh to wear the sage's cloak, so would you let him off from the service, for that is the extent of his own request; and you will confer on me the privilege of turning him into a saint, and on him the liberty of living as he wishes to." "Let him be released," said the emperor, "but I confer on him the rights of a veteran, since he is equally fond of wisdom and of yourself." Next the emperor turned to Euphrates, who had drawn up a letter embodying his requests, and held it out in expectation that his sovereign would peruse it in private. But the latter was determined to expose him to criticism, so he read it out loud before everyone; and it was found to contain various petitions, some for himself, some for others; and of the presents asked some consisted of cash down and others of credit notes. Whereupon Apollonius with a laugh remarked: "Then your intention of asking a monarch for all this did not prevent you from giving him that good advice in favour of democracy."

XXXIX

CAP. XXXIX Τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς διαφορᾶς, ἣ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τε καὶ Εὐφράτῃ ἐγένετο, τοιάδε εὗρον, ἐξελάσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καθήπτοντο ἀλλήλων ἐς τὸ φανερόν, ὁ μὲν Εὐφράτης ξὺν ὀργῇ τε καὶ λοιδορίαις, ὁ δ' αὖ φιλοσόφως καὶ ξὺν ἐλέγχῳ μᾶλλον. ὁπόσα μὲν δὴ Εὐφράτου κατηγόρηκεν, ὡς παρὰ τὸ πρέπον φιλοσοφίᾳ πράττοντος, ἔξεστιν Ἀπολλωνίου μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολῶν, πλείους γάρ· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀφεκτέα τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον διαβαλεῖν προὐθέμην, ἀλλὰ παραδοῦναι τὸν Ἀπολλωνίου βίον τοῖς μήπω εἰδόσι. τὸ μέντοι περὶ τοῦ ξύλου λεγόμενον, λέγεται δὲ ἐπανατείνασθαι μὲν αὐτὸ διαλεγομένῳ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, μὴ καθικέσθαι δέ, οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ δεινότητι τοῦ πεπληξομένου προσγράφουσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ λογισμῷ τοῦ πλήξοντος, δι' ὃν ἐγένετο κρείττων ὀργῆς νενικηκυίας ἤδη.

XL

CAP. XL Ἡ δὲ τοῦ Δίωνος φιλοσοφία ῥητορικωτέρα τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐφαίνετο καὶ ἐς τὸ εὐφραῖνον κατεσκευασμένη μᾶλλον, ὅθεν διορθούμενος αὐτόν φησιν, "αὐλῷ καὶ λύρᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγῳ θέλγε," καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῶν πρὸς Δίωνα ἐπιστολῶν ἐπιπλήττει τῇ δημαγωγίᾳ ταύτῃ.

XXXIX

CHAP. XXXIX

Quarrel between Apollonius and Euphrates.

Such I find was the occasion of the quarrel between Apollonius and Euphrates; and after the emperor had departed they openly attacked one another, Euphrates in his anger resorting to coarse insults, which his antagonist met in a philosophical spirit, only refuting him. His accusations, I may remark, of Euphrates to the effect that his conduct violated the decencies of the philosophical life, can be learned from the epistles Apollonius addressed to him, for they are not a few. For myself I herewith dismiss this gentleman; for it is no part of my scheme to say ill of him, but only to furnish with a life of Apollonius those who were as yet ignorant. As to the tale of the stick, which he is said to have brandished against Apollonius when he was discoursing, though without applying it—most people attribute his having so refrained to the skill at single-stick of the man he was about to strike; but I prefer to set it down to the good sense of the would-be striker, and to think that it was that which enabled him to overcome an angry impulse which had all but overmastered him.

XL

CHAP. XL

The Sage corrects Dion.

Dion's philosophy struck Apollonius as being too rhetorical and overmuch adapted to please and flatter, and that is why he addressed to him by way of correction the words: "You should use a pipe and a lyre, if you want to tickle men's senses, and not speech." And in many passages of his letters to Dion he censures his use of words to captivate the crowd.

XLI

CAP. XLI Τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀφικέσθαι αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα ἔτι, μηδὲ ξυγγενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καίτοι καλοῦντι καὶ πλεῖστα ὑπὲρ τούτου γράφοντι, ὁπόθεν ξυνέβη, δηλῶσαι βούλομαι· Νέρων ἐλευθέραν ἀφῆκε τὴν Ἑλλάδα σωφρονέστερόν τι ἑαυτοῦ γνούς, καὶ ἐπανῆλθον αἱ πόλεις ἐς ἤθη Δωρικὰ καὶ Ἀττικά, πάντα τε ἀνήβησε ξὺν ὁμονοίᾳ τῶν πόλεων, ὃ μηδὲ πάλαι ἡ Ἑλλὰς εἶχεν, Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἀφείλετο αὐτὴν τοῦτο, στάσεις προβαλλόμενος καὶ ἄλλα οὔπω τῆς ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ὀργῆς· ταῦτ᾽ οὖν οὐ μόνον τοῖς παθοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ πικρότερα τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἤθους ἔδοξεν, ὅθεν ἐπέστειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ ὧδε·

Ἀπολλώνιος Οὐεσπασιανῷ βασιλεῖ χαίρειν.

Ἐδουλώσω τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὥς φασί, καὶ πλέον μὲν οἴει τι ἔχειν Ξέρξου, λέληθας δὲ ἔλαττον ἔχων Νέρωνος· Νέρων γὰρ ἔχων αὐτὸ παρῃτήσατο. ἔρρωσο.

Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Διαβεβλημένος οὕτω πρὸς Ἕλληνας, ὡς δουλοῦσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέρους ὄντας, τί ἐμοῦ ξυνόντος δέῃ; ἔρρωσο.

XLI

CHAP. XLI

Vespasian's treatment of Hellas.

I MUST also explain how it came about that he never approached the emperor again, nor visited him after their encounter in Egypt, although the latter invited him and wrote often to him in that sense. The fact is, Nero restored the liberties of Hellas with a wisdom and moderation quite alien to his character; and the cities regained their Doric and Attic characteristics, and a general rejuvenescence accompanied the institution among them of a peace and harmony such as not even ancient Hellas ever enjoyed. Vespasian, however, on his arrival in the country took away her liberty, alleging their factiousness with other pretexts hardly justifying such extreme severity. This policy seemed not only to those who suffered by it, but to Apollonius as well, of a harshness quite out of keeping with a royal temper and character, and accordingly he addressed the following letters to the Emperor:

"Apollonius to the Emperor Vespasian, Greeting.

"You have, they say, enslaved Hellas, and you imagine you have excelled Xerxes. You are mistaken. You have only fallen below Nero. For the latter held our liberties in his hand and respected them. Farewell."

"To the same.

"You have taken such a dislike to the Hellenes, that you have enslaved them although they were free. What then do you want with my company? Farewell."

CAP. XLI

Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Νέρων τοὺς Ἕλληνας παίζων ἠλευθέρωσε, σὺ δὲ αὐτοὺς σπουδάζων ἐδουλώσω. ἔρρωσο.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ διαβάλλοντα Οὐεσπασιανὸν Ἀπολλωνίῳ τοιάδε ἐγένετο, ἀκούων δ' αὐτὸν εὖ διατιθέμενον τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀρχὴν πᾶσαν, οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἦν χαίρων καὶ ἡγούμενος ἑαυτῷ ἀγαθὸν πράττεσθαι.

XLII

CAP. XLII

Θαυμάσιον Ἀπολλωνίου κἀκεῖνο ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἔδοξε· λέοντα ἥμερον ἀπὸ ῥυτῆρος ἦγέ τις, ὥσπερ κύνα, ὁ δὲ οὐ μόνον τὸν ἄγοντα ᾔκαλλεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις προσέλθοι, καὶ ἤγειρε μὲν πολλαχοῦ τῶν πόλεων, παρῄει δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ καθαρὸς εἶναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ τῶν θυομένων αἷμα ἀνελιχμᾶτο, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰ δερόμενά τε καὶ ῥαχιζόμενα τῶν ἱερείων ᾖττεν, ἀλλὰ μελιττούταις διήγετο καὶ ἄρτοις καὶ τραγήμασι καὶ κρεῶν τοῖς ἑφθοῖς, ἐντυχεῖν δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ οἶνον πίνοντι μὴ μεθισταμένῳ τοῦ ἤθους. προσελθὼν δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ καθημένῳ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῖς τε γόνασιν αὐτοῦ προσεκνυζᾶτο καὶ ἐλιπάρει παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ ᾤοντο, μισθοῦ ἕνεκα, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "δεῖταί μου," ἔφη, "ὁ λέων ἀναδιδάξαι ὑμᾶς, ὅτου ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν ἔχει· ἔστι τοίνυν Ἄμασις οὗτος, ὁ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου περὶ τὸν Σαΐτην νομόν." ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκουσεν ὁ λέων ταῦτα, ἀνεβρυχήσατο ἐλεεινὸν καὶ θρηνῶδες καὶ ὠλοφύρατο

CHAP. XLI

"To the same.

"Nero freed the Hellenes in play, but you have enslaved them in all seriousness. Farewell."

Such were the grounds of Apollonius' taking a dislike to Vespasian. However, when he heard of the excellence of his subsequent acts of government he made no attempt to conceal his satisfaction, but looked at it in the light of a benefaction conferred on himself.

XLII

CHAP. XLII

The soul of Amasis inhabits a lion.

The following incident also of Apollonius' stay in Egypt was thought remarkable. There was a man led a tame lion about by a string, as if it had been a dog; and the animal not only fawned upon him, but on anyone who approached it. It went collecting alms all round the towns, and was admitted even in the temples, being a pure animal; for it never licked up the blood of the victims, nor pounced on them when they were being flayed and cut up, but lived upon honeycakes and bread and dried fruits and cooked meat; and you also came on it drinking wine without losing its character. One day it came up to Apollonius when he was sitting in the temple, and whined and fawned at his knees, and begged of him more earnestly than it had ever done of anybody. The bystanders imagined it wanted some solid reward, but Apollonius exclaimed: "This lion is begging me to make you understand that a human soul is within him, the soul namely of Amasis, the king of Egypt in the province of Sais." And when the lion heard that, he gave a piteous and plaintive roar, and crouching down began

CAP. XLII ξυνοκλάσας, δάκρυα ἱεὶς αὐτά. καταψῶν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "δοκεῖ," ἔφη, "πέμπειν τὸν λέοντα ἐς Λεοντόπολιν ἀνακεισόμενον τῷ ἱερῷ, βασιλέα γὰρ ἐς τὸ βασιλικώτατον τῶν θηρίων μεταβαλόντα οὐκ ἀξιῶ ἀγείρειν, καθάπερ τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων." ἐντεῦθεν οἱ ἱερεῖς ξυνελθόντες ἔθυσαν τῷ Ἀμάσιδι, καὶ κοσμήσαντες τὸ θηρίον στρεπτῷ καὶ ταινίαις παρέπεμπον ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον αὐλοῦντες καὶ ὑμνοῦντες καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ᾄδοντες.

XLIII

CAP. XLIII Ἱκανῶς δὲ ἔχων τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐστέλλετο ἐς Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ ἐς Αἰθιοπίαν ἐς ξυνουσίαν τῶν Γυμνῶν. τὸν μὲν δὴ Μένιππον, ἐπειδὴ τῶν διαλεγομένων ἤδη ἐτύγχανε καὶ παρρησίᾳ χρῆσθαι δεινὸς ἦν, κατέλιπεν αὐτόθι ἔφεδρον τῷ Εὐφράτῃ, καὶ τὸν Διοσκουρίδην ἰδὼν οὐκ ἐρρωμένως πρὸς τὴν ἀποδημίαν διακείμενον παρῃτήσατο τῆς ὁδοῦ, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ξυναγαγών, μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς ἀπολιπόντας αὐτὸν περὶ τὴν Ἀρικίαν προσεγένοντο πλείους ἕτεροι, διῄει πρὸς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἐνθένδε ἀρξάμενος· "Ὀλυμπικῆς προρρήσεως," ἔφη, "δέομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες· Ὀλυμπικὴ δὲ πρόρρησις ἡ τοιάδε εἴη ἄν· Ἠλεῖοι τοὺς ἀθλητάς, ἐπειδὰν ἥκῃ Ὀλύμπια, γυμνάζουσιν ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἤλιδι, καὶ ξυναγαγόντες αὐτοὺς ὁ μὲν Δελφός, ὅτε Πύθια, ὁ δὲ Κορίνθιος, ὅτε Ἴσθμια, "ἴτε," φασίν, "ἐς τὸ στάδιον, καὶ γίγνεσθε ἄνδρες οἷοι νικᾶν," Ἠλεῖοι

to lament, shedding tears. Thereupon Apollonius stroked him, and said: "I think the lion ought to be sent to Leontopolis and dedicated to the temple there, for I consider it wrong that a king who has been changed into the most kingly of beasts should go about begging, like any human mendicant." In consequence the priests met and offered sacrifice to Amasis; and having decorated the animal with a collar and ribbons, they conveyed him up country into Egypt with pipings, hymns and songs composed in his honour. CHAP. XLII

XLIII

CHAP. XLIII

The Sage leaves Alexandria.

Having had enough of Alexandria the sage set out for Egypt and Ethiopia to visit the naked sages. Menippus then, as he was by now a qualified disputant and remarkably outspoken, he left behind to watch Euphrates: and perceiving that Dioscorides had not a strong enough propensity for foreign travel, he deprecated his undertaking the journey. The rest of his company he mustered, for though some had left him at Aricia, many others had subsequently joined him, and he explained to them about his impending journey and began as follows:—

"I must needs preface in Olympic wise my address to you, my brave friends; and the following is an Olympic exordium. When the Olympic games are coming on, the people of Elis train the athletes for thirty days in their own country. Likewise, when the Pythian games approach, the natives of Delphi; and when the Isthmian, the Corinthians assemble them and say: 'Go now into the arena and prove yourselves men worthy of victory.' The

CAP. XLIII δέ, ἐπειδὰν ἴωσιν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, διαλέγονται πρὸς τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ὧδε· "εἰ πεπόνηται ὑμῖν ἐπαξίως τοῦ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐλθεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ῥᾴθυμον μηδὲ ἀγεννὲς εἴργασται, ἴτε θαρροῦντες, οἷς δὲ μὴ ὧδε ἤσκηται, χωρεῖτε οἷ βούλεσθε."

Ξυνῆκαν οἱ ὁμιληταὶ τοῦ λόγου καὶ κατέμειναν ἀμφὶ τοὺς εἴκοσι παρὰ τῷ Μενίππῳ, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δέκα, οἶμαι, ὄντες, εὐξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ οἷον ἐμβατήρια πλοῦ θύσαντες, ἐχώρουν εὐθὺ πυραμίδων ἐπὶ καμήλων ὀχούμενοι, δεξιὸν θέμενοι τὸν Νεῖλον. πολλαχοῦ δὲ διεπλεῖτο αὐτοῖς ὁ ποταμὸς ὑπὲρ ἱστορίας τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πάντων, οὔτε γὰρ πόλιν οὔτε ἱερὸν οὔθ' ὁπόσα τεμένη κατ' Αἴγυπτον, οὐδὲν τούτων ἄφωνοι παρῆλθον, ἀλλ' ἱερούς τινας ἀεὶ λόγους διδασκόμενοί τε καὶ διδάσκοντες, καὶ ἡ ναῦς, ἣν ἐμβαίη Ἀπολλώνιος, ἐῴκει θεωρίδι.

Eleans however on their way to Olympia address the athletes thus: 'If ye have laboured so hard as to be entitled to go to Olympia and have banished all sloth and cowardice from your lives, then march boldly on; but as for those who have not so trained themselves, let them depart whithersoever they like.'" CHAP. XLIII

The companions of the sage understood his meaning, and about twenty of them remained with Menippus; but the rest, ten in number, I believe, offered prayer to the gods, and having sacrificed such an offering as men offer when they embark for a voyage, they departed straight for the pyramids, mounted on camels and keeping the Nile on their right hand. In several places they took boats across the river in order to visit every sight on it; for there was not a city, fane or sacred site in Egypt, that they passed by without discussion. For at each they either learned or taught some holy story, so that any ship on which Apollonius embarked resembled the sacred galley of a religious legation.

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